

# HUDŪD al-'ĀLAM

## 'THE REGIONS OF THE WORLD'

A PERSIAN GEOGRAPHY

372 A.H.—982 A.D.

TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED BY

V. MINORSKY

WITH THE PREFACE BY

V. V. BARTHOLD († 1930)

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

ILLUSTRATED BY TWELVE MAPS

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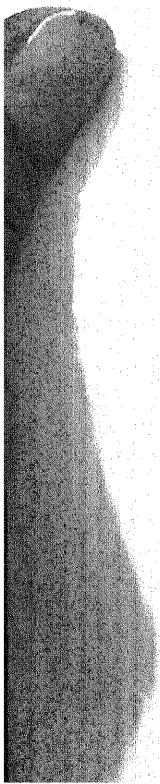
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TO  
THE GREAT PERSIAN SCHOLAR  
*Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Wahhāb Qazvīnī*

AS A TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP  
AND ADMIRATION

V. MINORSKY



## THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

### I. DESCRIPTION OF THE MS.

THE anonymous<sup>1</sup> geographical work called *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, i.e. "The Regions of the World",<sup>2</sup> was compiled in 372/982–3 and dedicated to the Amīr Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, of the local Farīghūnīd dynasty which ruled in Gūzgānān in what is now northern Afghānistān (see notes to § 1 and § 23, 46.). The unique manuscript was copied in 656/1258 by Abul-Muʿayyad ʿAbd al-Qayyūm ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Fārisī (*v.i.*, p. 166). The same half-erased name appears on the title-page: *ṣāhibuhu<sup>3</sup> kātibuhu al-ʿabd al-mudhnīb al-muḥtāj ilā raḥmatiʾllāhi taʾālā Abul-Mu . . . ʿAbd al- . . . ūm ibn . . . yn ibn ʿAlī al-Fārisī . . .*

The MS. consists of 39 folios measuring 28 × 18 cm., while the size of the written text (within ruled frame) is 20 × 13 cm. Each page has 23 extremely regular lines written in good and personal *naskh-thulth* script. The paper is of *khānbālīq* description.

On the whole the text is very well preserved. Ff. 28 and 29 are slightly damaged. The lower part of f. 39 (*viz.*, half of the lines 17–23) has been torn, so that not only the text relating to the African countries but the colophon, too, has greatly suffered. The text begins on f. 1b. The title-page (f. 1a) is occupied by the title of the book, by some mediocre verses in the same hand, but having no relation to the text, and by some later entries of no interest. Marginal notes which are found on ff. 19b, 20a, 22b and 30a, have no great importance [cf. Appendix A].

The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* forms only one part of a bound volume of which all the folios are of the same size (28 × 18 cm.). It contains:

a. The geographical treatise *Ḥihān-nāma* (ff. 1b–27a) by Muḥammad ibn Najīb Bakrān<sup>4</sup>, copied by ʿIbād-allāh Masʿūd ibn Muḥammad ibn-Masʿūd al-Kirmānī on 28 Ramaḍān 663 (14 July 1267).

<sup>1</sup> On the author cf. p. xii; he was a sunnī, cf. pp. 375, 392.

<sup>2</sup> *v.i.*, p. 30. The word *ḥudūd* (properly 'boundaries') in our case evidently refers to the 'regions within definite boundaries' into which the world is divided in the *H.-ʿĀ.*, the author indicating with special care the frontiers of each one of these areas, *v.i.*, p. 30. [As I use the word "region" mostly for

*nāhiyat* it would have been better, perhaps, to translate *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* as "The limited areas of the World".]

<sup>3</sup> Certainly in the sense of 'possessor' and not in that of 'author', as confirmed by the colophon of the *Ḥimīʾ al-ʿulūm*, *v.i.*, p. viii.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rieu, *Catalogue Pers. Mss. Brit. Mus.* i, 423; Bibl. Nationale, anc. fonds persan, 324.

b. A short treatise on Music (ff. 27b-28b) by Ustādh 'Ajab al-Zamān bul-Ustādh-Khorāsān Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad Nishāpūrī.

c. *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (see above).

d. The well known encyclopedia *Jāmi' al-'Ulūm* (ff. 1-50)<sup>1</sup> by Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) with the colophon: *waqa'a al-firāgh min tahrīrihi yaum al-jum'a lil-sādis wal-'ishrīn min jumādā al-ūlā sana thamānī wa khamsīn wa sitta-mī'a 'ala yadī. Ad'afu 'ibād allāh wa aḥqaruhum Abul-Mu'ayyad 'Abd al-Qayyūm b. al-Husayn(?) b. 'Alī.* Consequently this work, too, was copied by the scribe of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* on Friday, 26 Jumādā al-ūlā 658 (Thursday<sup>2</sup> 10 June 1259). He must have been an eager student to transcribe in his careful regular hand a series of important works for his personal library at the momentous epoch when the Mongol invaders were exterminating the Assassins, destroying the Baghdād Caliphate and remodelling the administration of Persia!<sup>3</sup>

## 2. DISCOVERY AND PUBLICATION OF THE *H.-'Ā.*

The discovery and publication of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* have a long history not devoid of romance.

The Russian orientalist, Captain (later Major-General) A. G. Toumansky, was a great friend of the Bahā'īs whom he first met in Askhabad in 1890. He eagerly studied their religious literature<sup>4</sup> and rendered some signal services to the thriving Bahā'ī colony established in the Russian Transcaspian province, for example at the time when the first temple of the new religion (*mashriq al-adhkār*) was being built in Askhabad.

Probably through Baron V. Rosen, who was his teacher, or through Barthold, who then was at the beginning of his scientific career, Toumansky heard of the interest of Ulugh-beg's lost work *Ulūs-i arba'a* and made a search for it through his Persian friends. The importance of Bukhārā as a market for rare manuscripts was fully realized only after 1900 when special expeditions were sent there by the Russian Academy, yet even before that time it was natural to turn one's attention towards that Muslim centre. Toumansky

<sup>1</sup> Probably composed in 574/1178, cf. Rieu, *Supplément*, p. 102 (Or. 2972 contains 188 folios each side being of 17 lines).

<sup>2</sup> Thursday evening is called in Persia *shab-i jum'a* and considered as the beginning of Friday.

<sup>3</sup> The data on the manuscript are partly borrowed from Toumansky's article (*v.i.*, p. ix, n. 2) and partly based on the notes personally taken in Paris in 1921.

<sup>4</sup> See his edition of the *Kitāb-i aqdas*, SPb. 1899 (*Mémoires de l'Académie des*

availed himself of the occasional visits to Bukhārā of the learned Bahā'ī of Samarqand Mīrẓā Abul-Faḍl Gulpāyagānī who soon after, in a letter in Persian dated 2 Rabī' II, 1310 = 25 October 1892, reported as follows: "During my stay in Bukhārā all my efforts to find the *Ulūs-i arba'a* proved unsuccessful but I have found an ancient bound book which is very good and contains four treatises of which the first has geographical contents and formed a Preface to a Map (*muqaddama-yi naqsha būda*); the second, composed 943 years ago and copied 808 years ago, is also geographical and mentions the names of towns which now are absolutely unknown; the third treats of Music, and is short; the fourth is the *Ĵāmi' al-'ulūm* of Imām Fakhr-i Rāzī." When, in 1893, Toumansky joined Mīrẓā Abul-Faḍl in Bukhārā, his Persian friend made him a present of his find "on condition that it should be edited and not be lost for science".

A journey to Persia and the vicissitudes of a military career made it impossible for Toumansky to publish the manuscript immediately but in an article which appeared in 1896<sup>2</sup> he explained the circumstances which led to the discovery of the *H.-'Ā.*, gave its description (date, colophon, dedication to the Farīghūnīd ruler Abul-Ĥārith, complete table of contents &c.), and, as a sample of the text, published the Persian original and a Russian translation of the chapters on the "Christianized Slavs", the Slavs, and the Rūs (ff. 37a-38a), with a short commentary.

Toumansky reserved the right of final publication of the MS., or more precisely, of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, but in spite of some preparatory work done by him,<sup>3</sup> was unfortunately unable to carry out his intention during his lifetime.

*Sciences*, t. viii, No. 6) and his articles in the *Zap. Vost. Otd.*: *The two latest "lauḥ" of the Bābīs*, vol. vi, 1896, pp. 314-21, *Bahā'ullāh's last words*, vol. vii, 1892, pp. 193-203; *The author of the history known under the name of "Tārikh-i Manukchī," or "Tārikh-i Jadīd"*, vol. viii, 1893, pp. 33-45. Toumansky maintained a correspondence on the subject of their mutual interest with E. G. Browne, see the latter's *Tārikh-i jadīd*, pp. xxxiii, lii and passim, and the review of the *Kitāb-i aqdas* in *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 354-7. Among Toumansky's other works may be quoted: *Note on the Kitāb-i Qorqud*, in *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, vol. ix, 1895, pp. 268-72; the interesting report on his journey in Persia *From the Caspian sea to the Hormuz strait in 1894*,

SPb. 1896; a translation of Abul-Ghāzī's *Pedigree of the Turkomans*, Askhabad 1897; *A survey of the vilāyats of Erzerum and Bitlis*, Tiflis 1909; *The Arabic language and Caucasian studies*, Tiflis 1911.

<sup>1</sup> On Mīrẓā Abul Faḍl see E. G. Browne's *Tārikh-i jadīd*, Index.

<sup>2</sup> *Zapiski Vost. Otd.*, x, 1896 (printed in 1897), pp. 121-37: *The newly discovered Persian geographer of the 10th century and his reports on the Slavs and the Rus*. In the same number of the *Zapiski* appeared the text of Barthold's opening lecture at the St. Petersburg University, held on 8 April 1896.

<sup>3</sup> So I was informed by Mme. Toumansky. In fact he published only the fragments on Samarqand (in the Russian

With the owner's permission a photograph of the manuscript was taken in St. Petersburg in 1894, and Baron V. R. Rosen copied the whole of the text with his own hand. Both the photograph and the copy were left in the possession of the Musée Asiatique of the Russian Academy and Toumansky very liberally allowed other Russian scholars to make use of single passages having special interest to them. V. A. Zhukovsky was thus able to utilize the passage relative to Marv in his standard description of that province (see note to § 23, 37.). V. V. Barthold quoted extensively from the *H.-'Ā* in his early *Report on a Scientific Mission to Central Asia* (1897), then in his famous *Turkestan* (1900), in his *History of Irrigation in Turkestan* (1914), and occasionally in many other of his books and articles.<sup>1</sup> After Toumansky's death he published the fragment on Tibet (see notes to § 11) and summarized the contents of the chapter on Gīlān (see notes to § 32, 35.).

Nevertheless, in Western Europe very little was known about the *H.-'Ā*, and J. Marquart who had access only to the quotations found in Toumansky's article (*ZVO*, 1896), in Barthold's *Report*, and in Westberg's *Beiträge* (*v.i.* p. 427), several times expressed his regret that the MS. still remained unpublished.<sup>2</sup>

On 13 December 1921 in a Russian paper edited in Paris I published an obituary notice of the head of the Bahā'ī community 'Abbās Efendi (d. in Haifa, 28 November 1921). In it I mentioned both E. G. Browne's and A. G. Toumansky's close connexion with the representatives of the faith preached by the Bāb and the Bahā'-allāh. My article happened to be read in Constantinople by Madame Toumansky who hastened to communicate to me the sad news of her husband's death (in Constantinople, 1 December 1920) asking me in the meantime for advice as to his MSS. which remained in her possession and with which, in view of the circumstances, she was obliged to part. The *H.-'Ā* was among them, and soon after the precious MS. was on my desk in Paris. Madame Toumansky fully realized the intense interest taken in Russia in the *H.-'Ā* and the amount of work already done on it. I offered to communicate with the Leningrad Academy, and when a favourable answer came, through the late S. F. Oldenburg (d. 28. ii. 1934), she most generously agreed to repatriate the MS. to Russia, though more advantageous conditions could have been obtained elsewhere.

paper *Okraina*, 2 May 1893) and on the Burtās-Barādhās (as a supplement to A. V. Markov, *Russo-Mordvan relations*, Tiflis 1914, *v.i.*, p. 462).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance *Streifzüge*, 1903, pp. xxx-xxxi, 172, note 4; *Komanen*, 1914, p. 37.

Some time later we had the satisfaction of hearing that the publication of the *H.-'Ā.* was being undertaken by V. V. Barthold. By March 1930 the plates reproducing the 78 pages of the original, as well as 32 pages of *Preface* and 11 pages of *Index*, were printed, but for some technical reasons the publication of the book met with delay. On 18 August 1931 Barthold wrote to me that the difficulties were being overcome, but this letter reached me in London an hour after I had read in *The Times* the two lines which came like a blow, announcing the death of the great historian on August 19.

Barthold had not the satisfaction of seeing in final form the work which had been a companion of all his scientific life. The now posthumous book appeared in the editions of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. under the title: Худūd ал-'āлем. Рукопись Туманского. С введением и указателем В. Бартольда. Ленинград 1930.

### 3. THE TRANSLATOR'S TASK

In the concluding words of his *Preface* (*v.i.* p. 32) Barthold says that his chief reason for abandoning the idea of giving a complete translation of the manuscript was the "great number of geographical names, of which the reading remains unknown". Probably for the same reason the text was not printed but photographically reproduced. As regards the Persian original, such a procedure can only meet with our full approval, for the risks of publishing such a complicated text from a single manuscript would be too great, and a printed text would never replace the paleographically very important original in doubtful places.<sup>1</sup> As already mentioned the MS. is written in a script clear enough and yet in some places presenting considerable difficulties. Barthold (letter of 5. iii. 1930) was ready to admit with regard to the photographic reproduction of the MS. that "it would not be an edition in the proper sense, and orientalists who had no great experience in the reading of Muslim MSS. would feel disappointed". In such circumstances, many people interested principally in the geographical contents of the book were likely to be hampered by the character of the script, while Barthold's *Preface*, though extremely valuable, is far from exhausting the problems raised by the text.

I have decided therefore to take a resolute step in rendering this

<sup>1</sup> Lately Sayyid Jalāl al-dīn Tehrānī has, more or less successfully, printed the text of the *H.-'Ā.*, together with that of Part III of the *Tārikh-i Jihān-shāh*, as an annex (l) to his *Calendar*

(*gāh-nāma*) for the Persian year 1314 (= A.H. 1353-4 = A.D. 1935), Tehran 1352. The *H.-'Ā.* occupies pages 1-114 and on pp. 115-49 Barthold's *Index* is reproduced.

important tenth-century text more accessible to the public, by translating the whole of the Persian original and by supplementing it with a translation of Barthold's Russian *Preface* and with my own detailed commentary.<sup>1</sup> Lacunae and uncertainties are inevitable in such an enterprise, but only the sieve of translation is capable of separating what is clear from what remains doubtful. I only hope that my work will stimulate a further examination of the respective chapters by Turcologists, Indianists, Byzantologists, and other specialists.

The present book comprises the following parts:

1. A translation of V. V. Barthold's Russian *Preface*.
2. A complete translation of the Persian text of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*.
3. My commentary on the text, disposed in the order of the chapters.
4. Appendices containing remarks on the marginal notes, the language of the *H.-'Ā.*, &c., as well as a *Glossary* of the rare and less usual words and expressions.<sup>2</sup>
5. A Romanized *Index* based on my translation and consequently differing in a number of transcriptions from Barthold's *Index* (in Arabic characters). It also serves my Commentary.

My translation of the *H.-'Ā.* (Part II) follows the Persian text strictly and literally. I do not even say "wood" when the original speaks of "trees". In a unique manuscript of one of the earliest prose works of Persian literature,<sup>3</sup> older than the *Shāh-nāma*, every word and turn of phrase is interesting and I have made a very liberal use of Romanized quotations with the double object of elucidating the difficult and doubtful readings and of affording a means of control.

<sup>1</sup> P. Pelliot in his note on Barthold's edition of the *H.-'Ā.* in *T'oung-Pao*, 1931, No. 1, p. 133, writes: "Puisque l'ouvrage est enfin accessible il faut espérer qu'un iraniste donnera en caractères typographiques une édition critique des sections concernant l'Asie Centrale et Orientale, et lui adjoindra une traduction annotée."

<sup>2</sup> [For some imperious material reasons only the Appendix on the marginal notes could be incorporated in the present volume. The rest will be published as an article in the *Bull. of the School of Oriental Studies*. Cf. however, even now Index E.]

<sup>3</sup> The ancient Preface to the *Book of Kings*, 346/957; Bal'ami's translation of Tabari's *History*, 352/963; translation of Tabari's *Commentary* on the Qor'ān by a group of Transoxanian scholars,

under Manšūr b. Nūh who reigned 350-65/961-75, mentioned in Muḥammad Qazvinī's Preface to *Marzubān-nāma*, p. ۲ [cf. also E. G. Browne's description of another very archaic *Commentary* in the Cambridge University Library, *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 417-524]; Abū Naṣr Ḥasan b. 'Alī Qumī, *Kitāb-i mudhkil dur 'ilm-i nujūm*, 365/975, see W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis d. arab. Handschr.*, Berlin, 1893, v, 149, No. 5663 [I owe the reference to my friend S. H. Taqi-zadeh]; the first edition of the *Shāh-nāma*, 384/994. As Shaykh Muḥammad Qazvinī tells me (30.vi. 1936), Abū Manšūr Muvaffaq al-dīn 'Alī Haravī's *Kitāb al-adwiyā* can hardly pretend to the same antiquity, for the scribe's entry on the back of the book suggests that the author was still alive in 447/1055.



Practically all the rarer words and expressions figure in my translation.

I have numbered all the chapters of the *H.-'Ā.* (§§ 1-61), and, within every single chapter, all the separate items which in the original appear in red ink (these latter numbers being followed by a dot: 1. 2. 3., &c.). This system of chapter and verse has proved of great convenience for quotations and cross-references.

#### 4. THE COMMENTARY: EXPLANATION OF THE TEXT

The object of my Commentary (Part III) is twofold: (a) to explain the text by identifying the places and names mentioned in it, and (b) to ascertain the sources of the book.

My explanation of the less interesting chapters, such as the middle zone of Islām (§§ 27-31 and 33-4, cf. p. 223) is very brief and only checks the names, locates the places, and gives the immediate parallels. On the contrary, whenever the text contains traces of some new information I have done my utmost to elucidate the question in the light of all accessible data, using by preference the sources contemporary with, and older than the *H.-'Ā.* Of the slightly younger works I constantly quote Bīrūnī (inclusive of his *Canon*, Br. Mus. Or. 1997), Gardīzī (containing a number of invaluable parallels to the *H.-'Ā.*) and Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī. Having myself experienced great difficulties in finding the explanations of the names and facts relating to territories as different as China and Spain, India and the Volga Bulghārs, I could not help bearing in mind the interests of the readers who cannot be satisfied with mere references to doubtful passages in the sources and to little accessible works. Therefore at the beginning of the chapters (especially those on India, China, Tibet, the Turks, the Caucasus, and Eastern Europe) I have not only prefixed brief indications of authorities and literature, but summed up the present-day situation of the question, comprising tentative hypotheses and doubtful points, and have made my personal suggestions supplementing or modifying my predecessors' views. Though my definite object has been to comment on the particular geographical work written in A.D. 982 and conspicuous for its well-balanced brevity, my commentary may eventually prove of more general utility as covering the whole field of the *Orbis Terrarum Musulmanis notus*<sup>1</sup> and making

<sup>1</sup> Le Strange's excellent book *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, describes only the countries between Asia Minor and Transoxiana; P. Schwarz's amazingly full *Iran im Mittelalter* (in progress since 1896), covers

only Persia. See my reviews of these books *resp.* in *BSOS*, vi/3, 1931, pp. 802-3, and *Journ. As.*, July 1932, pp. 175-9. For the rest of the lands the information is very scattered. It is to be hoped that a translation of the *BGA*

a point of referring to the special sources and to recent investigations.<sup>1</sup> I have used notes and references very liberally in order to show respect for my predecessors' opinions and to lay stress on the great fellowship of the living and dead by whose efforts the fabric of our knowledge has been reared.

In studying the *H.-'Ā.* and in preparing the Commentary it has been my particular endeavour not to lose sight of geographic realities. I hope that my sketch maps illustrating the less known regions will be found useful by all those who like myself had to toil through the wonderful works of Barthold<sup>2</sup> and Marquart,<sup>3</sup> unaccompanied by such graphic aids. I take this occasion to say in pious gratitude what I owe to these two great scholars who by their contributions (so different in method, yet equally admirable as results) have shed light on numberless points of Muslim historical geography.

##### 5. THE COMMENTARY: THE SOURCES OF THE *H.-'Ā.*

The second object of the commentary has been to ascertain the sources of the *H.-'Ā.* Our geographer was evidently but a "cabinet scholar" and not a traveller. Only in the description of Gūzgānān (§ 23, 47.), and maybe of Gīlān (§ 32, 24.-5.), does the text reflect some personal experience. For the rest, the information evidently depends on other people's materials, which seem to have been of two classes, *vis.* books,<sup>4</sup> and any other information coming under the rubrics of *yādhkird-i ḥakīmān* "memories of the sages" (f. 2a<sub>2</sub>),<sup>5</sup> *akhbār* "information [heard]" (cf. f. 13b<sub>3</sub>; *ba-akhbār-hā ba-shanūdim*), or simply *dhikr* "mention" (f. 12a<sub>2</sub>). There is no indication in the text as to which particular details were derived from non-literary sources, unless we

carried out, on the initiative of G. Ferrand, by a group of French Arabists, will see the light before long.

<sup>1</sup> Comprising works in Russian, very insufficiently known in Western Europe. [On the as yet unedited sources cf. p. 480.]

<sup>2</sup> Barthold's (15.xi.1869-19.viii.1930) bibliography comprises over 300 titles of books and articles. See Umniakov, *V. V. Barthold, on the occasion of the 30th year of his professorship* (in Russian) in *Bulletin de l'Université de l'Asie Centrale*, 1926, No. 14, pp. 175-202; Milius Dostoyevsky, *W. Barthold zum Gedächtnis*, in *Die Welt des Islam*, xii, Heft 3, 1931, pp. 89-135; Th. Menzel, *Versuch einer Barthold-Bibliographie*, in *Der Islam*, xxi (1933), pp.

236-42, xxii 2 (1934), pp. 144-61.

<sup>3</sup> See V. Minorsky, *Essai de bibliographie de J. Markwart [Marquart]* (9.vii.1864-4.ii.1930), in *Journal Asiatique*, October 1930, t. ccxvii, pp. 313-24 [where the obituary and bibliographic notices by G. Messina, H. H. Schaeder, &c. are quoted].

<sup>4</sup> *Kitāb-hā-yi pīshinagān* "books of the predecessors", folios 2a<sub>1</sub> and 13b<sub>3</sub>; or simply "books", folios 4a<sub>10</sub>, 9a<sub>2</sub> (concerning the Kuchā river). Under 11b<sub>18</sub> *kitāb-hā va akhbār-hā* are clearly distinguished.

<sup>5</sup> I see that the reading *yādhkird* has been accepted also in the text of the *H.-'Ā.* printed in Tehrān, p. 4 (contrary to Barthold, *v.i.*, p. 31, note 1).

include in this category the above-mentioned details regarding Gūzgānān and Gīlān.

Abul-Faḍl Gulpāyagānī (*v.s.*, p. ix) made an interesting suggestion in taking the *H.-'A.* for "a Preface to a Map". In several passages, in fact (folios 5b<sub>11</sub>, 8b<sub>10</sub>, 25b<sub>13</sub>, 33b<sub>16</sub>, 37a<sub>15</sub>), our author mentions a Map prepared by himself, which was certainly more than a simple illustration of the text. We know, for example, that on it were shown the stages between Rukhud and Multān (*v.i.*, p. 121) of which there is no mention in the text. A close scrutiny of the text has convinced me that in numerous places the peculiar order of enumeration is a result of "reading off the Map",<sup>1</sup> often without any regard for the natural divisions of territories, ranges of mountains, watersheds and roads.<sup>2</sup> This discovery has facilitated the explanation of numerous passages in the text. It appears then that the Map was compiled before the text, and if so, we cannot help inferring that the author worked on the basis of some previous MAP which we must consider as one of the important sources for his compilation. In his Preface (*v.i.*, p. 18, note 5) Barthold suggests that Balkhī's book may have been only an explanation of Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin's maps. The latter (in a more or less modified<sup>3</sup> form) may have been worked upon by our author as well.

The improvement due to him personally seems to be in the first place a clearer division of the chart into "limited areas" with rigorously indicated frontiers, as recapitulated in the description of each single country. Even the title of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* indicates the importance which our author attached to this task. In the better known countries the problem presented no difficulty, though in the eastern region beginning with Khorāsān the bearings<sup>4</sup> usually show some error, mostly as if the author took the north-east or east for the north (cf. notes to §§ 7, 4., 12 [p. 270], 17, 23, 24, 25, 48, &c.). This is a common mistake with Muslim geographers, cf. Iṣṭ., 253, quoted on p. 351, and may be partly due to the difference between the places where the sun rises and goes down in summer and in winter.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A striking example is offered by the themes of the Byzantine empire, *v.i.*, p. 420, line 32.

<sup>2</sup> *V.i.*, pp. 239, 338, 376, 392 (§ 33, 11.), 394, 414 (especially § 38, 15.). On the contrary in some places the enumeration follows the roads, as quite clearly appears from a comparison with Gardizi's parallels, *v.i.* p. 229, 260; cf. also pp. 251, 289, 293, 363, 380, 382, 391. [Cf. Index E: *Map*.]

<sup>3</sup> By Iṣṭakhrī, at least in such regions as Fārs? Cf. I.H., 236 [*V.i.* p. 381, l. 16.]

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Index E: *bearings*.

<sup>5</sup> Reinaud, *Géographie d'Abulféda*, i, (Introduction générale), pp. cxcii-iii: "Les Arabes, pour désigner le sud-est, disent quelquefois *l'orient d'hiver*, et pour indiquer le nord-est, *l'orient d'été*; de même, pour marquer le nord-ouest, ils se servent des mots *occident d'été*, et pour dire le sud-ouest d'*occident d'hiver*." Cf. the *Qor'ān*, lv, 16, where the "two Orientes" and "two Occidents" are mentioned. [*V.i.* p. 285, l. 4: *mashriq-i sayfi*.]

Perhaps also the confusion of the *qibla* with the south, natural in the Middle East but very misleading farther east, accounts for the irregularities in our text.<sup>1</sup> In the less-known territories, the author would have been wiser not to have tried to be too precise and to have left due latitude to the imagination. He, however, wanted to force his data into map form and this is the reason of such blunders as his location of the *V.n.nd.r* and *Mirvāt* explained in the notes to §§ 46 and 53, as well as of his vagaries about the Pechenegs and Qipchaqs (§§ 20-1). He has fallen a victim to the desire for cartographic accuracy. Moreover, with the sole exception of the Pechenegs,<sup>2</sup> he did not distinguish between the historical moves of the tribes and the different forms of their names. This is particularly felt in the north-western corner of the Black Sea (see notes to § 22, § 42, 16. and 18. and §§ 45, 46, 53).

Whatever the influence of the Map on the Text, the latter, as it stands, certainly forms a complete description of the world known to the Muslims in the 10th century A.D. In spite of the vague references to the "books", *akhbār*, &c., the number of the original sources at the disposal of our author cannot have been considerable. We must certainly make due allowance for the fact that earlier data were transcribed by later authors, and not necessarily imagine, for example, that our author had a direct knowledge of Aristotle and Ptolemy (in Khuwārizmī's *rifacimento*?), who are the only authorities quoted by name (*resp.* fol. 2a *ult.*, 4a<sub>20</sub>, and 5a<sub>9</sub>).<sup>3</sup> With this reservation, we may enumerate our author's more obvious authorities as follows:

(a) IBN KHURDĀDHBĪH, as appears from the paragraphs on China (§ 4, 9.), on Khūzistān (§ 30, 7. and 8.), on the Byzantine Empire (§ 42, as well as the points in §§ 3, 5, 6 mentioned on p. 419), on Nubia (§ 59), and the Sūdān (§ 60). Possibly the text of I.Kh. which was at our author's disposal was more complete than that reproduced in *BGA*, vi. As the names of the kings of Nubia and the Sūdān are quoted after I.Kh., one may surmise that other curious details on Africa (cf. §§ 59, 60) also belong to the same author (*v.i.*, p. 476, line 33). However, according to Maq., 41, I.Kh.'s work was sometimes confused with that of Jayhānī, and as the reason of this confusion was that Jayhānī incorporated I.Kh.'s data,<sup>4</sup> it is quite possible that echoes from I.Kh. penetrated into the *H.-Ā.* indirectly through Jayhānī.

<sup>1</sup> In § 4, 33. Sardinia is located to the south of *Rūmiya*. Has Sardinia been confused with Sicily?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also § 13, 1., § 15, 12.-13.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also § 8, 5. "the Greeks".

<sup>4</sup> Maq., 271: *idhā nazarta fī kitābi-'l-Jayhāniyyi wajadtahu qad ihtawā 'alā jamī'i aṣli Ibn Khurdādhbih.*

(b) Some unknown work which was also utilized by I. Rusta, Bakrī, Gardīzī, 'Aufī, &c.,<sup>1</sup> and which is usually identified with Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad JAYHĀNĪ's lost *Kitāb al-mamālik wal-masālik*.<sup>2</sup> The risk of exaggerating the importance of an unknown source is, of course, obvious and Barthold's cautious remarks, *v.i.*, p. 25, must be kept in mind. However, according to the additional passage in the Constantinople MS. of Maq., *BGA*, iii, 4, Jayhānī's work was in seven volumes and this great bulk made it possible for later authors to select from the book different details.<sup>3</sup> This may be the explanation of the fact that the peoples *V.n.nd.r* and *Mirvāt* figure only in the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī. The rare reports quoted by name in I. Rusta (e.g. Abū 'Abdillāh b. Ishāq on India, *v.i.*, pp. 235 and 241,<sup>4</sup> and Hārūn b. Yahyā on the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans, *v.i.*, pp. 320, 419, 468) may have been originally collected by Jayhānī. Through him may have been transmitted even the echoes of Khuwārizmī<sup>5</sup> and Sulaymān-the-Merchant,<sup>6</sup> found sporadically in our text. Some of Jayhānī's written sources (Tamīm b. Baḥr's complete report?) may be responsible for the details about China which point to a time before the middle of the 9th century A.D. (*v.i.*, pp. 26 and 227).

Jayhānī's personal position gave him excellent opportunities for collecting independent intelligence. When during the minority of Naṣr b. Aḥmad he became *vazīr* (in 301/913-14) "he wrote letters to all the countries of the world and he requested that the customs of every court and *divān* should be written down and brought to him, such (as existed in) the Byzantine empire, Turkistān, Hindūstān, China, 'Irāq, Syria, Egypt, Zanj, Zābul, Kābul, Sind, and Arabia". After having examined the reports he retained for observance in Bukhārā whatever he found suitable, see Gardīzī-M. Nāẓim, pp. 28-9.

<sup>1</sup> Particularly with regard to Eastern Europe.

<sup>2</sup> On Jayhānī see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, xxxi-xxxii and *passim*, Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 11-12, and *Preface*, *v.i.*, p. 23, cf. also S. Janicsek, *Al-Djaihānī's lost 'Kitāb al-Masālik wal-mamālik'. Is it to be found at Mashhad?* in *BSOS*, v/1, 1926, pp. 14-25. [We now know that the rumour about the discovery of Jayhānī's work in Mashhad was premature.]

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Fihrist*, p. 154, Ibn al-Faqīh "borrowed (data) from the books of various authors and plundered (*salakha*) Jayhānī's book." However I.F.'s text as published in *BGA*, v, has been of almost no use for the

explanation of the *H.-'Ā.* Cf. *infra*, p. 182, on *K.rkh* (\**Karchi*?), and p. 480.

<sup>4</sup> Though some of his details seem to have been known to I.Kh., *v.i.*, p. 27, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. note to § 6, 16. as well as the Ptolemaic data in § 3, 6. and 8., § 4, 1-4., 18., 20.-3., 26., § 9, 12., several of which are also found in I. Rusta who was perhaps the earliest among those who made use of Jayhānī's book.

<sup>6</sup> The relation of Sulaymān to I.Kh. is still obscure (*v.i.*, p. 236 *ult.*). In *T'oung-Pao*, 1922, pp. 399-413, Pelliot cast doubt on the authenticity of Sulaymān's travels.

Maq., pp. 3-4, says that Jayhānī "assembled foreigners, questioned them on the kingdoms, their revenues, the kind of roads leading to them, also on the height of the stars and the length of the shadows in their land, in order in this wise to facilitate the conquest of provinces, to know their revenues, &c. . . . He divided the world into seven climes<sup>1</sup> and assigned a star to each. Now he speaks of stars and geometry, anon of matters which are of no use to the mass of people, now he describes Indian idols, now he relates the wonders of Sind, now he enumerates taxes and revenues. I myself have seen that he mentions also little-known stations and far-distant halting-places. He does not enumerate provinces, nor forces, he does not describe towns. . . . On the other hand, he speaks of the roads to east, west, north, and south, together with a description of the plains, mountains, valleys, hillocks, forests, and rivers found thereon. Consequently the book is long, yet he neglected most of the military roads, as well as the description of the chief towns."<sup>2</sup> We may then attribute personally to Jayhānī many interesting items in our book on the Farther East<sup>3</sup> and the Turkish tribes. The data on the Turks living round the Issik-kul (§ 12) reflect the complete disintegration of the former dominions of the Türgish, and even the latter's successors the Khallukh seem to be under pressure from the south by the Yaghmā (future Qarā-khānids). In some details we may even recognize traces of Jayhānī's interested curiosity to which Maq. alludes (cf. *infra*, p. 270). Some Arabic forms of names (§ 10, 45. and 46., § 15, 9., § 17, 1., § 42, 17.) may also be due to Jayhānī's original text.

(c) IṢṬAKHRI (<Balkhī) is without doubt the source most systematically utilized in the *H.-Ā.* The chapters on the countries between the Indus and the Mediterranean are practically a mere abridgement of Iṣṭ., sometimes with a verbatim translation of details, *v.i.*, p. 21. For my commentary I first of all compared the text with *BGA*, i, and in cases of coincidence made no further references to parallel texts. As the names of places in Iranian and Caucasian regions have a distinctly iranized form<sup>4</sup> one would infer that Iṣṭ. was used in a Persian translation. Several points in Central Asia have parallels only in Ibn Hauqal (*BGA*, ii) and Maqdisī (*BGA*, iii). However, our author could not have utilized I.H., as otherwise we should find in the *H.-Ā.* traces of I.H.'s original chapters, such as those on Africa and Spain (cf. §§ 40 and 41). Probably, therefore, the addi-

<sup>1</sup> On this point our author totally disregards Jayhānī, for the only passing reference to a "clime" is found in our text in § 5, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the reference to the "books" with regard to the Kuchchā river, § 6, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Index E.

tional items on Transoxiana, &c. existed in the original Išt. and were preserved both by I.H and the H.-Ā. As regards Maq. even the earliest date in his book precludes the possibility of its use by our author.<sup>1</sup> Consequently in cases of coincidence we have to suppose that Maq., too, *BGA*, 5a (Const. MS.), utilized some additional passages in Balkhī>Išt., which were also available in our author's copy.

(d) More than problematic is the influence of MAS'UDĪ on our author. Apart from the dubious case of the two "Artush" rivers (§ 6, 41. and 42.), a conspicuous parallelism is found in the chapters on Shirvān (mountain *Niyāl!*), Daghestan, and the northern Caucasus (§§ 35-6, 48-9), but our author adds several details not found elsewhere and we should rather assume that he utilizes a source of which Mas'udī possessed only an abstract. Possibly the same source is responsible for the interesting details on Gilān.

(e) Very curious are a few original points on Arabia. One might suppose (*v.i.*, p. 411) that some of them are due to an early knowledge of HAMDĀNĪ's *Ḥazīrat al-'arab* but even Hamdānī does not seem to account for all of them. Do they, like some details on the African lands, belong to the more complete I.Kh., or to some unknown *Book of Marvels*?

## 6. LOYALTIES

My thanks go first to the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial who in 1931 accepted my work for inclusion in their series, Sir E. D. Ross, with his usual kindness, acting as my sponsor. To the latter, as well as to my friends Prof. R. A. Nicholson, Prof. H. A. R. Gibb, Dr. A. S. Tritton, and Dr. (now Prof.) H. W. Bailey I am deeply obliged for their great help in checking my copy. Dr. W. Simon has kindly tried to unify my transcription of Chinese names though he certainly is not responsible for any eventual mistakes in cases where the Chinese original was not available. I hope my memory has not played me false in thanking in the text the numerous scholars of many lands who readily answered my queries on matters within their competence.

My dedication confirms the debt of gratitude which I have contracted towards the great Persian scholar who during the fifteen years of our friendship has been lavish in his aid to me in hundreds of my perplexities. My long, frequent and always instructive conversations with him constitute one of the very pleasant recollections of my life.

<sup>1</sup> See de Goeje in *BGA*, iv, p. vi: Maq. himself, p. 8, dates his preface A.H. 375/985 but certain passages point to the years 377 and even 387/997 (p. 288r).

My commentary would never have been written without the extensive use of the treasures of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the School of Oriental Studies, and the École des Langues Orientales. The latter's librarian Mlle Renié (now Mme Meuvré) very kindly allowed me to keep for long periods great numbers of books not found elsewhere.

I must thank Dr. John Johnson, Printer to the University of Oxford, and his staff and collaborators who have so successfully overcome the difficulties of a text bristling with difficult names, references and quotations.

My wife helped me with the translation of Barthold's *Preface*, prepared about 4,500 cards of the Index and several times typed out the revised text of my manuscript (some of the chapters four and five times!).

The printing of my book has extended over a period of three years, during which time many more sources have been consulted by me, and many more materials collected. Even Barthold's *Vorlesungen*, in Prof. Menzel's excellent edition, became available only when the whole text had been set up. Wherever possible I have introduced the requisite additions, but it must be borne in mind that the date of my Preface is not that of my text. By the end of June 1936 my commentary was in page proofs and no further important alterations were possible. Some additional notes will be found in Appendix B.

V. MINORSKY

10 December 1936.

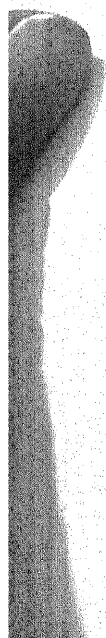


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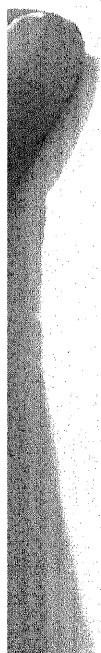
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PART ONE  
V. V. BARTHOLD'S PREFACE

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN



## V. V. BARTHOLD'S PREFACE

THE present edition is intended to discharge an obligation under P 3 which Russian science has long lain; namely, that of rendering available to the specialists the important work dealing with Muslim geography which was discovered in 1882 in Bukhārā<sup>1</sup> through the initiative of the Russian orientalist, A. G. Toumansky (d. 1920).

### I

The activity of the early Islamic scholars, who wrote almost exclusively in Arabic, is known to us not only by their original works that have reached us, by references to the books that have disappeared, and by quotations from them, but also through bibliographical surveys, of which the necessity was felt even then. Only five years<sup>2</sup> after the date of the treatise preserved in the Toumansky MS., al-Nadīm composed his *Fihrist*; from this work and from later bibliographical compilations<sup>3</sup> European scholars have culled most of their information as to what works, known to be important and not yet to be found in European libraries, must still be sought for. Such quests, even if successful in bringing to light desired volumes, have sometimes brought disillusion as well, even in the cases when the book was linked with a great name.

The Persian Abul-Faḍl Gulpāyagānī, who had the luck to discover the present precious MS., was searching in Bukhārā, on behalf of Toumansky, for the historical treatise of Ulugh-bek. Judging by what is already known of the latter work, its discovery

<sup>1</sup> On the discovery of the Toumansky MS. and its contents see *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya (ZVO)*, x, 121-37.

<sup>2</sup> Now we know that the year 377 H. is given not only in the Leiden MS., as stated in Brockelmann, *GAL*, i, 147, but, for instance, in Yāqūt's *Irshād* (vi, 408). It is known that the same date is several times given in the treatise itself (cf. *ZVO*, iv, 402); for the completion of parts i and ii even the day is given (Saturday, 1st of Sha'bān = 26.xi.987), though in isolated passages, apparently written by another person, later dates are given. Particularly characteristic are the words (p. 132) about the scholar

Marzbānī, born in Jumādā II, 297 (II-III, 910): "And he is alive in these our times, in 377; and we beg of God for him health and continuation of life, from God's clemency and bounty; and he died in 378, may God have mercy on him." The last words belong, evidently, not to the author (otherwise he would have deleted the previous words) but to another person. [? V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> The work of the wazīr Maghribī who continued al-Nadīm, see *Irshād*, vi, 467, has not reached us. On the wazīr Maghribī see Brockelmann, i, 353; E. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hanovre 1927, p. 15.

would have brought but little benefit to science.<sup>1</sup> But while engaged in his search, Gulpāyagānī found a document quite unknown until then and mentioned in none of the bibliographical surveys, which has proved to be of the greatest scientific importance.

The MS. does not contain the author's name, but the date of its composition is indicated: the author began his work in 372 H. (between 26.vi.982 and 14.vi.983) for Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, prince of the province of Gūzgān or Gūzgānān (in Arabic garb *jūzjān*, or *jūzjānān*), which lies in the north-western part of the present-day Afghānistān. It is quite natural that the author allows more space (ff. 20b–21a) to this province than would have been expected from its comparative unimportance, even though at that time Gūzgān was experiencing, under the Farīghūnid dynasty, a period of political and cultural prosperity.

On Gūzgān and the Farīghūnids Toumansky's article<sup>2</sup> gives only a fragment from Rashīd al-dīn's *ḡami' al-tawārīkh*, almost literally copied, as is the whole of the corresponding part of this work, from P 4 'Utbī's history in its Persian [translation by Abul-Sharaf Jarbādhaḡānī].<sup>3</sup> In a note added to Toumansky's article I have mentioned a fact recorded by an author of the eleventh century—Gardīzī—that the amīr of Samarqand, Nūḥ ibn-Manṣūr (A.D. 976–97), had accepted ties of relationship with the head of the Farīghūnids. This fact belongs to the beginning of the reign of Nūḥ (who ascended the throne at the age of thirteen). The prince of Gūzgān in the Gardīzī text, as in that of our author, bears the name of Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad (in 'Utbī: Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad).<sup>4</sup>

Both our author and other geographers of the tenth century describe the Gūzgān of the Farīghūnids as much more extensive than it had hitherto been. Both at the time of the Muslim conquest<sup>5</sup> and later, according to the geographers of the ninth century A.D., Fāryāb (on the site of the town of Daulatābād, or that of the village of Khayrābād)<sup>6</sup> was not reckoned as in Gūzgān, the western frontier of the latter, as attested by Ibn Khurdādhbih's itinerary,<sup>7</sup> passing between

<sup>1</sup> V. Barthold, *Uluḡ-bek*, Petrograd, 1918, p. 113 and sq. (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> ZVO, x, 128 and sq.

<sup>3</sup> On the original and translation see my *Turkestan*, ii, 20 and sq.; Engl. ed., GMS, p. 19 and sq. The text of the chapter on the Farīghūnids borrowed from the Persian translation of 'Utbī, *Tehrān*, 1272, p. 305 and sq., is given by Rashīd al-dīn with some unessential alterations and abbreviations. The

Arabic original 'Utbī-Manīnī, ii, 101.

<sup>4</sup> Text of Gardīzī, according to the Cambridge MS., King's College, 213, f. 104b: *va bā amīr Abul-Ḥasan ibn Farīghūn khwāshī kard tā bad-īshān pusht-i ū qawī gashit*.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Balādhurī, p. 406 below.

<sup>6</sup> V. Barthold, *Historico-geographical Survey of Iran* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1903, p. 23. [See Map viii.]

<sup>7</sup> BGA, vi, 3211.

Fāryāb and Shabūrquān<sup>1</sup> (or Shubūrquān;<sup>2</sup> in our author: Ushbūrquān or Ashbūrquān,<sup>3</sup> now Shibarghān), at an equal distance (9 farsakhs) from both. According to Ya'qūbī, Fāryāb was "the old town"; the second most important town at that time, and the residence of the Arab governor (*'āmil*) of Fāryāb, was the town of Yahūdān (in Iṣṭakhrī and others: Yahūdiya; in our author: Jahūdihān, on the site of Maymana). But, on the other hand, the mountainous province Gurzivān, on the upper course of the river Āb-i Maymana, was considered a part of Gūzgān; there lived the local ruler (*malik*) of Gūzgān, whereas the Arab governors of Gūzgān resided in Anbār (according to our author: Anbīr), on the site of the present town Sar-i-Pul. In Iṣṭakhrī's time (or that of his source, Balkhī) the situation had changed. It is not mentioned whether at that time Fāryāb was part of Gūzgān, but Yahūdiya was reckoned as belonging to it and as being even its principal town, while Anbār was the seat of the government (*sulṭān*); evidently at that time a distinction no longer existed between the Arab governor and the local ruler. As to our author, he names Jahūdihān as the residence of the "king of Gūzgān", and Anbār as the capital of the province (*qaṣaba*, the same term is used by Birūnī,<sup>4</sup> in whose work we also find the form Anbīr).

Our author assigns to the rulers of Gūzgān the first place among the vassal princes (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*) of the Sāmānid kingdom, not only for their political importance, but also for their "love of science". At that time the sway of the prince of Gūzgān reached to the north as far as the Amū-daryā and to the south was recognized by all the chiefs (*mihṭar*) of the mountain provinces of Gharchistān and Ghūr. A part of Gharchistān was called "Gharchistān of Gūzgān" and was administered directly by the prince of Gūzgān, whose frontier towns were those of Ṭālaqān, on the site of Qal'a-Walī,<sup>5</sup> and Rabāt-i Karvān on the upper Harīrūd.<sup>6</sup> On the upper Murghāb Gūzgān had a common frontier with that of the prince of Bust (on the Hilmand). It may be concluded therefrom that nearly the whole of the province of Ghūr owed allegiance to the prince of Bust. But in his description of Ghūr (f. 21b) the author calls the ruler | of this province, the P 5 Ghūrshāh, vassal of the amīr of Gūzgān. To the latter tribute was

<sup>1</sup> Such vocalization in Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA*, i, 270; in Marco Polo, *Sapurghan*, with several variants.

<sup>2</sup> Vocalization, *BGA*, vi, 3211; vii, 28710; distorted vocalization in Yāqūt, iii, 25410 and 3054, though Yāqūt had visited the place.

<sup>3</sup> *BGA*, ii, 3211, and 322; Ashbūrquān.

<sup>4</sup> Thus in the work of A.-Z. Validov [Validi], *Al-Birūnī āthārī*, now in the press, p. 18; in the Berlin MS. (on it see Ahlwardt, No. 5667), f. 123a, instead of *qaṣaba* stands *qaṣr*.

<sup>5</sup> On its situation see *ZVO*, xiv, 031.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly in Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA*, i, 272; cf. *ibid.* 265 below. [V.i., p. 336.]

likewise paid by the nomad Arabs of the neighbouring steppes, who numbered 20,000, possessed herds of sheep and camels and were considered to be the richest of all the Arabs of Khorāsān.

The Farīghūnids called themselves descendants of the mythical Farīdūn,<sup>1</sup> but apparently there exists no information as to whence this dynasty sprang, when and how it gained its power, and whether or not it was related to the pre-Islamic rulers of Gūzgān, the Gūzgān-khudāts.<sup>2</sup> The name of the dynasty had some relation to a locality in the extreme north of the province; Maqdisī<sup>3</sup> mentions a Rabāṭ Afrīghūn, one day's march from Andkhoy and two from Karkī. According to Narshakhī,<sup>4</sup> Aḥmad ibn-Farīghūn was already amīr of Gūzgān in the last years of the ninth century, at the time when the relations between the Ṣaffārid 'Amr ibn-Laith and the Sāmānid Ismā'il ibn-Aḥmad were broken off. Since Iṣṭakhri<sup>5</sup> mentions an Abul Ḥārith ibn-Farīghūn, apparently the same Abul Ḥārith Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad who was a contemporary of our author, this ruler must have lived unusually long.<sup>6</sup> It is probable that the name of this prince was not yet recorded in Balkhī's original work, as it is mentioned not in the chapter on Khorāsān, but in that on Fārs, a chapter which, according to de Goeje,<sup>7</sup> belongs without doubt to Iṣṭakhri and not to Balkhī, though Iṣṭakhri wrote it a long time before his work was brought out, not later than in 933, *i.e.* half a century before the appearance of the *Hudūd al-'ālam*. Iṣṭakhri mentions also a secretary or minister (*kātib*) of the amīr of Gūzgān, Ja'far ibn-Sahl ibn-Marzubān, of the family of Marzubān ibn-Zādiya, who was a native of Shīrāz. This Ja'far was still alive at the time when Ibn Hauqal composed his chapter on Khorāsān, *i.e.* at the end of the nine hundred and sixties;<sup>8</sup> Ibn Hauqal<sup>9</sup> was acquainted with him and speaks of

<sup>1</sup> There is no foundation for reading Afrīghūn instead of Afrīdhūn, as 'Toumanský proposes, *ZVO*, x, 130.

<sup>2</sup> J. Marquart (Markwart), *Ērānshahr*, p. 80. <sup>3</sup> *BGA*, iii, 347.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Schefer, p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> *BGA*, i, 148.

<sup>6</sup> The year of his death apparently is not mentioned anywhere. He was still alive in 999 at the time of the conquest of Khorāsān by Maḥmūd ('Utbī-Manīnī, i, 316); the account of the battle of Charkhiyān (4 January 1008; cf. my *Turkestan*, ii, 287) names, as the ruler of Gūzgān, his son and successor Abū-Naṣr ('Utbī-Manīnī, ii, 84), who died in 401 (1010-11). Contrary to Markov, *Invent. Catal. of Muslim Coins*

*of the Hermitage* (in Russian), SPb. 1896, p. 178 and sq., and Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 205, the Farīghūnids never possessed Balkh and did not strike coins. The names and dates given by Zambaur do not in the least correspond to reality and represent a step backwards in comparison with Sachau's article to which Zambaur refers.

<sup>7</sup> *ZDMG*, xxv, 50.

<sup>8</sup> As the Sāmānid amīr contemporary with himself Ibn Hauqal names Maṣṣūr ibn-Nūḥ (961-76), *BGA*, ii, 341. In 358 (968-9) this author was on the Gūzgān (*ibid.*, p. 282), in the same year "for the last time" in Mosul, *ibid.*, p. 146, and apparently returned no more to the east. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.



the rare unanimity with which the qualities of the Gūzgān minister were extolled by his contemporaries. About all other statesmen, alongside with favourable reports, unfavourable ones might be heard or read; but Ibn-Hauqal never encountered any one who had an unfavourable opinion of Ja'far ibn-Sahl. Every one who visited Khorāsān during the previous fifty years was indebted to him for some kindness; those who could not visit him personally were not excepted, as they received letters and presents from him. On his lands he built *rabāts* and assigned revenues of his estates for their maintenance; in every *rabāṭ* and village he kept cows, to the number of one hundred or more, in order to provide milk for the refreshment of passing travellers. In no respect had he his equal in Khorāsān. It is very probable that Ja'far ibn-Sahl patronized Ibn-Hauqal's work.

Whether the author of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* made any travels himself does not appear from his work. He speaks only of borrowing information from books, though he names none of his Muslim sources. P 6 As Toumansky<sup>1</sup> remarks, "nowhere does he name his sources, except for Ptolemy, and even him, probably, only as a rhetorical figure". This remark does not entirely correspond to the facts, for besides Ptolemy, Aristotle is named (f. 2a), and his "Meteorologica" (*al-Āthār al-'ulwiya*) cited. The same passage (about the ocean encircling the earth) is quoted by al-Kharaqī, an author of the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy, as a matter of fact, is cited twice (4a and 5a), not in the chapters consecrated to separate provinces, but in the general part, *viz.* in the chapter on islands. There are mentioned thirteen islands and two mountains projecting into the Indian Ocean, and it is added that these two mountains are found in Ptolemy's books; but in Ptolemy's *Geographica* there is nothing on which this information could be founded. According to our author Ptolemy enumerated twenty-five islands in "the Western Ocean" (Ptolemy's *δυτικὸς Ὠκεανός*). These names are given and the majority are really borrowed from Ptolemy, beginning with the six "islands of the Blest" (*αἱ τῶν Μακάρων νῆσοι*, Ptolemy, iv, 6, 34, in Arabic authors generally al-Khālīdāt, in our author al-Khālīya, and in Battānī al-Khālīyāt).<sup>3</sup> From Ptolemy was derived the information

<sup>1</sup> ZVO, x, 132.

<sup>2</sup> Text in Nallino, *Al-Battānī sive Albatēnī opus astronomicum*, pars i, Mediolani, 1903, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Battānī-Nallino, i, 17, note 2. This is not the only case of coincidence of Battānī's text with that of our author. According to Battānī, *ibid.*, p. 18, note 5, and our author (f. 4b), near

India and Ceylon there were fifty-nine islands; according to Ibn-Rusta, *BGA*, vii, 84<sup>15</sup>, and Kharaqī, in agreement with the text of Ptolemy (vii, 4, 11-13), the islands were nineteen. In Nallino's opinion Battānī read ط, instead of ط, which stood in his list; this mistake was evidently made by the source common to Battānī and our author.

about the "isles of Britannia", of which, according to our author and to Arab geographers,<sup>1</sup> there were twelve (this number is not in Ptolemy). Concerning Britannia, as well as the "Isles of the Blest" (Canary Islands), our author gives information which, apparently, does not exist in other sources: he says that in the "Isles of the Blest" there are "gold mines; once a year people from the Sūdān and from towns of Sūs al-'Aqṣā make their way there and bring away gold from those mines; no one can live there on account of the intense heat". Britannia is called (f. 37b) "the storehouse of goods from Byzantium (Rūm) and Spain (Andalus)". Yet among the names of the twenty-five islands there are some that do not occur in Ptolemy: by mistake the author places Rhodes and Arwād in the Western Ocean; as to the legendary "Isle of Men" and "Isle of Women", their mention at this place is, no doubt, due to the fact that the legend of the Amazons was in Islamic times localized in the Baltic sea,<sup>2</sup> perhaps owing to a linguistic misunderstanding. The references of the author, like those of many other Muslim geographers,<sup>3</sup> are, evidently, not to the original text of Ptolemy, but to the readaptation of his work by the Arabs; but there is nothing "rhetorical" about these references.

## II

The history of Arabian geographical science has been very insufficiently investigated.<sup>4</sup> In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, which is  
 P 7 not quite consistent | in the choice of the catch-words (cf. *Adab*, *al-Djabr*, on the one hand, and on the other *Astrology*, *Astronomy*), where we might have expected to find an article on this subject, nothing is to be found either under *Djaghṛāfiyā*, or *Geography*. In Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* there are sections consecrated to geographical literature but, as has already been pointed out by its reviewer,<sup>5</sup> the insufficiency of Brockelmann's book<sup>6</sup> is apparent, particularly as regards this topic. The learned critic,

<sup>1</sup> BGA, vii, 85<sup>13</sup>, Ibn Rusta; Battānī-Nallino, i, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Kunik-Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bekri*, &c., i, 80; Peschel-Ruge, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, p. 90; Nallino, *Al-Huwārīz-mī*, p. 50. <sup>3</sup> Nallino, *l.c.*, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> In the broadly planned *Introduction to the History of Sciences* (G. Sarton, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 376, 1927; cf. a review by E. J. Holmyard in *JRAS*, 1929, 209 and sq.) much space is allotted to geographical science "from Hecataeus to Bīrūnī". It is stated there that Greek

knowledge was transmitted by the Christian school to other Oriental Christians—Syrians and Arabs—and finally to the Muslims; that from the second half of the seventh century to the end of the eleventh century Arabic was the principal language of science and progress, and that in the twelfth century "the intellectual supremacy of the Muslims had already come to an end" (p. 18), which is hardly true.

<sup>5</sup> [Seybold, *Edrisiana*, I.], ZDMG, lxiii, 596.

<sup>6</sup> [See now its *Supplement*. V.M.]

writing in 1908, was of opinion that the best survey of Arabian geographical literature was that of Reinaud, published in 1848.<sup>1</sup> The work of Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn-Mūsā al-Khūwārizmī, which in the first half of the ninth century laid the first foundations of Arabian geographical science, became accessible in a printed edition only in 1926.<sup>2</sup> But as early as 1895 this work had been the subject of a classical study by C. A. Nallino,<sup>3</sup> who later took up again numerous questions concerning Khūwārizmī and Arabian geographical science in general, in his extensive Latin work on the astronomer Battānī (d. in A.D. 929).<sup>4</sup>

It is a well-established fact that Arabian geography, like Arabian astronomy, was founded on Ptolemy. In the Middle Ages Ptolemy was studied only in the East, at first in the Christian East, later in the Muslim East, whereas in Western Europe until the fifteenth century he remained quite forgotten.<sup>5</sup> From Ptolemy's astronomical work was also borrowed the historical canon, that is, the chronology of reigns from the eighth century B.C. to the second century A.D., which was adopted by the Christian world jointly with the chronology of Eusebius (fourth century A.D.), in which history begins with Abraham and the kings<sup>6</sup> contemporary with him and with his descendants. Some efforts, not always successful, were made in Muslim literature to localize ancient geographical traditions; thus Bīrūnī in his *Canon* (eleventh century) tried to identify the classical Ilion with the Syrian Tripoli.<sup>7</sup> There is no literal rendering of Ptolemy's text in Arabic; from the outset Muslim scholars treated this text much more independently than at a later date did the West-European scholars.

<sup>1</sup> *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, t. i, Introduction générale à la géographie des orientaux.

<sup>2</sup> *Das Kitāb Šūrat al-arḍ des Abū Ġa'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khūwārizmī*, herausg. von Hans v. Mžik, Bibliothek arabischer Historiker und Geographen, III. Band.

<sup>3</sup> C. A. Nallino, *Al-Khūwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della geografia di Tolomeo*, Reale Acad. d. Lincei, Serie V, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, &c., vol. ii, parte 1a.

<sup>4</sup> C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī sive Albatēni opus astronomicum*, Public. del Reale Osservatorio di Brera in Milano, No. xl, parte i-iii. The third part (Arabic text) appeared in 1899, the first in 1903, the second in 1907.

<sup>5</sup> K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore*

*of the Time of the Crusades*, New York, 1925, Amer. Geogr. Soc., Research Series, No. 15, pp. 10, 19.

<sup>6</sup> See the text of Ptolemy's *Canon*, e.g. C. Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 305 sq. On Eusebius, *ibid.*, p. 163 sq. According both to Eusebius and Bīrūnī, *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, p. 85, the list of kings begins with Bel, father of Ninus.

<sup>7</sup> Berlin MS. Ahlw. 5667, f. 34a:

طوطالوس — في أيامه فتحت ايليون وهو (sic!)  
اطرابلس شام بعد حصار عشر سنين لسبب  
استيلا اسكندر فيروس امرأة بعض الملوك  
cf. *Chronologie*, p. 86.

Already in Muḥammad Khuwārizmī's *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* we find a new version of Ptolemy, partly corrected and completed, partly distorted. According to Nallino<sup>1</sup> Khuwārizmī's *rifacimento* is a work the like of which no European nation could have produced at the dawn of its scientific activity. Yet this early independence of Muslim scholars had its negative side as well. There was no firm and definite starting-point for scientific thought and no possibility of discriminating between facts borrowed from different sources; even in the tenth century, geographers did not know what was authentic in Ptolemy and what had been added by Muslim authors.]

**P 8** The exact date of M. KHUWĀRIZMĪ's work is unknown. The scanty biographical information about him has lately been summarized by E. Wiedemann.<sup>2</sup> The appellation *al-Qutrubbuli* indicates that he was associated not only with Khorāsān, but also with the locality on the Tigris whither, perhaps, already his ancestors had migrated; the appellation al-Majūsī shows that his ancestors were not Christians but Zoroastrians; this may partly account for the fact that he was more influenced by Indian and Persian traditions than by Greek ones. Besides astronomical and mathematical treatises (it is well known that "algorithm" is a distorted form of al-Khuwārizmī's name), he compiled an historical work, references to which are found in so early an historian as Aḥmad ibn-Abī-Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr;<sup>3</sup> in Ṭabarī the earliest reference to Khuwārizmī's work deals with the death of the caliph Maḥdī (A.D. 785),<sup>4</sup> while the last reference is made under 210 (A.D. 825-6).<sup>5</sup> Khuwārizmī took part in the scientific activity which flourished in the reign of the caliph Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-33); his geographical work is surely connected with the map drawn up for Ma'mūn, which was regarded as a joint production;<sup>6</sup> later, under the influence of the legend of the Septuaginta, &c., it was said that seventy scholars took part in this work.<sup>7</sup> Consequently in Nallino's<sup>8</sup> opinion Khuwārizmī's work undoubtedly was composed under Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-33). Meanwhile, Nallino determines tentatively the *terminus post quem* and the *terminus ante quem*. Among the towns of the third climate the insignificant village of Qiman<sup>9</sup> in Upper Egypt is named, which could have become known in consequence of a victory of the Government troops over the rebels in 201 (A.D. 816-17);<sup>10</sup> if so, Khuwārizmī wrote not earlier than 201 H. As the latest

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Khuwārizmī*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Enc. of Islam*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kitāb Baghdād*, ed. Keller, p. 349.

<sup>4</sup> Ṭabarī, iii, 551<sub>12</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1085<sub>13</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> *BGA*, viii, 3314.

<sup>7</sup> Reinaud, *Introd.*, p. xlv, note 2.

Nallino, *Al-Khuwārizmī*, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Nallino, *ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> In Mẓik's edition, No. 153.

<sup>10</sup> A more exact date in Kindī (GMS, xix, 166a): Jumādā I, 201 (25 Nov.-24 Dec. 816).

date, 210 (A.D. 826-7) is proposed, but no explicit reason for its adoption is advanced. In reality the work of Khuwārizmī in its present form cannot be placed in the reign of Ma'mūn, as it mentions the new capital Surra-man-ra'ā (Sāmarrā),<sup>1</sup> the construction of which began in 211 (A.D. 836)<sup>2</sup> under the caliph Mu'taṣim (A.D. 833-42). The *terminus post quem* must therefore be advanced by twenty years; as *terminus ante quem* could be taken the date of Khuwārizmī's death, if that date were known to us; the last time Khuwārizmī's name seems to be mentioned is on the occasion of the caliph Wāthiq's death in A.D. 847.<sup>3</sup>

In Khuwārizmī's treatise we meet along with geographical names of the Muslim period a great number of ancient names; later these names rapidly begin to disappear; Yāqūt in his dictionary says, with reference to geographical names occurring in pre-Muslim authors, that "owing to the length of time"<sup>4</sup> they have mostly become unintelligible. It is interesting to note the efforts of Khuwārizmī to connect the ancient names with those of his time. Germany is called land of the Slavs; the two Sarmatias are respectively identified with the land of the Danube Bulgars and that of the Alāns; both Scythias, respectively, with the land of the Turks in general and that of the Turks of the extreme east, the Toghuzghuz; Serika, with Šinistān, i.e. China.<sup>5</sup> The last example shows that for comparison with Greek terms Persian geographical names were utilized as well. For the P 9 exact title of Ptolemy's book Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις, "Geography" or in the Arabic version *ḡaḡrafiyā* was substituted; this word was generally translated as "image of the earth" (*ṣūrat al-arḍ*),<sup>6</sup> and here probably lies the explanation of the title of Khuwārizmī's book. The author of the *Fihrist*<sup>7</sup> knew that Ptolemy's work consisted of eight books or sections (in Greek βιβλίον, in Arabic *maqāla*). The first translation, an unsatisfactory one, was made for a younger contemporary of Khuwārizmī, Abū-Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-KINDĪ, tutor and familiar of Aḥmad, son of the caliph Mu'taṣim. The death of Kindī is given as 260 (A.D. 873-4).<sup>8</sup> It is very probable<sup>9</sup> that Kindī utilized this translation for his own geographical work, "Description of the inhabited part of the earth" (*Rasm al-ma'mūr min al-arḍ*), mentioned

<sup>1</sup> In Mżik's edition, No. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Tabarī, iii, 1180; BGA, viii, 357a.

<sup>3</sup> Tabarī, iii, 1364<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Li-taṭāwuli-l-zamān*, Yāqūt, i, 7a.

<sup>5</sup> Mżik's edition, p. 105 (Nos. 1593, 1596, 1600, 1601, 1602).

<sup>6</sup> e.g. Yāqūt, i, 7a, also H. Khalifa, ii, 601. In Mas'ūdī, BGA, viii, 331a, the

translation is *qaṭ' al-arḍ* (the crossing of the earth).

<sup>7</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 268; ZDMG, I, 213.

<sup>8</sup> Thus according to Nallino's Arabic work, *Ilm al-falak*, p. 115; Tj. de Boer, *Enc. of Islam*, ii, p. 1095, says only that he was still alive in 256 (A.D. 870).

<sup>9</sup> Thus Brockelmann, i, 225.

by Mas'ūdī.<sup>1</sup> A pupil of Kindī, Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ṭayyib SARAKHSĪ (d. in A.D. 899),<sup>2</sup> was also author of a geographical work; the title "Book of Routes and Kingdoms" (*Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik*),<sup>3</sup> frequently occurring in Arabic geographical literature, is also often applied to this work. At the same time an improved translation of Ptolemy was made by Abul-Ḥasan THĀBIT IBN QURRA (A.D. 836-901), a native of pagan Ḥarrān and a great admirer of his native pagan culture. By a similar disposition Nallino<sup>4</sup> explains the tendency of BATTĀNĪ, who also belonged to the pagan (Sābian) milieu of Ḥarrān, to revert in some cases from Khuwārizmī to Ptolemy, though it constituted a step backwards (*un vero regresso*).

From the geographical works of such mathematicians and astronomers as Khuwārizmī, Kindī, Thābit ibn-Qurra, and Battānī the "Books of Routes and Kingdoms" greatly differed in that much more space was allotted in them to political and economical than to mathematical and physical geography. These works contained not only a list of provinces into which the world, and principally the Muslim world, as known to Arabic science, was divided, but also information on towns, commercial routes, articles of export from particular provinces and towns, &c. According to the *Fihrist*<sup>5</sup> the author of the first work on "Routes and Kingdoms" was Abul-'Abbās Ja'far ibn-Aḥmad AL-MARWAZĪ; his work remained unfinished; after his death in Ahwāz his books were taken to Baghdād and there sold in 274 (A.D. 887-8). These data might lead to the belief that the composition of Marwazī's work belongs approximately to the same time, and this renders doubtful Marwazī's priority. Another work of the same title was also written by a ninth-century geographer, Abul-Qāsim 'Ubaydullāh ibn-'Abdillāh IBN-KHURDĀDHBĪH. This work is likewise mentioned in the *Fihrist*, with no historical details except that the author was a familiar of the caliph Mu'tamid (A.D. 870-92).<sup>6</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih dedicated his work to some member of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, whom he addressed in the second person without giving his name. The question of the dates of Ibn Khurdādhbih's life and work is treated in detail in de Goeje's Preface to the edition of the text. According to de Goeje<sup>7</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih originally wrote his work in 232 (A.D. 846-7), i.e. in the reign of the caliph Wāthiq (A.D. 842-7), and rewrote it in 272 (A.D. 885-6), under the caliph Mu'tamid. If the first date is exact, the "Book of Routes and

<sup>1</sup> BGA, viii, 2519.

<sup>2</sup> On the author Brockelmann, i, 210; *Fihrist*, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> H. Khalifa, i, 509 (No. 11870).

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Huwārizmī*, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Fihrist*, 150; GMS, vi, 2, p. 400.

<sup>6</sup> *Fihrist*, 149.

<sup>7</sup> BGA, vi, p. xx.

Kingdoms" by Ibn Khurdādhbih appeared in its first version long before the work of Marwazī, and the mistake of al-Nadīm | must be P 10 explained by the fact that only the second version was known to him, as is shown by his words relating to the caliph Mu'tamid. De Goeje's opinion was opposed by Marquart, who<sup>1</sup> sought to prove that there was only one edition of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work, terminated not earlier than 272. Marquart attributes a decisive importance to the fact that already in that version of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work which de Goeje considers as the earlier one are mentioned the Toghuzghuz, as the Arabs usually called the Uyghurs, this information having been borrowed by Ibn Khurdādhbih from the traveller Tamīm ibn Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwi'ī, who visited the Toghuzghuz in a region which the Uyghurs, according to Chinese sources, conquered only in A.D. 866. Yet in another passage<sup>2</sup> Marquart himself quotes (though with a wrong interpretation) the text of Jāḥiẓ, who died in 255 (A.D. 868-9), in which the Toghuzghuz are mentioned not as new-comers, but as old inhabitants of the same locality, in the neighbourhood of the country of the Kharlukhs (Qarluq). Evidently the word Toghuzghuz, as is only to be expected from its etymological origin (*toquz-oghuz* "nine Oghuz"), did not always designate the Uyghurs; the Arabs apparently transferred to the Uyghurs the name of the previous inhabitants of the locality conquered by them.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, in order to refute de Goeje's opinion on the two versions, other proofs ought to be adduced. It is doubtful, for instance, whether Ibn Khurdādhbih could speak about the caliph Wāthiq in his lifetime without using the traditional formulae accepted in such cases; but this argument would have significance only in case the full and not the abbreviated version of Ibn Khurdādhbih had reached us.

Unlike the work of Marwazī, forgotten at an early date, that of Ibn Khurdādhbih obtained a wide circulation and was utilized by many scholars, among whom was undoubtedly, though perhaps not at first hand, our author. The problem of what exactly was borrowed by later authors and from which of Ibn Khurdādhbih's works it was borrowed, is somewhat obscured by the fact that the "Book of Routes and Kingdoms" has reached us, as de Goeje has proved,<sup>4</sup> only in an abridged form. In quotations from Ibn Khurdādhbih by other authors a more complete text is sometimes found than in the two

<sup>1</sup> J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 390. Cf. Westberg in *Journ. Ministry of Public Instruction (JMNPN)*, New Series, xiii, 1908, p. 374 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> *Streifzüge*, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for instance, my *Report on a Scientific Mission to Central Asia, 1893-1894*, SPb. 1897 (in Russian), p. 33 and sq.

<sup>4</sup> *BGA*, vi, p. xv and sq.

known MSS. of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work; many statements of such authors as Ibn al-Faqīh,<sup>1</sup> Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rusta,<sup>2</sup> and others are founded on Ibn Khurdādhbih. Besides the "Book of Routes and Kingdoms" Ibn Khurdādhbih wrote several other treatises, of which the nearest to the "Book of Routes and Kingdoms" as regards subject-matter was, judging by the title, the "Book of the Genealogies of the Persians and of their Colonies", and it is possible that some of the references to Ibn Khurdādhbih belong to this latter work. Another question to be elucidated is whether some of the authors could have utilized directly the same sources as those from which Ibn Khurdādhbih's data were derived.

Ibn Khurdādhbih says in his Preface that he translated Ptolemy's Geography<sup>3</sup> from a foreign language (it is not said whether from Greek or Syriac); this translation is not mentioned in Arabic literature. According to Nallino,<sup>4</sup> the translation of Ptolemy's Geography was made by Ibn Khurdādhbih for his own use and was not put into circulation. It is remarkable that even this author, who calls himself a translator of Ptolemy, attributes to Ptolemy the statement, which does not occur in the Greek original, namely, that in his times there were 4,200 towns altogether.<sup>5</sup> In Ptolemy there is no such estimate of towns.

P 11 In spite of his study of Ptolemy, Ibn Khurdādhbih wrote his book on a totally different plan. The astronomical divisions are entirely put aside; the principal part is devoted to "itineraries", i.e. the description of routes connecting provinces and towns, with an exact indication of distances. Mas'ūdī,<sup>6</sup> with some contempt, calls geography, as understood by Ibn Khurdādhbih, a science for couriers and letter-carriers (to a Russian these words may recall the well-known words of Mme Prostakov in Fonvizin's comedy *Nedorosl*). Actually, hardly any one will deny that the "Books of Routes and Kingdoms" form precisely the most precious part of Arabic geographical literature. Thanks to them we know the topography of the Muslim Near East of the ninth to tenth centuries much better than that of the ancient world. It is a matter of regret that among documents of ancient literature such compositions as Isidore of Charax' *Σταθμοὶ Παρθικοί*, and to a certain extent the "periplus" of the Black Sea and the Indian Ocean, occupy such an isolated place, though Ptolemy would have probably classed them with "chorography", which he opposes to scientific geography.

<sup>1</sup> BGA, v.<sup>2</sup> BGA, vii.<sup>3</sup> BGA, vi, 54.<sup>4</sup> BGA, vi, 39.<sup>5</sup> *Prairies d'or*, ii, 70 and sq.; BGA, vi, p. xii.<sup>6</sup> *Al-Huwārizmī* p. 7.



We have seen that a translation of Ptolemy had also been in the hands of a contemporary of Ibn Khurdādhbih, Kindī, who wrote a geographical treatise under a different title, indicating a closer relation to mathematical geography; but a pupil of Kindī, Aḥmad Sarakhsī, wrote, like Ibn Khurdādhbih, a book of routes and kingdoms. Sarakhsī, as his appellation denotes, was a native of Khorāsān, but his life and work, as far as it is known, were connected only with Baghdād, where he perished in 899, seemingly a victim to court intrigue.<sup>1</sup> Another disciple of Kindī, who came to 'Irāq from the eastern provinces, Abū Zayd Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhī, returned to his birthplace, where he lived for many years (he died in 934) and where he wrote his geographical work, which had a great influence on later geographers, among whom was our author.

## III

De Goeje devoted a detailed article<sup>2</sup> to the question of the geographical work of ABŪ ZAYD BALKHĪ and of its relation to those works of Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn-Hauqal which have reached us. In it he quotes biographical data on Balkhī found in the biographical dictionary of Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bil-wafāyāt*.<sup>3</sup> It is clear now that Ṣafadī borrowed this information from Yāqūt,<sup>4</sup> who, in his turn, found it in the book on Abū Zayd, which was composed by Abū Sahl Aḥmad ibn-'Ubaydillāh ibn-Aḥmad, "client of the Commander of the Faithful". As to Abū Sahl, he utilized an earlier biography of Balkhī, the author of which was Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad al-Wazīrī who personally knew Abū Zayd Balkhī and had studied under him.<sup>5</sup>

The most important addition to de Goeje's data is Yāqūt's testimony according to which Balkhī died (in Dhul-qa'da 322/October 934) at the age of 87 or 88; he was therefore born about 235 (A.D. 849-50).<sup>6</sup> His geographical work, composed, as may be gathered from de Goeje,<sup>7</sup> in 308 or 309 (A.D. 920 or a little later), was therefore written by him | in his late old age. His journey to 'Irāq, mentioned P 12 by de Goeje (Yāqūt<sup>8</sup> says that he went there on foot with a caravan of pilgrims), belongs to his early youth, as is confirmed by the fact

<sup>1</sup> The version of the *Fihrist*, p. 261, according to which the wazīr Qāsim fraudulently added the name of Sarakhsī to the list, confirmed by the caliph, of persons condemned to death, is in contradiction with that of a familiar of the caliph Mu'taḍid, Ibn Ḥamdūn, recorded by Yāqūt, GMS, vi, 1, p. 159, according to which the caliph deliberately sent Sarakhsī to his death as an

heretic who had tried to lead astray the caliph himself.

<sup>2</sup> ZDMG, xxv, 42-58.

<sup>3</sup> Brockelmann, ii, 32.

<sup>4</sup> GMS, vi, 1, pp. 141-52.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 144, and 147

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>7</sup> ZDMG, xxv, 49.

<sup>8</sup> GMS, vi, 1, p. 145.

that he studied under Kindī, who died soon after 870 (see above). Balkhī spent eight years in 'Irāq and while there visited the neighbouring countries. He acquired broad and many-sided knowledge and when, by way of Herat, he returned to his native Balkh, his learning won him great fame.<sup>1</sup> The eight years spent in 'Irāq do not cover, in all probability, the whole of the time of his travels; seeing that nothing is said about his life in Balkh before the accession to the throne of the Sāmānid Naṣr II (A.D. 914-43), one may conclude that he only returned to his birthplace in his old age. To the first years of the reign of Naṣr II belong, in all probability, Balkhī's comments, quoted in the *Fihrist*,<sup>2</sup> about his relations with the general Ḥusayn ibn-'Alī al-Marwazī (or Marwarrūdhī) and also with the wazīr Abū-'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad Jayhānī. Balkhī received from Ḥusayn and his brother Muḥammad Ṣu'lūk<sup>3</sup> regular material assistance, but forfeited this subsidy in consequence of having composed a religious treatise, which later was highly appreciated in orthodox circles. Yāqūt<sup>4</sup> quotes an opinion according to which Balkhī's work was ranked with the most useful, from the Muslim point of view, that had ever been written. (Ḥusayn was an Ismā'īlī heretic; Balkhī, too, in his youth held Shī'ite views, which he later abandoned.) The wazīr Jayhānī used to send to Balkhī presents of female slaves, but later deprived him of this attention because of Balkhī's treatise on sacrifices (*al-Qarābīn wal-Dhabā'ih*), which he disliked. The wazīr Jayhānī was suspected of dualism, and some peculiarities of his personal life were connected, in the minds of the people, with his religious opinions: he would not touch a man otherwise than through cloth or paper, and could not suffer the presence of cats.<sup>5</sup>

So far as is known, Balkhī was employed in the service of the State only during the short administration in Khorāsān of the eminent dihqān of Marv, Aḥmad ibn-Sahl (A.D. 918-19), who was held to be a descendant of the Persian kings.<sup>6</sup> Aḥmad was at the head of the Sāmānid troops who quelled the revolt of Ḥusayn Marwarrūdhī, and took the latter prisoner. Subsequently, while in Nishāpūr, Aḥmad abandoned the cause of the Sāmānids and was obliged to retreat to Marv where he was defeated and taken prisoner, and later died in the prison of Bukhārā. Aḥmad ibn-Sahl came from a family

<sup>1</sup> GMS, vi, 1, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *Fihrist*, 138, quoted in Yāqūt, *l.c.*, 141 and sq. In the *Fihrist* Abū-'Alī stands, by mistake, instead of Abū-'Abdillāh.

<sup>3</sup> On him de Goeje, *ZDMG*, xxv, 54, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> GMS, vi, 1, p. 149 below.

<sup>5</sup> On this GMS, vi, 6, p. 293, according to Sallāmi's *History of the Rulers of Khorāsān*, now lost. On this cf. my *Turkestan*, ii (Engl. ed., p. 10).

<sup>6</sup> On him my *Turkestan* (Russian ed.), i, 6 and sq., ii, 251 and sq. (Engl. ed. p. 240).

of zealous Iranian patriots; his brothers fell victims to the national fanaticism (*ta'aṣṣub*) of the Arabs; there lived with Aḥmad in Marv a certain Sarv, to whom Firdausī refers when recounting the lays of Rustam.<sup>1</sup> At that time Abū Zayd tried to keep outside of the national disputes about the relative superiority of Arabs and Persians, as well as outside of the religious discussion of the relative merits of 'Alī and the other companions of the Prophet.<sup>2</sup> Whatever his own national origin, and whatever his native language, he, as a scholar, spoke the literary Arabic, and in the same language, though with no great success, did the amīr Aḥmad ibn-Sahl<sup>3</sup> try to communicate with him when he arrived in Balkh (there is no other information on Aḥmad ibn-Sahl's stay in Balkh). When Balkhī declined the office of wazīr offered him by Aḥmad ibn-Sahl, there was appointed to this position a friend and countryman of his, Abul-Qāsim 'Abdullāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Maḥmūd Ka'bī, who also wrote treatises of a religious nature, though even farther removed from orthodoxy. In Sam'ānī he is called head of the Mu'tazilites.<sup>4</sup> Balkhī took a post as secretary **P 13** under Ka'bī with an allowance of 500 dīnārs a month. Abul-Qāsim was entitled to a sum of 1,000 dīnārs, but he himself gave orders to the cashier to pay him 900, and to increase Balkhī's salary to 600, on the express understanding that Balkhī should receive his salary in good coin, while all questionable coins were to be put down to his own account.<sup>5</sup> At that happy time Balkhī, thanks to the generosity both of the amīr and the wazīr, acquired some property in his native village of Shāmistiyyān, on the Gharbangī canal (one of the twelve canals irrigating the environs of Balkh), and this property was inherited by his descendants.

After the fall of Aḥmad ibn-Sahl, Balkhī, apparently, lived as a private person on his own lands. Without indication of date<sup>6</sup> it is reported that a Sāmānid amīr (probably Naṣr) invited him to come to Bukhārā, and that Balkhī declined the invitation, giving as his reason that he was frightened by the violence of the current and the width of the Amū-daryā. Other persons of high rank, with whom Balkhī kept up a correspondence, were the amīrs of Chaghāniyān (later viceroys of Khorāsān), Abū-Bakr Muḥammad and his son Abū-'Alī Aḥmad,<sup>7</sup> but he seems not to have met them in person.

<sup>1</sup> ZVO, xxii, 280.

<sup>2</sup> GMS, vi, 1, p. 148. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> GMS, xx, p. 485. Ka'bī, who died in 319 (A.D. 931) also wrote historical works; cf. *Turkestan*, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> GMS, vi, 1, p. 147.

<sup>6</sup> Only in Maqdisī, *BGA*, iii, 4. De

Goeje, *ZDMG*, xxv, 55, refers to Maqdisī and Ṣafadī, but the reference of Yāqūt, GMS, vi, 1, p. 152, to Maqdisī shows that Ṣafadī borrowed this information through Yāqūt from the same Maqdisī.

<sup>7</sup> GMS, vi, 1, p. 143.

The number of Balkhī's compositions, according to his grandson,<sup>1</sup> was sixty. The geographical treatise of Balkhī, which in all probability (reports are somewhat contradictory)<sup>2</sup> bore the title *Ṣuwar-al-aqālīm* ("Images of Climes"), is not expressly mentioned among them. The contents of Iṣṭakhri's work, founded, as is known, on that of Balkhī, make one suppose that the title referred not to the division of the habitable world into seven climes from south to north, but to climes as geographical divisions, representing independent entities. Of such climes Iṣṭakhri enumerates twenty, and the same number appeared in Balkhī.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact in the list<sup>4</sup> of Balkhī's works there are mentioned some titles referring to geographical contents. Such are, for instance, the "Book of the Heavens and the Universe" and a "Commentary on Images" (*tafsīr al-ṣuwar*). It is possible that by the latter title is meant the geographical work of Balkhī which, according to Maqdisī, was only a very short commentary on Balkhī's maps.<sup>5</sup>

Already in those times the question of the authorship of the work, which now forms the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, was not quite clear. Maqdisī<sup>6</sup> saw only three copies of this work, one—in Rayy,<sup>7</sup> another—in Nishāpūr, and the third—in Bukhārā. In the first case, the authorship [of the maps? *yunsab ilā Abī Zayd bil-ashkāl*. V.M.] was attributed to Balkhī; in the second (in the MS. itself there was no author's name), to Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn-al-Marzubān al-Muḥawwalī al-Karkhī, who died in 309 (A.D. 921-2); in the third, to Abū-Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad al-Fārisī AL-IṢṬAKHRĪ, who was named in the MS. itself. Maqdisī considers the last to be the most probable, as he had seen several persons who had known Iṣṭakhri and witnessed the composition of his work; one of these witnesses was Abū-Naṣr al-Ḥarbī, muḥtasib of the town of Bukhārā.<sup>8</sup> The putative authorship of Karkhī is mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *ZDMG*, xxv, 57.

<sup>3</sup> According to Maqdisī, *BGA*, iii, 410.

<sup>4</sup> Given by Yāqūt (*GMS*, vi, 1, p. 142 and sq.) more fully than in the printed edition of the *Fihrist*, p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> [In an additional note Professor Barthold gives expression to the view that, in the printed editions, *Fihrist*, 138<sub>24</sub>, Yāqūt, *GMS*, vi, 1, p. 142<sub>17</sub>, a full stop may have wrongly cut into two the unique title *Kitāb tafsīr ṣuwar kitāb al-samā' wal-'ālam li Abī Ja'far al-Khāzin* "Book of Interpretation of the Maps of Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin's Book

of the Heavens and the Universe". He then proceeds: If this title refers to the geographical work of Balkhī, this could lead to the conclusion that to Balkhī belonged only the explanation of the maps, but not the maps themselves. The astronomer Abū-Ja'far al-Khāzin is often mentioned in Arabic literature, e.g. in Bīrūnī, see Sachau's *Index* to his edition of the *Chronology*.]

<sup>6</sup> *BGA*, iii, 5a.

<sup>7</sup> On the library of the minister Ismā'il ibn-'Abbād in that town see *ibid.*, p. 391.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136<sub>12</sub>.

again<sup>1</sup> in the chapter on Sind; but in the references and quotations Maqdisī names only Balkhī and Iṣṭakhri. According to de Goeje<sup>2</sup> all the quotations in which Balkhī is named correspond entirely to Iṣṭakhri's text. Nevertheless de Goeje thinks it possible that Maqdisī might have had in his hands, besides the text of Iṣṭakhri, that of Balkhī,<sup>3</sup> but that Yāqūt, on the other hand, was in possession of a single book, and that quoting from this he referred principally to Iṣṭakhri, but sometimes to Balkhī as well, "as though following a definite system".<sup>4</sup> This last guess is hardly supported by the facts: Yāqūt refers to Balkhī without mentioning Iṣṭakhri only once, with regard to the distance between Jedda and 'Aden;<sup>5</sup> the corresponding words are of course to be found also in Iṣṭakhri.<sup>6</sup> In all the other cases Iṣṭakhri alone is quoted, *e.g.* with regard to the distance between Ḥaḍramūt and 'Aden.<sup>7</sup> Consistency, which de Goeje vainly seeks in Yāqūt, can be discovered only in Maqdisī: with regard to three out of the twenty climes mentioned, *viz.* the last three: Khorāsān, Sīstān, and Mā-warā' al-nahr, Balkhī is preferentially quoted; while in three others, Fārs, Kirmān, and Sind, preference is given to Iṣṭakhri.

In de Goeje's<sup>8</sup> opinion the work of Iṣṭakhri represents a second and greatly enlarged edition of Balkhī's work, compiled between 318 and 321 (A.D. 930-3), *i.e.* in Balkhī's lifetime. In Russian works<sup>9</sup> the date 340 (A.D. 951) is often attributed to Iṣṭakhri's work, but according to de Goeje<sup>10</sup> this was the date of the MS. which was the basis of most of the copies circulating in the East; at that date the work, composed twenty years earlier, was published. De Goeje places Iṣṭakhri's meeting with Ibn Ḥauqal at the same date.<sup>11</sup> The meeting is confirmed by IBN ḤAUQAL himself, who, with Iṣṭakhri's consent, undertook the revision of his work.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, Ibn Ḥauqal does not say a word as to when and where this meeting took place, and only mentions<sup>13</sup> that by that time he had already compiled a map of Ādharbayjān<sup>14</sup> and Mesopotamia.

Ibn Ḥauqal intended to give at the end of his work a full synopsis

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 475<sub>10</sub>; cf. the interpretation of the text, *ibid.*, p. 5a, in fine, as against ZDMG, xxv, 48. Grammatically, however, the previous interpretation seems more natural.

<sup>2</sup> ZDMG, xxv, 47. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46. <sup>5</sup> Yāqūt, ii, 41<sub>17</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> BGA, i, 27 above.

<sup>7</sup> Yāqūt, ii, 285<sub>19</sub>; Iṣṭakhri, 273.

<sup>8</sup> ZDMG, xxv, 50.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *e.g.* Toumansky's article, ZVO, x, 127.

<sup>10</sup> ZDMG, xxv, 51 and sq.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48 and 51 (below): in the one place: "vermutlich nicht später als 340"; in the other: "schwerlich früher", though the same date is meant.

<sup>12</sup> Whether Iṣṭakhri in his time had received a similar consent from Balkhī, and whether he had met him at all, is not known.

<sup>13</sup> BGA, ii, 236.

<sup>14</sup> In the final edition of Ibn Ḥauqal's work, Ādharbayjān, as in Iṣṭakhri, is represented on the same map as Armenia and Arrān. [Cf. our § 35.]

of his travels,<sup>1</sup> but never carried out his intention; the only definite date given is that of his departure as a young man from Baghdād (Thursday, Ramaḍān 7, 331, *i.e.* in May, A.D. 943);<sup>2</sup> otherwise it is merely said that he visited certain towns in certain years. The year of the termination of his work is held to be 367 (A.D. 977-8).<sup>3</sup> During P 15 such a lapse of time Ibn Ḥauqal could evidently visit | the same towns several times; thus in 358 (A.D. 968-9) he was in Mosul for the last time.<sup>4</sup> He wrote his work as a subject of the Fāṭimid caliph, and apparently spent in the West the years preceding the completion of his book, since in 361 (A.D. 971-2) he was in Sicily.<sup>5</sup> This may account for the fact that his work did not acquire, in the Eastern parts of the Muslim world, the same fame as that of his predecessor. Only the work of Iṣṭakhrī was translated into Persian; the manuscript which Sir W. Ouseley took for a copy of the translation of Ibn Ḥauqal and edited as such was found to be an abridged version of Iṣṭakhrī's book.<sup>6</sup> The acquisition by the library of Shāhrukh in the fifteenth century of a copy of the Arabic original of Iṣṭakhrī gave an impulse to the composition in Persian of the geographical work of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BGA, ii, 236<sub>5-6</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 518. It is apparently not quite exact, as the day of the week does not correspond to the date. If instead of *khalauma* one reads *baqīna*, the date would be 1 June, 943, but such a supposition would be untenable. Ibn Ḥauqal adds that on the same day the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-daula left Baghdād, fleeing from the Turks. Nāṣir al-daula became chief amīr of Baghdād (*amīr al-umarā*) on Sha'bān 1, 330 (A.D. 21. iv. 942); the same date in Ibn-Miskawaih, *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ii, 28, and in Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 286. His rule came to an end as a result of the battle mentioned by Ibn Ḥauqal; it had lasted, according to Ibn-Miskawaih (*Eclipse*, ii, 41), 13 months and 3 days; according to Ibn al-Athīr, 13 months and 5 days, which brings us in any case to the first days of Ramaḍān 331; it is possible that Thursday, Ramaḍān 3, is meant (A.D. 11.v.943). In Zambaur (*Manuel*, p. 9) the day of Ramaḍān 7, 331, is given as the date of the passing of the power from Nāṣir al-Daula to the Turk Tuzūn; but, according to Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 298), Tuzūn received from the caliph the title of *amīr al-*

*umarā* only on Ramaḍān 25.

<sup>3</sup> In de Goeje's opinion, BGA, iv, p. v, this date results from the mention, BGA, ii, 201<sub>5</sub>, of the *khutba*, read "last year", by the Ziyādid ruler of Yemen, (Lane-Poole, *The Muhammadan Dynasties*, Russian transl., p. 72; Zambaur, p. 115), in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph. But de Goeje fails to say at this place (and apparently at any other) in what source he found the change of the *khutba* in Yemen in 366. In Ibn al-Athīr there is no information on the subject. Sir J. W. Redhouse in his Introduction to Khazraji's *History of Yemen* (GMS, iii, 1, p. 11) says that when in 377 (A.D. 987) "the Hiwāliyy ruler of Ṣan'a" took Zabīd, he suppressed the *khutba* in the name of the Fāṭimids. Reinaud (*Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Introduction, p. lxxiii), without proofs, places the termination of Ibn Ḥauqal's work in 366 (A.D. 976) [evidently after Uyenbroek, *Specimen*, p. 157].

<sup>4</sup> BGA, ii, 146<sub>3</sub>; see above.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 221<sub>14-18</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> Rieu, *Pers. MSS.*, p. 416.

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Muzaffariya* (a volume dedicated to Baron Victor Rosen by his pupils), pp. 3, 13, and 18

It is beyond doubt that our author had before him a copy of the work of Balkhī or of Iṣṭakhri. This is particularly evident in the chapters devoted to the western provinces; for instance, the words of our author (f. 34b) on Malatya correspond perfectly with Iṣṭakhri's text, p. 62:

وملطة مدينة كبيرة من اكبر الثغور التي دون جبل اللكام وتحف بها جبال كثيرة الجوز  
وسائر الثمار مباح لا مالك له

The text of Iṣṭakhri is sometimes not very exactly rendered; our author calls Mārīda "the greatest town of Andalus" (36b), while Iṣṭakhri, p. 43, speaks of it as "(one) of the greatest towns of Andalus". A quotation from Iṣṭakhri, p. 68 and sq., not exactly understood, accounts for what our author says of Athens. South and west of Constantinople Iṣṭakhri distinguishes the Athenian and the Roman shores, but the words "Athens" (*Athīnās*) and "Rome" (*Rūmiya*) remain to him names of towns; of Athens, as a town, it is said that there was "the residence of the wisdom of the Greeks" (*yūnāni-yūn*). According to our author (f. 37b), "the Athenian coast" included the entire sea-coast from the strait of Constantinople (Bosphorus) to Andalus (Spain); he knows "Athīnās" only as the name of a locality where in ancient times there stood a town Yūnāniyān, and, as he says, "all the wise men and philosophers rose from this region (*nāhiyat*) of Athīnās".

Historical facts are likewise now and then borrowed from Iṣṭakhri (or Balkhī). In the chapter on mountains (f. 7b), as in Iṣṭakhri's account of the Arabian peninsula, a mountain is mentioned, the summit of which occupied an area of 20 farsakhs in circumference, where there existed cultivated fields and running water, and, also as in Iṣṭakhri, it is said that the locality was conquered by the Qarmaṭian Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl. According to our author this event took place "in ancient times", which is not very accurate, in that it refers to an event of *circa* 300 H.;<sup>1</sup> but perhaps the words *andar qadīm*, used also two lines above with regard to the ancient capital of the Yemen kings, were repeated by a clerical error. Some passages in our author more nearly resemble Ibn Ḥauqal than Iṣṭakhri. In the chapter on 'Irāq (f. 31b) Qaṣr ibn-Hubayra is called the largest town between Baghdād and Kūfa; these words | do not figure in *BGA*, i, 85, but P 16 they exist in *BGA*, ii, 166. Of course one cannot conclude from this

<sup>1</sup> The Qarmaṭian Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl, apparently, the brother of the Qarmaṭian 'Adī ibn-al-Faḍl, who sacked Zabīd according to Lane-Poole, *The*

*Muhammadian Dynasties*, 1894, p. 90, shortly after 292/904, and according to Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 115, in 303 H.

that our author utilized Ibn Hauqal's original; in this case, as in many others, Nöldeke<sup>1</sup> is right in saying that Ibn Hauqal's relation to Iṣṭakhri cannot be determined by a simple comparison of the two texts of *BGA*, i and *BGA*, ii. The missing words of Iṣṭakhri's text, as published by de Goeje, are to be found in the abridged version (Gotha MS.) and in the Persian translation edited by Ouseley; consequently they were undoubtedly in Iṣṭakhri.

The terms of our author's description (26a) of three Muslim colonies on the lower reaches of the Sīr-daryā<sup>2</sup> corresponds almost literally to Ibn Hauqal's text, p. 393. In *BGA*, i, these colonies are not mentioned; but it is sufficient to compare Iṣṭakhri's text in de Goeje's edition, p. 333, with Yāqūt's<sup>3</sup> quotation from Iṣṭakhri, to be convinced that the course of the Sīr-daryā was described in Iṣṭakhri with much more detail than in the de Goeje edition.<sup>4</sup>

Did our author have before him Balkhī's work in its primitive form, or in Iṣṭakhri's version? Some passages apparently show the influence of those chapters of *BGA*, i, which are principally attributed to Iṣṭakhri, e.g. the chapters on Sind and especially the description of Maṣūra (f. 26a), cf. Iṣṭakhri's text, p. 173. But this passage may also have stood in Balkhī. The dependence on Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri is still more noticeable in the chapters of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* dealing with Khorāsān and Transoxiana which, in the original, belong undoubtedly to Balkhī: *vide* the passages on the Herat mosque and the number of people who spend their time there (f. 19b, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 265); the description of Būshang (*ibid.*, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 270); the account of the river Murghāb, which crosses the village Diza (f. 20a, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 270); the account of the three Buttām (or Butmān) mountain chains (f. 23b, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 333); the account of the outposts at Osh (f. 24a, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 333); and the account of Khatlām or Khaylām as being the birthplace of the amīr Naṣr (*ibid.*, cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 334). In two instances, namely in the accounts of the market in Marsmanda (f. 23b, cf. Ibn Hauqal, p. 384<sub>5</sub>) and of sixty villages near Sokh (f. 24a, Ibn Hauqal, p. 396<sub>1</sub>), our author's words can be compared only with the text of *BGA*, ii, because in *BGA*, i, the corresponding passages of the Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri text have

<sup>1</sup> *ZDMG*, lvi, 433.

<sup>2</sup> Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii, 179, Engl. transl., p. 178; Barthold, *History of Irrigation in Turkestan*, SPb. 1914 (in Russian), p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt, ii, 404 and sq. The text in Yāqūt, as de Goeje points out in a footnote, *BGA*, ii, 393c, is clearly corrupt, especially 405, where instead of *fa*

*yamtaddu 'alā al-atrāk al-Ghuzziya* one must read *fa yamtaddu ilā al-qaryat al-haditha*.

<sup>4</sup> De Goeje himself says that in *BGA*, i, he gives only the abridged text of the description of Transoxiana "während der eigentliche Text des Iṣṭakhri bei Ibn Hauqal und in den Anmerkungen dazu zu finden ist".



not come down to us. Apparently, among the passages of the Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri text, that have distinctly influenced our author, there is none that from a chronological point of view could belong to Iṣṭakhri alone. Ḥallāj, who was executed in 309 (A.D. 922), is mentioned by both our author (f. 28a) and Iṣṭakhri (p. 148 and sq.), but he would hardly have been named by Balkhī. Yet it is possible that our author had another source in this case, as Ḥallāj is mentioned by Iṣṭakhri elsewhere than in the description of Ḥallāj's native town al-Bayḍā.

Moreover, the question whether or not Balkhī's version has been preserved in Arabic MSS. along with that of Iṣṭakhri would now require a fresh consideration. De Goeje has proved very convincingly<sup>1</sup> that the MSS. that were at his disposal, inclusive of the Berlin MS. (which Brockelmann<sup>2</sup> in spite of de Goeje still ascribes to Balkhī), | P 17 all contained Iṣṭakhri's version. But since then certain new MSS. attributed to Balkhī have been discovered; *viz.* the MS. acquired in Egypt by Aḥmad Zakī bey<sup>3</sup> and the "Balḥikodex mit schönen Karten", acquired in Baghdād for the Hamburg library;<sup>4</sup> the necessary evidence as to the extent to which their texts differ from that of BGA<sup>5</sup> is still to be given.

## IV

A geographical work, under the same current title of "Book of Routes and Kingdoms", was written by the Sāmānid wazīr Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad JAYHĀNĪ, who is mentioned in Balkhī's biography. References to this work are often met with, but the work itself seems to have completely disappeared. Among the geographers of the tenth century who utilized it are Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>6</sup> and Maqdisī. It can be seen from the latter's<sup>7</sup> comments that Ibn Khurdādhbih's work formed the basis of that of Jayhānī. Occasionally the same MS., if it did not contain an indication of the author's name, was attributed by some to Ibn Khurdādhbih, and by others to Jayhānī. But it can be gathered from Maqdisī that Jayhānī,

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG, xxv, 42-58. The final conclusion, p. 57, is that both MSS., taken as the basis of the edition, *viz.* the Bologna one (on which see V. Rosen, *Remarques*, &c., Rome, 1885, p. 94) and the Berlin one (in printed editions respectively A and B), transmit if not entirely, at least in its greater part, the work of Iṣṭakhri.

<sup>2</sup> GAL, i, 229.

<sup>3</sup> Ign. Kratchkovsky, *Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dinawarī*, Leiden, 1912, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> C. Seybold in ZDMG, lxxvii, 541.

<sup>5</sup> In the summer of 1929 when the

present work had already gone to press I had the opportunity of examining the Hamburg MS. Like the Berlin MS., it proved to be the work of Iṣṭakhri, not of Balkhī. It also contains the famous story of the author's stay in Samargand (BGA, i, 318), which could not belong to Balkhī, who, according to the direct evidence of Maqdisī (BGA, iii, 414), never crossed the Oxus.

<sup>6</sup> BGA, ii, 236a, with an unfavourable mention both of Jayhānī's work and of that of Ibn Khurdādhbih.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. my *Turkestan*, p. 12 and sq.

besides written sources, utilized oral information; he assembled foreigners and bade them speak of their native lands and of the roads leading thereto. Thus, according to Maqdisī,<sup>1</sup> it was a 140 days' journey from Tūnkat<sup>2</sup> to the principal town of China, "as Jayhānī was told by the ambassadors, and he mentioned this in his book and clearly expressed it in his statement".

Unfortunately this itinerary has not come down to us either through Maqdisī or any other author; I have not met with quotations from it. But one might suppose *a priori* that the great number of geographical names belonging to Central Asia and found in our author shows the latter's dependence on the itinerary given by Jayhānī. It is somewhat difficult to determine the extent of such a dependence, seeing that our author does not give any itineraries; but many of the geographical names of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* are also quoted by an author of the eleventh century, GARDĪZĪ,<sup>3</sup> who gives the distances between the towns and the itineraries, *i.e.* precisely the information missing in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*. Gardīzī states that he borrowed these data from Ibn Khurdādhbih, Jayhānī, and a third anonymous work under the title *Tawādu' al-dunyā*.<sup>4</sup> At one place<sup>5</sup> Gardīzī's expressions literally coincide with the quotation from Jayhānī found in Bīrūnī,<sup>6</sup> though referring not to the route to China, but to that from Khotan to Tibet. According to Bīrūnī, Jayhānī said that "the Chinese in ancient times built a bridge from the summit of one mountain to the summit of another, on the way from Khotan into the province of the Tibetan<sup>7</sup> Khāqān; whoever crosses this bridge enters the locality where the air impedes respiration and renders the tongue heavy; many of those who pass there die from this, but many recover as well. The Tibetans call it Mountain of Hell." The same passage (of course in Persian translation) is found almost verbatim in Gardīzī, where the building of the bridge is attributed to the people of Khotan, which perhaps can be explained by a mistake of the copyist (جن instead of چين). Evidently mountain sickness is

<sup>1</sup> BGA, iii, 346 (345b).

<sup>2</sup> South of Tashkent, on the river Ahangarān (in Russian: Angren). But it is possible that instead of Tūnkat one should read Navikat, the town of Navākat or Navikat being the starting-point of several routes to China, V. Barthold, *Report*, p. 114, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> V. Barthold, *Report*, &c., pp. 78-126.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103 (text) and p. 126 (transl.). [Barthold translates *Tawādu'*

by "Insignificance", "Frailty", which is rather a strange name for a geographical treatise. It is more probable that the book bore the name \**Rab' al-dunyā*, "Habitable part of the World", as indicated by a variant, see M. Nāzim's ed. of *Zayn al-akhbār*, Berlin, 1928, p. 4. V.M.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88 (text) and p. 112 (transl.).

<sup>6</sup> *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, 271.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of *byt*, read *Tbbt*.

meant here, which even now hampers traffic along the high passes leading from Eastern Turkestan into India.<sup>1</sup>

It is hard to say how far such a specific dependence of Gardīzī on Jayhānī confirms a similar dependence of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* on Jayhānī, for in the passage on Tibet<sup>2</sup> there is less resemblance between the text of the Toumansky MS. and Gardīzī than in such other passages as those on the Toghuzghuz and China. Gardīzī mentions none of the Tibetan towns, while the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* names a whole series of them and even attributes to Tibet several towns placed by Gardīzī on the way from Kāshghar to Khotan,<sup>3</sup> though the town of Khotan itself (as in Gardīzī) is described in the chapter on China (f. 14a); moreover, Khotan is placed on the frontier between China and Tibet, and the title "Chief of Turks and Tibetans"<sup>4</sup> is attributed to the Khotan ruler.

A passage at the beginning of the chapter on Tibet in the Toumansky MS. (on the involuntary gaiety felt by every one entering Tibet) is clearly borrowed from Ibn Khurdādhbih.<sup>5</sup> The data on the Tibetan towns are apparently derived from various sources; two names, Lhāsā and Krsāng,<sup>6</sup> designating, it seems, the same town, are given as names of two different towns. As in all compilations, such examples are fairly frequent in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, which not only refers to the Burtās and the Barādhās as two distinct nations,<sup>7</sup> but also, in the chapter on Khūzistān (f. 28b), separately mentions Rāmhur (?), i.e. Rāmhurmuz (as in Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī,<sup>8</sup> place of the assassination of Mānī), and Rām-Urmuzd, a large and rich commercial town on the frontier between Fārs and Khūzistān, though it is evident that the latter is only a more correct and fuller Persian form of the first name. In the chapter on Khūzistān the name of another large town is given in the Persian pronunciation, Vandūshāvur, instead of in the Arabic, Junday-Sābūr; the spelling of the Toumansky MS. approximates very closely to the pronunciation Vandēw-Shāpūr proposed by Nöldeke.<sup>9</sup> In the data borrowed from Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī the author sometimes substitutes a local Persian form for the literary

<sup>1</sup> Kornilov, *Kashgariya* (in Russian), Tashkent, 1903, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Doklady Akademii Nauk*, Series B, 1924, p. 73 and sq.

<sup>3</sup> V. Barthold, *Report*, p. 94 (text) and p. 119 (transl.); Tadrūf and Ras-tūya, mentioned there, figure in the Toumansky MS. among the towns which formerly belonged to China, and "now" belong to Tibet.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the title 'Aẓīm al-Khotan in a

twelfth-century author, *Turkestan*, i, 202.

<sup>5</sup> *BGA*, vi, 1709.

<sup>6</sup> Muḥammad Ḥaydar (sixteenth century) gives Arsāng, cf. *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, transl. by E. Denison Ross, London, 1895, pp. 136 and 411.

<sup>7</sup> [But see p. 44, note.]

<sup>8</sup> *BGA*, i, 93. [See my notes. V.M.]

<sup>9</sup> Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 42.

Arabic one; thus in the passage on Herat (f. 19b), evidently borrowed from Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri (p. 265), he writes *Harī* instead of *Harāt*.

The similarities of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* and Gardizī, and the dependence of both on a common source, are perhaps most obvious in the chapters on China and the Toghuzghuz. Many names of towns, and among them the Persian names Baghshūr and Sangalākh,<sup>1</sup> occur in both authors as names of localities between Turfan and Khami and between Sha-chou and Su-chou. Gardizī gives itineraries which are not to be found in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, but the sequence of names in both clearly shows that the itineraries were also known to the latter, who in accordance with the general plan of his composition  
**P 19** enumerates the towns | from east to west, while Gardizī does it in reversed order.<sup>2</sup> There is no complete correspondence between the text of the anonym and that of Gardizī; the former (f. 14a) mentions a "stone tower" (*burj-i sangīn*), which seems to be the only trace of influence of Ptolemy's geography in this locality (i, 12, 9, *λίθινος πύργος*, cf. Qudāma,<sup>3</sup> *burj al-ḥijāra*); in Gardizī no such name occurs. On the other hand, the *Hudūd al-'ālam* contains no mention of Qamul or Khami, which is found in Gardizī.<sup>4</sup> From this we may conclude that at this place Gardizī reflects a later stage of geographical knowledge; and it is possible that here our author depends on Ibn Khurdādhbih, and Gardizī on Jayhānī. In any case our anonym's information cannot be up to his own epoch, or even to that of Jayhānī. Particularly characteristic is the description of the town of Kan-chou (*Khāmchū*, f. 13b and sq.; same in Gardizī): "Half of it is owned by the Chinese, half by the Tibetans; a perpetual war goes on between them; they are idol-worshippers; their government<sup>5</sup> is on behalf of the Tibetan khāqān." Such could have been the situation in the times of Ibn Khurdādhbih, or in those of him whose work was his source, the traveller Tamīm ibn-Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwī;<sup>6</sup> but during the whole of the tenth century Kan-chou was an Uyghur principality.<sup>7</sup>

In no greater degree does our anonym reflect the situation in India in the tenth century. The original source of Ibn Khurdādhbih and

<sup>1</sup> *Hudūd al-'ālam*, f. 13b and f. 14a; Gardizī in Barthold, *Report*, p. 92 (text) and p. 117 (transl.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. the itinerary in Gardizī, text p. 91, transl. p. 116, and the order in which the towns are enumerated in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, f. 17a.

<sup>3</sup> BGA, vi, 264<sub>15</sub>, cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 316. Text in Birūnī, *India*, ed. Sachau, p. 149<sub>13</sub>; cf. *Ērānshahr*, p. 155. In Muḥammad Ḥuwārizmī

(ed. Mžik, No. 865): *burj hijāra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Report*, p. 92 (text) and p. 117 (transl.). [But see note to § 12, 9.]

<sup>5</sup> [Barthold translates: *sulṭān*, but in the tenth century this word meant more probably "government". V.M.]

<sup>6</sup> Yāqūt, i, 840, above; Barthold, *Report*, p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, i, 241 and sq.

other early Arabian geographers was in this case provided by the work of the traveller Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn-Iṣḥāq, who lived two years in Khmer (Qimār), *i.e.* Cambodia;<sup>1</sup> he it was who originated the passage (f. 14b) on the strict forbiddance of adultery in that country,<sup>2</sup> as well as the story of the woman who ruled Orissa. The name Orissa occurs in two forms: Ūrsfīn<sup>3</sup> and Ūrshfīn (in the story of the queen).<sup>4</sup> The work of Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri was utilized for instance in the passage dealing with the Arab rulers of Multān and with the town Bābī (in Iṣṭakhri, *Bāniya*). According to Iṣṭakhri<sup>5</sup> the khuṭba in Multān was read in the name of the caliph; according to Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>6</sup> in the name of the 'Abbāsids whom Ibn Ḥauqal, writing in the kingdom of the Fāṭimids, did not recognize as caliphs; according to Maqdisī, in the name of a Fāṭimid.<sup>7</sup> Our anonym (f. 15a) says that the khuṭba was read in the name of Mu'izzī (*bar Mu'izzī*); but it is not clear whether we have to do here with a clerical error, the possibilities being Mu'izz (the Fāṭimid caliph who ruled from 953 till 975), and "Mu'izzī" which might designate the son and successor of Mu'izz, the caliph 'Azīz. The acceptance of either of these hypotheses [but see my translation and note, V.M.] would bring us to the conclusion that the anonym, perhaps from oral sources, knew of the Shi'ite *coup d'état* in Multān which evidently took place after Ibn Ḥauqal and before Maqdisī. It is known that Multān remained in the hands of the heretics till its conquest by Maḥmūd the Ghaznavid in 1006;<sup>8</sup> the epitomizer of Ibn Ḥauqal, who wrote in the twelfth century, gratuitously supposed, in order to explain Maḥmūd's expedition, that Multān, after Ibn Ḥauqal, had again passed for a certain time into the hands of the Hindus.

In the chapters on Central Asia and China there are no indications of events that could have taken place a short time before the work was composed. It is possible that here, too, as in many other instances, the use of different sources made the author mention the same localities under different names. The town Panchul (*Bnjūl*), Wen-su of the Chinese sources, was situated probably on the site of the present-day | Uch-Turfan,<sup>9</sup> as confirmed by the Chinese source in P 20 which it was stated that this town bore the name of Yü-chou. Gardīzī

<sup>1</sup> BGA, vii, 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, and vi, 66 and sq.

<sup>3</sup> Together with *Smadr*, as in Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 642, who gives Ūrshīn. [But see my note, p. 243. V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> As in Ibn Rusta, p. 13413.

<sup>5</sup> BGA, i, 175.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii, 2301.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* iii, 4853.

<sup>8</sup> On this 'Utbī-Manīnī, ii, 72; Elliot, *History of India*, ii, 441.

<sup>9</sup> E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, SPb. 1903, p. 9, placed Wen-su on the site of Aqsu, but later (in M. A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, p. 544) adopted the opinion that Wen-su was Uch-Turfan. [See my notes, pp. 294-7, V.M.]

uses the name *Bnchūl*,<sup>1</sup> but not *Ūj*; Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (eleventh century)<sup>2</sup> gives *Ūj* but not *Bnchūl*, whereas our author (18a) names *Bnchūl* and *Ūj* separately, with the additional remark, absent in other sources, that *Bnchūl* "now" belongs to the Khirkhiz. This detail can hardly pertain to the times of the author, since it can only reflect the situation at the time of the Qirghiz empire, at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries,<sup>3</sup> but could have been incorporated in the works both of Ibn Khurdādhbih and Jayhānī.

In the chapter on lakes are mentioned side by side (f. 3b) the lake of Tuz-kul, from which seven tribes of the Qarluq procured salt, 10 farsakhs long and 8 farsakhs wide, in the country of the Khallukh (Qarluq), and the lake of Issik-kul, lying between the possessions of the Chigil and the Toghuzghuz, which was 30 farsakhs long and 20 farsakhs wide, and on the shore of which was situated the town of Barskhān. In spite of the different estimate of the size of the lakes,<sup>4</sup> it is very probable that the first name Tuz-kul also designates Issik-kul.<sup>5</sup> Nallino,<sup>6</sup> on the strength of a quotation in Kharaqī, an author of the twelfth century, has shown that Issik-kul was mentioned by Jayhānī; the same quotation from Jayhānī, unnoticed by Nallino, exists in Yāqūt, II, 22<sub>4</sub>, where some copyist substituted for the name of Issik-kul that of the port Abaskūn on the Caspian.

In the few cases where the author mentions events of his own times these events pertain to the history of the Muslim world. In the year 372, in which the author completed his work, there died the Būyid shāhānshāh Fanākhusrāu (in our author Panākhusrāu) who bore the title 'Aḍud al-daula (d. 8 Shawwāl 372 = 26 March 983);<sup>7</sup> his massacre of the Balūches, an event mentioned by our author (f. 26b) and by Maqdisī after him,<sup>8</sup> probably belongs to the end of his reign.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. Barthold, *Report*, p. 91 (text) and p. 116 (transl.).

<sup>2</sup> Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, Constantinople ed., i, 38; he several times (i, 335, 381; ii, 121) cites words from the dialect of its inhabitants.

<sup>3</sup> V. Barthold, *A Sketch of the History of the Semirechye*, p. 19; Barthold, *The Kirghiz*, Frunze [= Pishpek], 1927, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Gardīzī attributes to Issik-kul a still greater size, viz. of 7 days' journey, see Barthold, *Report*, p. 89 (text), p. 114 (transl.).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Report on Capt. Iv. Unkovsky's Embassy* (1722-4), ed. Veselovsky, pp. 187 and 193, and the map appended to it on which Issik-kul is called *Tuskel* (<Tuz-köl.) [But see my note. V.M.]

<sup>6</sup> Battānī, i, 172 and 175. [But Battānī, p. 169, quotes al-Jayhānī, *wa ghayru-hu min al-'ulamā*. V.M.]

<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 13; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 202.

<sup>8</sup> BGA, iii, 489<sub>8</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Hāuqal (BGA, ii, 221<sub>12</sub>) speaks only of the victory which 'Aḍud al-daula, with the help of the Balūches, won over the Kūfich; one must suppose that the rupture with the Balūches occurred later. [It is doubtful that 'Aḍud al-daula assumed the title of shāhānshāh. As to the crushing defeat of the Balūches by 'Aḍud al-daula, it took place in 361/January 972, see Ibn Misakawaih, *The Eclipse*, ii, 299-301. V.M.]

In the description of the town of Qum (f. 29a) it is said that the secretary (*dabir*) Bul-Faḍl, the son of 'Amīd, was a native of that place. The person here meant is the famous Būyid minister Abul-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd,<sup>1</sup> who died in Hamadān on the night of Thursday,<sup>2</sup> 6 Šafar 360 (8 December 970). Quite singular is the mention by our author (33a), in the chapter on Ādharbayjān, Armenia, and Arrān, of the large village of Mubārakī which was situated at the gates of Barda'a where "the camp of the Russians (*Rūs*) stood, at the time when they seized Barda'a", and where they were afterwards besieged, an event which, as is known, happened in 332 (A.D. 943-4),<sup>3</sup> forty years before the composition of the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*.

The mention of the Russian raid is perhaps corroborative of a fact which I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> *viz.* that the Caspian provinces are described by our anonym with particular detail. Here he gives us a whole series of details which one would vainly look for elsewhere. P 21 The same remark applies in part to his description of the south-eastern shore of the Caspian; especially worthy of attention is the fact, apparently not mentioned in other sources, that two languages were spoken in Astarābād (f. 29b). However, it is evident that our author knows the eastern Caspian shore less than the western one, for in the description of the former several notable inaccuracies occur. In two places (f. 11a and f. 29b) the river Hiranḍ is mentioned as rising in the mountains of Tūs, traversing the confines of Ustuvā and Jarmukān,<sup>5</sup> flowing between the two parts of the town of Gurgān,<sup>6</sup> then directing itself towards the town of Abaskūn, and finally emptying itself into the Khazar (Caspian) Sea. One sees that the upper course of the Atrak has been confounded with the lower course of the Gurgān, to form one river. (It is remarkable that the river Atrak, in spite of the fact that its waters irrigated the town of Dihistān and its environs,<sup>7</sup> is not mentioned by the tenth-century geographers.) If, therefore, the anonym's data upon the Caspian provinces were borrowed from one source, it is probable that this source was composed not in the eastern, but in the western part of the Caspian region.

With less geographical detail are described the provinces of modern

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his biography by Amedroz (from Ibn-Miskawaih) in *Der Islam*, iii, 323 and sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346; in the translation, p. 339, by mistake Wednesday. The correct translation (night of Thursday) in *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Khaliphate*, v, 293.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Yakubovsky in *Vizantiiskiy Vremennik*, xxiv, 63-92; the *Ḥudūd al-*

*'ālam* quoted, *ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> *Izv. Kavkaz. Instituta*, vi, 63 and sq.

<sup>5</sup> *J.r.m.kān*, f. 11a and f. 19b, *BGA*, iii, 300 below and 320 *J.r.mūkān*; on its site, *ibid.*, p. 352, where *J.r.m.qān* is placed at three stages from Nasā.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *BGA*, ii, 273; iii, 358 and sq.

<sup>7</sup> V. Barthold, *The History of Irrigation in Turkestan*, p. 32.

Afghānistān, more closely related to the author, but the fact is interesting that the Afghāns (Afghānān, f. 16a) are mentioned as a people; until now 'Utbī<sup>1</sup> was considered the oldest author mentioning this ethnographical term (*al-Afghāniya*). Particularly little information is given on that part of Afghānistān where, at that time (since A.D. 977) ruled Sabuktagin, founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, later so powerful.<sup>2</sup> Apparently, the text here has been somewhat corrupted by the copyists. The name of the town of Ghazna occurs several times in its usual form "Ghaznīn", but it is not impossible that to this same town may pertain the words about the rich commercial town Ghazaq, which at first belonged to India but later passed under the sway of Islām and formed the frontier between the possessions of the Muslims and those of the Infidels (f. 22a).

## V

From the Preface translated by Toumansky<sup>3</sup> Russian readers could form an idea of the author's conception of his task. Not quite clear is the title chosen, *Kitāb hudūd al-'ālam min al-mashriq ilā al-maghrib*, which in Toumansky's translation is rendered "The Book of the Frontiers (or Limits) of the World from East to West".<sup>4</sup> The second variant of the translation ("the limits") is apparently the more correct, though in Toumansky's mind it was perhaps connected with the peculiarity of the work in which "for each province the frontiers are given first of all". The word *hudūd* in Arabic geographical literature means not so much "frontiers", in the sense of frontier-line, as "limits", in the sense of the total extent of a territory. In Ibn Khurdādhbih's words,<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy *abāna al-hudūd*, which de Goeje translates "a donné une bonne description".<sup>6</sup> However, in the description of two provinces Khorāsān and Transoxiana, our author uses the word *hudūd* in some special and not very clear sense. Separately from the description of the provinces themselves are described their *hudūd*, and of the Sāmānids, the rulers of the whole country, it is said (f. 19a): "In the whole of Khorāsān are their lieutenants, while on the frontiers (*andar ḥadd-hā*) of Khorāsān there  
P 22 are kings, who are called margraves (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*)."<sup>7</sup> If the author | meant by this that in the chapter on Khorāsān would be described the provinces under the immediate rule of the Sāmānids, and that

<sup>1</sup> *Enc. of Islam*, under *Afghānistān* (M. L. Dames). Cf. also in 'Utbī the chapter on the Afghāns, 'Utbī-Manīnī, ii, 300. [But cf. p. 349, n. 2.]

<sup>2</sup> Barthold, *Turkestan*, ii, 274, Engl. ed., p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> *ZVO*, x, 127.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125, "frontiers"; p. 128, "limits". [I translate "regions". V.M.]

<sup>5</sup> *BGA*, vi, 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> [Barthold translates *andar ḥadd-hā* "within the limits", but this expression means: "on the frontiers"; on the other



in that on the "limits [read: 'marches', V.M.] of Khorāsān" would be described the vassal principalities, then he did not adhere consistently to this distinction. Enough to say that the possessions of the amīr of Gūzgān, the most important of the vassal rulers, are included in Khorāsān proper (f. 20b), and not in "the limits [read: "marches", V.M.] of Khorāsān".

In spite of the relatively insignificant size of the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, as compared with the works of the Arabic geographers of the tenth century, it was meant to contain all data "that became known until then" on the countries and kingdoms of the world, *i.e.* all that could be learnt from books or from the words of learned men.<sup>1</sup> Such a claim, expressed in the Preface, is repeated in the text in the passage where the author passes from the physico-geographical description of the inhabited world to that of separate kingdoms and towns, with the reservation that "all the particulars of the world may be known to none, save God" (f. 13b). In various other passages the same assurance is expressed as to the fullness of the information given. At the end of the chapter on freshwater lakes (f. 4a) it is said: "These are the lakes that are known and on which books give information; besides these, there are numerous small lakes, of which one is in the mountains of Gūzgān in Mānishān, near Bistarāb;<sup>2</sup> its length is one farsakh, its width half a farsakh. There are similar lakes in the mountains of Tūs and in the mountains of Ṭabaristān; but these lakes are not known and are not ancient; or it happens [read: *va yā vaqt buwadh*, V.M.] that they dry up so that there remains no water in them; therefore we have not mentioned them." The same reservation is further made where swamps (*batīḥa-hā*) are described. The chapter on islands ends with the words (f. 5b): "There is no other reputed and inhabited island in the whole world, besides those that we have mentioned; we have represented (on the Map)<sup>3</sup> all these seas, gulfs, and islands, as they are and at their respective places." At the end of the chapter on deserts and sands (f. 13a) it is said: "In the limits of the Muslim world the large and known deserts and sands are those which we have mentioned; in the lands of the Infidels, except (those) of the Turks, they are also such as we have mentioned, and

hand he renders *mulūk-i aṭrāf* by *udel-niye praviteli* ("vassal rulers") whereas I prefer the term *margraves* as better expressing the conception of "princes of the periphery (*aṭrāf*)" of the original. V.M.]

<sup>1</sup> To the not very clear words of the Preface: *andar gird-i ḥakīmān* [I read: *yādkird-i ḥakīmān*, "memories of the

sages", V.M.] correspond on f. 13b the words: *ba-akhbār-hā shanīdan*.

<sup>2</sup> On the district Mānishān see also the description of Gūzgān, f. 20b, the town Bistarāb is not mentioned there.

<sup>3</sup> Toumansky, *ZVO*, x, 128, had already noticed that the text mentions the Map which is absent in our copy.

God knows best of all and from Him is assistance." In other words, the author admits the possibility of not having enumerated all the deserts and sands of the country of the Turks (where they are most numerous); but for the rest his list seems to him absolutely complete.

With the tendency towards completeness is connected a tendency towards numerical exactitude; the author tries to give the precise number of seas, salt and freshwater lakes, islands, countries into which the inhabited part of the world is divided, &c. As far as it is possible to judge by the Arabic geographical works that have come down to us, the author is largely independent in his geographical generalizations and terminology. The conception of the seven seas, as developed by our author (Eastern Ocean, Western Ocean, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, Caspian, Black Sea, Aral Sea, f. 2b and sq.) does not apparently exist anywhere else. The author applies the term Green Sea (*daryā-yi akhḍar* or *daryā-yi sabz*, in Arabic *al-baḥr al-akhḍar*) to the Eastern Ocean, and the term Great Sea (*al-baḥr al-a'ḡam*) to the Indian Ocean, while in Muḥammad ibn-Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī<sup>1</sup> both terms are applied to the Indian Ocean (the Great Sea—*al-baḥr al-kabīr*), and the Caspian Sea<sup>2</sup> is called

**P 23** *Khuwārizmian*.<sup>3</sup> The Black Sea is called "Sea of the Georgians" (*daryā-yi Gurziyān*), a term which does not seem to occur anywhere else. But even in our MS. the Georgians are not<sup>4</sup> mentioned among the people living around the Black Sea; in another passage, that dealing with the description of Byzantium, the Black Sea bears the name of *daryā-yi Gurz* (f. 37b) and the same form *Gurz* is given in certain Muslim sources as the name of the town of Kerch in Crimea; this has induced Westberg<sup>5</sup> to suppose that our author gives the name "Sea of Kerch" to the Azov Sea; but in reality the Black Sea is meant here as it is mentioned in the neighbourhood of Thrace. Nor does the variant *daryā-yi Gurziyān* support this supposition, though Westberg at another place endeavours to explain the name of Kerch by that of a people called Garsh<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Mžik, p. 74.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Enc. of Islam*, i, under *Baḥr al-Khazar*. As stated there, this early terminology of the Arab geographers may account for the Russian designation of the Caspian: *Khvalinskoye*, or *Khvalinskoye more*.

<sup>4</sup> [But see § 42, 15. V.M.]

<sup>5</sup> *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk*, 1899, p. 214.

<sup>6</sup> "Die Garschen", *ibid.*, p. 309, but the reference to the Russian translation by Patkanov, p. 29, is wrong, and I have

in general failed to find such a passage in the [so-called] Geography of Moses of Khoren. [As a matter of fact Patkanov translated first the abridged version of the Armenian geography, ascribed by him to Anania Shirakats'i. The complete text, edited by A. Soukry, Venice, 1881, p. 25, transl. p. 35, mentions the Garsh, whom Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 171, identifies with the Kashak, or Circassians. Moreover, see p. 401, note 1, and p. 446, note 2. V.M.]

who lived, according to the [so-called, V.M.] "Geography of Moses of Khoren", between the country of the Bulgars and the Black Sea.

Quite as original seems to be the author's conception of the division of the inhabited world into "parts of the world" and separate "countries". Like all Arab geographers, he accepts the division of the world into three parts, Asia, Europe, and Libya. Of course, the first place by extent belonged to Asia, and the term *Āsiyat al-kubrā* (f. 13a) entirely corresponds to Ptolemy's expression *ἡ μεγάλη Ἀσία* (beginning of books v and vii, also viii, 3). In the author's opinion Asia occupies two-thirds of the inhabited world, Europe one-quarter, and Libya one-twelfth. The belief that the area of Asia is twice as great as that of the other parts of the world put together occurs in other Arabic authors, notably in Bīrūnī,<sup>1</sup> but in any other author we should vainly look for the opinion that Europe is three times as large as Africa. To the division of the world into parts, borrowed from the Greeks, the author lends as little importance as do the other Muslim geographers, and in the survey of separate provinces he does not approach the question whether they are situated in Asia or in another part of the world. Our author counts fifty-one countries (*nāhiyat*) in all, of which five are situated south of the Equator, one (the Sūdān) is astride it and forty-five lie north of it. The number of the provinces is very near to that given by Khuwārizmī, *viz.* fifty-six, but the names of the provinces in Khuwārizmī<sup>2</sup> are entirely different, and many of them are borrowed from Ptolemy, which is not the case with our author. The provinces situated to the south of the Equator are enumerated in the usual order from east to west; the first to be named is Zāba (but f. 2b and f. 39a, as well as in Arab geographers, *Zābaj*); further on come Zangistān (country of the Zanj or Negroes, actual Zanzibār), Ḥabasha (Abyssinia), the country of Buja (or Baja, a people of Hamitic descent, still existing, and divided into several branches),<sup>3</sup> and Nubia. In the description of countries situated to the south of the Equator (f. 39a) the order is somewhat different: Zangistān, Zābaj, Ḥabasha, Buja, and Nubia. The author places the country of Zābaj, as he does also in the case of Zangistān, to the south of the Equator (f. 39a). The geographical term "Zābaj" is not very distinctly used by Arab geographers, who sometimes confuse the names Jāba (Java) and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. quotation in Yāqūt, i, 63. It is remarkable that on the other hand Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 155, entirely ignores Asia and divides the world into four parts: Europe, Libya, Ethiopia, and

Scythia.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Mžik, pp. 101-5, Nos. 1548-1603.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. articles "Abābde", "Bedja", and "Bishārīn" in *Enc. of Islam*.

Zābaj;<sup>1</sup> but in any case the term Zābaj always refers to the Malay coast or archipelago.<sup>2</sup> The data of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* on the islands of the Indian Ocean are borrowed from Ibn Khurdādhbih. Besides the island of Jāba there is also mentioned “the continental Jāba” P 24 (*Jāba-yi khushk*, f. 6b), corresponding probably to “the kingdom of Jāba the Indian” of Ibn Khurdādhbih.<sup>3</sup> A certain influence of Balkhī is also felt in that our author, similarly to Iṣṭakhri, p. 11, places the country of the Zanj opposite Fārs and Kirmān, evidently on the assumption that the African coast extended much farther to the east than it does in reality.<sup>4</sup> But in this part of his work the author seems to have utilized sources unknown to us. Thus in Abyssinia are mentioned the following towns: Rāsun, on the seashore, residence of the king; Savār, where the army is stationed; and Rīn, the residence of the commander-in-chief. In other works we find entirely different names.<sup>5</sup> The folio containing the description of the countries of Buja and Nubia has been considerably damaged.

The order of enumeration of the forty-five lands situated to the north of the Equator is somewhat different in the general enumeration (f. 13a) to the order followed in the description itself (see the table of contents, f. 1b).<sup>6</sup> In the disposition of the chapters in the text the principle of movement from east to west is observed more scrupulously than in the general introduction (f. 13a), but without complete consistency. Thus India is described before Tibet, though in the text it is said that to the east of India are situated China and Tibet, and to the east of Tibet only China. After Tibet are described the countries of the Turkish peoples; after the Toghuzghuz (the western neighbours of the Tibetans) follow their western neighbours, the people Yaghmā;<sup>7</sup> after them the author passes to the north and speaks of the Khirkhīz, who, in his opinion, lived in the east towards China and the Eastern Ocean;<sup>8</sup> then again he passes to the south

<sup>1</sup> BGA, vi, 46, note 2; also *Enc. of Islam*, ii, under “Java”. [See my note, p. 473. V.M.]

<sup>2</sup> According to Bīrūnī, *India*, ed. Sachau, p. 103 above, the islands Zābaj are nearer to China than to India.

<sup>3</sup> BGA, vi, 66: *mamlakat Jābat al-Hindī* [referring to the maritime Jāba. V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> Our author places Zanj as well opposite Sind, and so does Iṣṭakhri; at another place Iṣṭakhri, p. 36, places Zanj opposite some parts of Hind. [This seems to be a misunderstanding, as Iṣṭakhri, p. 36, refers to the Indian Ocean and not to the *arḍ al-Zanj*. V.M.]

<sup>5</sup> [See my note, p. 474. V.M.]

<sup>6</sup> [I omit here the enumeration, which will be found at its place in my translation. V.M.]

<sup>7</sup> F. 17a, Yghmiyā, but 13a, 17b, and 18a correctly Yghmā. The chapter on this people mentions Kāshghar, though at the same time it is said that the town is situated on the frontier between the possessions of the Yaghmā, the Tibetans, the Khirkhīz, and the Chinese.

<sup>8</sup> Iṣṭakhri, p. 9 below, also speaks of the Ocean (*al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*) as the frontier of the Khirkhīz.

and describes the Khallukh (Qarluq) whose province on the east adjoined Tibet<sup>1</sup> and the limits of the Yaghmā and the Toghuzghuz; then the Chigil, who had separated themselves [*v.i.* § 16] from the Khallukh, whose country on the east [?] and south adjoined the limits of the Khallukh and whose western neighbours were the Tukhsi.<sup>2</sup> Again passing to the north the author speaks of the Kimāk, living to the west of the Khirkhīz and to the north of the Irtysh, and of the Ghūz. In the chapter on the Ghūz it is said that to the east and south of their province is situated the Ghūz desert<sup>3</sup> and the towns of Transoxiana; the Kimāk are not mentioned in this connexion, but in their special chapter their peaceful relations as well as their wars | with P 25 the Ghūz are mentioned.<sup>4</sup> After this come the Turkish Pecheneg, living to the west of the Ghūz, and the Khifjākh (Qipchaq), of whom it is said that they adjoin the Pecheneg on the south, and the northern desert on all the other sides. Elsewhere it is said that the Khifjākh separated from the Kimāk, from which one might deduce that these latter had once been the eastern neighbours of the Khifjākh. After the Khifjākh is mentioned only one "Turkish" (according to the ideas of the Arab geographers!) people, the Magyars (*Majgharī*). Nothing is said of the frontier between them and the Khifjākh, although it is mentioned that to their east were mountains, to their south lived a Christian people called Vanandar, and to their west and north lay the country of the Rūs. The text presents some resemblances to that of Ibn Rusta,<sup>5</sup> and likewise to that of Gardīzī<sup>6</sup> (e.g., the number of horsemen and the mention of the great extent of the Magyar country; Gardīzī estimates both its length and width as 100 farsakhs, while according to the *Hudūd al-'ālam* it was 150 farsakhs in length and 100 in breadth). All three texts are probably derived from the same source (perhaps the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih) which has been most fully utilized by Gardīzī.

After having spoken of the Magyars and their struggle with their neighbours, the author feels confident that he has finished with all

<sup>1</sup> [See p. 256, note 2. V.M.]

<sup>2</sup> In the translation of the text of Gardīzī (*Report*, p. 125) and in the *Sketch of the History of the Semirechye*, p. 15, I wrote "Takhsi"; but in the MS. of Mahmūd of Kāshghar, judging by the printed edition (i, 28, 85, 342; ii, 243), everywhere stands Tukhsi. [In the *Hudūd al-'ālam*: Tukhs, probably formed from *Tukhsīyān*, on a false analogy with Ghūziyān < Ghūz. V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> The expression *biyābān-i Ghūz* corresponds to the expression *mafāzat*

*al-Ghuzziya*, in Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri (*BGA*, i, 217 and sq.).

<sup>4</sup> According to Iṣṭakhri, p. 222, the frontier between the countries of the Kimāk and the Ghuzz was formed by the river Itil (*Ithīl*), by which is probably meant the lower course of the Kama (cf. my article "Ghuz" in the *Enc. of Islam*).

<sup>5</sup> e.g. the mention of 20,000 Magyar horsemen, *BGA*, vii, 142.

<sup>6</sup> Barthold, *Report*, text, p. 98, transl. p. 121 and sq.

the Turks: "now I shall enumerate all the lands of Islam, and then the rest of the lands of the Infidels which are situated in the west." However, we shall see that in spite of this intention, the author, after the description of the Muslim provinces, comes back to such peoples as lived even farther to the east than the Magyars.

## VI

The description of the Muslim world forms, naturally, the greater part of the description of countries (17½ out of 26 folios), yet even this proportion shows that the *Hudūd al-'ālam* allots to the non-Muslim world a greater space than do the Arab geographers. In the description of the Muslim countries the general order, from east to west, is again often disturbed by transitions from south to north. From Khorāsān and its frontier provinces ["marches", V.M.], among which figure Sīstān and the provinces along the Hilmand, the author passes to the north, to Transoxiana and its frontier provinces. No special chapter is devoted to the desert Karaskūh [read: *Kargas-kūh*, V.M.], i.e. the "Khorasan desert" of Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri.<sup>1</sup> Then follows the description of the southern provinces: Sind, Kirmān, Fārs, Khūzistān. From Khūzistān again a transition is made to the north, to the Jibāl and Daylamān (plural of Daylam). The latter comprises all the provinces along the southern and south-eastern shore of the Caspian, including the province Kūmish (*Qūmis* of the Arab geographers), with Bistām, Damghān, and Simnān. Rayy, with Khwār and Qazvīn, is included in the Jibāl, and not, as in Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri,<sup>2</sup> in Daylam. Rayy is called "the residence of the king of the Jibāl" (f. 29a). Not until after this digression does a description of 'Irāq, lying to the west of Khūzistān, follow; then again comes the description of northern provinces: Jazīra, Ādharbayjān, Armenia, and Arrān. As in Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri, the description of the last three provinces is united in a single chapter, in the following order: Armenia, Arrān, Ādharbayjān,<sup>3</sup> though one would have expected to see Arrān before Armenia. The other provinces of the Muslim world are: Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Maghrib, and Spain (Andalus).

P 26 Khorāsān, Transoxiana, and their frontier provinces are described with more detail than the other parts of the Muslim world, because the author's materials on them were the most detailed. But he shows no such partiality to the eastern provinces as would be detrimental to the western ones, and there are no eastern provinces or towns among those to which, in some respects, an exceptional place is ascribed in the whole of the Muslim world. Khorāsān is placed near

<sup>1</sup> BGA, i, 227.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180 [But *v.i.*, p. 142].

the centre of the inhabited world (f. 19a) but 'Irāq near the centre of the world in general. 'Irāq was the most prosperous<sup>1</sup> province of the Muslim world, Baghdād the most prosperous town, and Wāsiṭ the most pleasant town in 'Irāq (f. 31a). The most pleasant countries in Islam were Ādharbayjān, Armenia, and Arrān (f. 32b), a statement which was probably borrowed from the same source as that from which the data on the Caspian provinces in general were derived. The noblest town of the world is Mekka, the birth-place of the Prophet and the House of God. Mekka was built by Adam; its construction was completed by Abraham; from Adam's time God has loved this house (the Ka'ba, f. 33b). The first town built after the Flood was Ṣan'ā in Yemen (f. 34a). The chief town of the province of 'Omān,<sup>2</sup> Ṣoḥār (the name of this town has been for some reason replaced by the name of the province), is the storehouse for goods from all over the world; there is no other town where merchants are richer; all the merchandise from east, west, south, and north is brought to this town and from here re-exported. In Khūzistān prosperity<sup>3</sup> is greater than in any of the neighbouring provinces (f. 28b). Egypt is the richest country of the Muslim world; Fuṣṭāṭ (Cairo) the richest town of the world (f. 35a-b). The Egyptian pyramids were built by Hermes even before the Flood. The length, width, and height of each of the two large pyramids equalled 400 arash (a comparison of this passage with the text of Ibn Khurdādhbih<sup>4</sup> shows that the Persian *arash* corresponds to the Arabic *dhirā'*). Sometimes the author mentions an edifice as having an exceptional significance for the whole world, whereas in his source (Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī) this remark is made only with regard to the Muslim world. In the passages on the Christian church in Edessa (Ruhā, f. 32a), and on the large bridge over the Euphrates (f. 34b), the words

<sup>1</sup> The Persian term *ābādhan* does not easily lend itself to translation; it points to a state of inhabitedness and prosperity, as contrasting with the state of desolation, though without reference to a large number of inhabitants; cf. f. 34b, on two towns of the Mesopotamian frontier zone: *ābādhan va kam-mardum*. [I translate *ābādhan* by the neutral term "prosperous". See on all these terms Index E. V.M.]

<sup>2</sup> In the MS. everywhere wrongly 'Ommān instead of 'Omān.

<sup>3</sup> In the text *bisyār-ni'mat-tar*. In the *Hudūd al-'ālam* the terms *ni'mat* and *khwāsta* are often juxtaposed but

not as synonyms. That *ni'mat* and *khwāsta* are not one and the same thing, may be seen from the fact that in a country there may be little *ni'mat* and much *khwāsta* (f. 16b) and contrariwise (f. 37a). Apparently the word *ni'mat* refers to the general level of prosperity and wealth, and *khwāsta*, to the separate sources of prosperity or income, as for instance cattle: cf. f. 16b above, on the inhabitants of a Tibetan province: "their *khwāsta* are sheep." [See Index E. V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> BGA, vi, 159a. Therefrom, too, are borrowed the words about the inscription [but not the wording of it. V.M.].

*andar hama jihān* correspond to Iṣṭakhrī's<sup>1</sup> *fil-Islām* or *fī bilād al-Islām*.

Everywhere careful attention is paid to what goods are exported from a given place and what localities have a particular importance in trade. Such details will undoubtedly complete in many respects what we already know from Arabic geographical literature on the various branches of industry in the Muslim world. These data might form the subject of a special treatise but unfortunately the interesting terms will not always be found in dictionaries.<sup>2</sup>

Often occurs the expression "place of merchants" (*jāy-i bāzargānān* [present-day pronunciation *bāzurgān*, V.M.] or *jāyagāh-i bāzargānān*);<sup>3</sup> thus are called whole provinces, e.g. Transoxiana (f. 22b), and separate towns; only in the chapters on Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and Spain merchants are not mentioned, though with regard to Syria it is said that to it are brought all the goods imported from Maghrib, Egypt, Byzantium, and Spain (f. 34b). Single localities P 27 and towns are mentioned as | gates (*dar*) into, or as store-places (*bārgāh* and *bārkadha*) of, some particular country. The situation of a town or of a locality on a given route is also mentioned, but only in the chapters on the eastern provinces; of the pilgrim routes to Mekka, the only one that merits the author's attention is that of the Khorāsān pilgrims (f. 29a).<sup>4</sup>

Samarqand was a resort of merchants from all over the world (f. 23a), as were also Isfījāb (f. 24b where for the word *jāy* is substituted the word *ma'dan*), and the port of Abaskūn (f. 29b) on the Caspian Sea at the mouth of the Gurgān. The name of "Gates of Turkistān" is given to the whole of Transoxiana (f. 22b), to Khorāsān (f. 19a), and separately to Farghāna (f. 23b) and to the town of Gurgānj (f. 25b) in Khuwārizm. The capital of Khuwārizm, Kāth (spelt: *Kāsh*) was "the gate to the Ghūz Turks (read: *Turkān* instead of *Turkistān*) and the store-place of the Turks, Turkistān, Transoxania, and the Khazars". About the province of Isfījāb it is said that "whatever is produced in any place of Turkistān is brought here" (f. 24b); the town of Šabrān, or Šaurān, was "the place of the Ghūz merchants" (*ibid.*). The situation of Karmīna, Dabūsiya, and Rabinjan on the way (from Bukhārā) to Samarqand is specially mentioned (ff. 22b-23a). The small town Bāsand<sup>5</sup> in Chaghāniyān was "the

<sup>1</sup> p. 62 (the bridge) and p. 76 (the church).

<sup>2</sup> [See Index D.]

<sup>3</sup> Or sometimes *bāzargānān bisyār*, meaning that at a given place there are numerous merchants.

<sup>4</sup> The Khorāsān pilgrims went via Baghdād; this may account for the mention of Qādisiya "on the way of the pilgrims" (f. 31b).

<sup>5</sup> On it see my *Turkestan*, p. 76; English ed., p. 74.



place of paupers, though with abundant riches"; paupers were also the inhabitants of the town of Chaghāniyān (*ibid.*). Other "places of paupers" were the small town of Sakalkand or Iskalkand<sup>1</sup> in the mountains of Hindūkūsh (f. 21b) and, as now, the Zarafshān mountains (f. 23b). The expressions "highway" (*shāhrāh*) and "highway of caravans" are used only with reference to the road from Marwarrūd to Balkh, through Faryāb and Shapūrquān (or Ushpūrquān, f. 21a).<sup>2</sup> The store-house of Balkh was, however, the principal town of Gūzgān, Anbīr (or Anbār, *ibid.*), situated away from the above-mentioned road. The store-houses of India were Balkh (*ibid.*) and Lamghān, *i.e.* Laghmān (f. 16a); the gates to India were Bust on the Hilmand (f. 22a) and Parvān near the Hindūkūsh (f. 22b). To Andarāb near the Hindūkūsh was brought the silver from the mines of Panjhīr and Jāriyāba and here dirhams were coined from it (f. 21b). On the frontier of Vakhān there was a village that was called "the gate of Tibet" where was a Muslim customs and guard-post (f. 25b). Several towns of Vakhān are enumerated, and as the last place in the limits of Transoxiana is named the large village Samarqandāq ("Little Samarqand"), where live Hindus, Tibetans, Vakhanians (*Vakhī*), and Muslims (*ibid.*); here, too, is described Bolor (Kāfiristān), a locality not mentioned by the Arab geographers.

Sind was not a rich province, but there were many merchants in it and several of its towns carried on sea-trade (f. 26a).

From Khorāsān is mentioned the road to Rayy through Bahman-ābād and Mazīnān and the road to Gurgān through Jājarm; Jājarm was the store-house of Gurgān (f. 19b). Several industrial and commercial towns are mentioned in the Caspian provinces; an interesting description is given of Pirīm (or Firīm), principal town of the mountain province Qārin.<sup>3</sup> In the detailed and precise description of the Caspian provinces is to be found a striking absurdity: the words of the Qor'ān (xviii, 78), concerning the ruler who seized every ship by force, are applied to the continental town of Ahar in Ādharbāijān ff. 32b-33a). The legend, as in Iṣṭakhrī,<sup>4</sup> refers to the dynasty of the Julandids, but Iṣṭakhrī has in mind not the principal branch of the dynasty, which ruled in 'Omān,<sup>5</sup> but the "family of 'Umāra", P 28

<sup>1</sup> The pronunciation in Yāqūt, i, 254, and iii, 108; cf. BGA, i, 275d.

<sup>2</sup> Narshakhī, ed. Schefer, p. 111<sub>15</sub>, uses the expression *shāhrāh* with regard to the Bukhārā-Samarqand road.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my *Historico-geographical sketch of Iran*, SPb. 1901, p. 155. [See the translation of f. 30a-b. V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> BGA, i, 140.

<sup>5</sup> See Salīl ibn Razīk, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, transl. by G. P. Badger, l. 1871, quoted by Barthold in the Russian translation of Lane-Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 284; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 125. [See my explanation in the Notes. V.M.]

which possessed the district on the coast of Fārs, on the Kirmān frontier. This district is also mentioned by our author (f. 27b) who calls it "a place of fishermen and a haunt of merchants". It is incomprehensible why the words on the Julandids and the Qor'ānic legend should have been transferred from one place to the other, to which they evidently can have no reference. Another evident and incomprehensible mistake occurs at the end of the chapter on 'Irāq (f. 13b), where it is said that the construction of the small towns of Karkh and Dūr (in the text by mistake *Dwn*), near Sāmarrā was begun by Mu'tasim (833-42), and completed by Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-33).

Store-places were: in Kirmān, Hurmuz (f. 26b); in Fārs, Sīrāf, and Māhīrūbān (or Māhrūbān, f. 27b);<sup>1</sup> in Khūzistān, Sūs (f. 28b, here and in other passages—Shūsh). Consequently in Kirmān and Fārs such significance was attributed to sea-side towns, and in Khūzistān to a continental one. Yemen (f. 24a) is described in much greater detail than by Iṣṭakhri: enough to say that the town of Zabīd, which according to our author occupied the second place after Ṣan'ā, is not mentioned at all<sup>2</sup> in Iṣṭakhri.

The westernmost town ["land", V.M.] of the inhabited world was "Sūs-the-Distant" (*Sūs al-aqṣā*, f. 36b). Innumerable quantities of gold were found there; the people by their customs hardly resembled men; foreigners seldom penetrated there. The chief object of export from the Berber country were panthers (or leopards, *palang*); the Berbers hunted them and brought their pelts for sale into Muslim towns.

## VII

From Spain the author again passes to the non-Muslim provinces, first of all to Byzantium, information on which is mostly borrowed from Ibn Khurdādhbih. The following remark is curious (f. 37a): "In Rūm (Byzantium) there are ancient towns; formerly there were many towns, now there are few." A series of misunderstandings is explained partly by the careless rendering of the Arabic text, and partly by the fact that the author, as usual, did not discriminate between information borrowed from various sources. Ibn-Khurdādhbih<sup>3</sup> says that Thrace (*Trāqiya*) is situated "beyond Constantinople, on the side of the country of the Burjāns" (Danube Bulgars); in our author the name *B.rqiya*, i.e. *Trāqiya*, is given to the town<sup>4</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> On this town see *BGA*, i, 29c; Yāqūt, iv, 699.

<sup>2</sup> According to Maqdisī, Zabīd was "the Baghdad of Yemen" and only by

its size was inferior to Ṣan'ā, which was in a state of decadence, *BGA*, iii, 84 and 86.

<sup>3</sup> *BGA*, vi, 109, above.  
<sup>4</sup> ["Land"? V.M.].

the Burjāns. To the north-west of Rūm the author places the Bulgars (Bulgharī), not noticing that they are identical with the Burjāns whom he has just named. As distinct from the Bulgars are named, but not described, "the Slavs who have accepted Christianity", who paid tribute to the emperor of Byzantium.<sup>1</sup> The country of Rūm extended to the Western Ocean, where on the south it bordered upon Spain. The Franks and the peoples living between the Franks and Spain, are described with less detail than by Iṣṭakhrī.<sup>2</sup> Rome is included in the Frank country. As already explained, the information on Britain as a store-house of Rūm and Spain stands isolated. The deformation of Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī's report<sup>3</sup> on the Greeks and Athens has been noted above, p. 21.

The subsequent chapters, those concerning the Slavs and the Rūs (ff. 37b-38b), the text of which has been edited by Toumansky, give little that is new.<sup>4</sup> The chapter on the Rūs forms a characteristic P 29 example of the indiscriminate amalgamation of data pertaining to different periods; one finds the report probably derived from Ibn Khurdādhbih about a single Russian khāqān, side by side with that about three independent Russian towns, taken probably from Ibn Faḍlān. The fact that our author places the said three towns on the same river Rūs seems to result from an arbitrary combination by him of his sources. By the river Rūs in the present case is probably meant not the Volga in its upper course, above its junction with the Kama, as supposed by Toumansky,<sup>5</sup> but the Don.<sup>6</sup> The next people after the Rūs are "the Inner Bulgars", in whom Marquart<sup>7</sup> sees the Danube Bulgars, and Westberg<sup>8</sup> the Black Bulgars who, according to the Russian Chronicle and to Constantine Porphyrogenetos, occupied the Don and the Azov Sea. It would be hardly expedient to attempt to analyse these hypotheses, founded as they are on the evidently insufficient and fragmentary information which has come down to us, especially in view of the fact that the author has blended together data belonging to different periods and in spite of the scarcity of his

<sup>1</sup> This passage has been edited by Toumansky, *ZVO*, x, 132; translation and notes, 134. Under the influence of the record on an aqueduct coming, *BGA*, vii, 126<sub>18</sub>, "from the town called Bolghar" (the aqueduct near the village Belgrad) the Arabs imagined a river flowing from Bulgaria through Thrace and falling into the Bosphorus.

<sup>2</sup> *BGA*, i, 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Solely to an unhappy conjecture of Toumansky is due a detail, not to be found in the text, *viz.* "that in one of

their (Rūs) tribes there are Mirvats", *ZVO*, x, 136, note 3. The word *mirvat* of the text (*va andar gurūhī az īshān muruvvat-ast*) is probably the translation of the Arabic *rujla* (*BGA*, vii, 146<sub>14</sub>).

<sup>5</sup> *ZVO*, x, 137, note.

<sup>6</sup> *BGA*, ii, 27b.

<sup>7</sup> J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 517.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction* (ЖМНП), N.S., xiii, p. 387 and sq. (in Russian).

information, has tried, with illusory exactitude, to fix the geographical situation of the countries and towns which he enumerates. There are seemingly no contradictions in his system, but this system can hardly have ever corresponded to the actual facts.

The country of the Sarīr (*i.e.* that of the Avars), which on the west was bounded by Byzantium, was in the south conterminous with the Muslim possessions in the Caucasus, *i.e.* with Darband and southern Daghestan,<sup>1</sup> and not with Armenia, as our author takes it. To the north and west of the Sarīr lived the Alāns whose land adjoined Byzantium and not the Muslim possessions; to the north the Alān land extended to the Black (or Azov) Sea and to the possessions of the Khazarian Pechenegs. The latter, who were the northern neighbours of the Alāns, are the first people mentioned to the east, and not to the south, of the Black Sea; their eastern frontier was the "Khazar mountains", *i.e.* the mountains which, in the author's opinion, constituted the western frontier of the Khazar country; in his conception (f. 8a) the mountains stretched west of the Caspian Sea, between the possessions of the Sarīr and the Khazars, as far as the beginning of Alān territory, whence they followed a northern direction to the end of the Khazar country, then passed between the lands of the Khazarian Pechenegs, those of the Inner Bulgars and those of the Rūs (the text here is not quite correct), to the limits of the Slavs, then followed a northern direction passing through the middle of the Slav possessions and skirting the Slav town of Khurdāb<sup>2</sup> until they reached the end of the Slav country. To the west of the (probably the same) mountains, to the north of the Black Sea and to the north-west of the Khazarian Pechenegs lived the Mirvāt (the Khazarian Pechenegs were for them partly eastern, partly southern neighbours); on the west, too, the Mirvāt adjoined the Black Sea. To the north-west of the Mirvāt and also to the north of the Black Sea, lived the Inner Bulgars whose land on the north reached the "Russian mountains". The westernmost country on the northern shore of the Black Sea was that of the Slavs, conterminous to the south with Byzantium. The eastern neighbours of the Slavs, besides the Inner Bulgars, were the Rūs; on the north and west, the Slav country marched with the 'Uninhabited Deserts of the north'. With the same deserts was conterminous on the north the Rūs country, which to the south extended down to the Danube, on which stood the capital of the Slavs, Khurdāb.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Enc. of Islam*, Barthold, *Daghestān*.

<sup>2</sup> On this town, cf. the equally un-

founded hypotheses of Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 471, and Westberg, *JMNP*, *l.c.*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> [Cf. § 6, 45. V.M.]

On the other hand, on its north-east<sup>1</sup> the country of the Sarīr marched with that of the Khazars; the latter on their east had "a wall between the mountains and the sea, the sea and a part of the river Itil" (f. 38b). Among the Khazar lands are counted Ṭūlās and Lūghar, but their situation is not indicated; according to Ibn Rusta<sup>2</sup> thus were P 30 called the peoples living on one of the outskirts of the Khazar country, near the high mountains which stretch to Tiflis. Marquart<sup>3</sup> endeavours to prove that Ibn Rusta's Ṭūlās correspond to the Nandars (or Vanandars) of both the Toumansky MS. and Gardīzī, and likewise that the Lūghar correspond to the Mirvāt, the name *Lūghar* itself being a distortion of *Aughaz*, or (with the article) *al-Aughāz*, by which are meant the Abkhāz.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile he (Marquart) thinks that in the source common to the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* and Gardīzī the information about these peoples had been confused, and that the Nandar, who according to their description correspond to the Alāns, received the name of Abkhāz. اندر is formed from الارغز (through an intermediate form ابكر) and مروات from طولاس (تولاس). All this is, of course, more than questionable, and since the Ṭūlās and Lūghar are mentioned in the Toumansky MS. separately from the Mirvāt and the Nandar, these theories become still less likely.

North of the Khazars, and west of the Volga, lived the Barādhās, and west of the latter the Vanandar. East of the Volga lived the Burtās,<sup>6</sup> and north of the Burtās and the Barādhās lived the Turkish Pechenegs, while north of the Vanandar were the Magyars. Gardīzī adds<sup>5</sup> that the Nandar (Vanandar) were separated from the Magyars by the Danube and that from their (northern?) bank the Magyars could see the Nandar. On the bank of the river stood a mountain and from its slope a water descended; beyond the mountain lived the Mirdāt (Mirvāt); between their province and that of the Nandar there was a distance of ten days' journey. The neighbours of the Burtās<sup>6</sup> on the south-east were the Central-Asian[?] Ghūz. Of the Bulgars it is only said that they lived on the Itil, with no explanation about their neighbours.

<sup>1</sup> The author speaks only of the north; to the west of the Khazar country were "mountains".

<sup>2</sup> BGA, vii, 139.

<sup>3</sup> *Streifzüge*, pp. 31, 176, and 496.

<sup>4</sup> Westberg, *l.c.*, p. 388, was also inclined to consider the Mirvāt as Abkhāz.

<sup>5</sup> V. Barthold, *Report*, p. 98 (text) and p. 122 (transl.). To the Danube

(*Dūnā*) apparently refer the words of our author about the river, the name of which in our MS. can be read *Rūtā* or *Rūthā*, ZVO, x, 135, note 11. On the different names of the Danube in Arabic literature, cf. BGA, viii, 67, note o.

<sup>6</sup> [Instead of *Burtās* (§51) read: *Bulghār*, as suggested by Barthold in an additional note. *V.j.*, p. 450.]

Of the Pechenegs and other peoples considered as Turks, inclusive of the Magyars, information is given elsewhere, as we have seen. The northern outskirts of the Inhabited World begin in the east with the land of the Qirghiz (*Khirkhīs*), whose neighbours on the west were the Kīmāk, who in their turn had as neighbours the Qipchaq (*Khifjākh*, f. 18b). But meanwhile it is mentioned (f. 19a) that the Qipchaq country on all sides, with the exception of the south, where it adjoined the Pechenegs country, marched with the northern desert. Of the Pechenegs it is said that their neighbours to the east were the Ghūz; to the south, the Burtās<sup>1</sup> and the Barādhās; to the west, the Magyars and the Rūs; to the north the Danube formed their frontier, provided that this river is identical with the river Rūtā, or Rūthā (f. 19a).<sup>2</sup> From this summary it may be seen that, in addition to the erroneous location of the Pechenegs too far to the north (on the middle course of the Volga where they have never been), all the information on their old and new territories is jumbled together, notwithstanding the fact that their migration is mentioned in the text (f. 38a, chapter 47). The southern neighbours of the Magyars were the Vanandar, their western and northern neighbours, the Rūs; of the eastern side it is only said that a mountain was found there.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of the uncertainty of these data, it does not seem superfluous, in view of the attention which this part of the Toumansky MS. has already attracted, to give a full translation of the corresponding chapters, from the place where Toumansky stopped (f. 38a), to the end of the section on the northern part of the inhabited world (f. 38b below), save for the information of the frontiers that has been separately treated above.

[We omit the translation of ff. 38a–38b which will be found at the proper place in the text. V. V. Barthold concludes his Preface as follows:—]

**P 32** The translation of this short fragment shows that the pronunciation of several names could not be established. A great number of geographical names of which the reading remains unknown is the principal reason that has made me renounce the attempt to give a full translation of the MS., and limit myself to the present Preface in which I do not touch upon the outward aspect of the MS., as these details have already been given by Toumansky [see my Preface, V.M.].

<sup>1</sup> [Read: *Bulghār*. V.M.]

<sup>2</sup> [Very doubtful. V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed survey and explanation of the data quoted by Barthold on pp. 42–4, see my notes to §§ 46, 53, &c. V.M.]

PART TWO  
HUDŪD al-‘ĀLAM  
“THE REGIONS OF THE WORLD”

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN





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<sup>1</sup> On the contents of f. 1a see Appendix A.

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## [§ 1. Prefatory]

WITH bliss and happiness (*bil-yumn wal-sa'āda*)! Thanks (*sipās*) be to God, the Almighty (*tuwānā*), Eternal (*jāwīdh*), Creator of the World, Opener of difficulties (*gushāyanda-yi kār-hā*), guiding his slaves and manifesting himself (*khwāsh-numā*) through different sciences; and ample praises (*durūdh*) upon Muḥammad and prophets all!

Owing to the glory, victory, and auspiciousness (*nīk-akhtarī*) of the Prince Lord Malik the Just Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, client of the Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his existence, and owing to the felicity of his days, we have begun this book about the properties of the Earth (*andar šifat-i zamīn*) in the year 372 from the Prophet's emigration, on him be God's blessings. In it we have brought to light (*paydhā kardīm*) the properties of the Earth and its disposition (*nihādh*), and the amount of its cultivation and its lack of cultivation. We have also brought to light all the countries and kingdoms (spelt: *pādshāy-hā*) of the Earth, so far (*ānch*) as they have become known until now, and the state of each different people found in those lands, and the customs of their kings, as they exist in our times, | and everything that comes forth from those lands.

2a

We have brought to light every land (*shahr*) of the world of which we have found information in the books of (our) predecessors (*pīshinagān*) and in the memories (*\*yādhkird*)<sup>1</sup> of the sages, with particulars of that land as regards its greatness or smallness, its deficiency or abundance of amenities (*nī'mat*), wealth (*khwāsta*), and populations, and its cultivation or lack of the same; also, the disposition (*nihādh*) of every land with regard to mountains, rivers, seas, and deserts, and all the products coming forth from it.

We have brought to light the disposition (*nihādh*) of the seas all through the world, their broad and narrow (*khurd va buzurg*) places and the lagoons (*murdāb*), which are called gulfs (*khalīj*), with each thing coming forth from that sea.

We have brought to light all the great islands with their cultivated and desolate places (*ābādhān va vīrān-i vay*) and the state of their people and all their products.

We have also brought to light all the principal (*aṣḥ*) mountains of the world and their manifold mines and the animals existing there.

We have also brought to light all the great rivers of the world,<sup>2</sup> from where they rise till where they fall into the sea or are used for

<sup>1</sup> *V.i.*, p. 145, l. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Construction: all the rivers that are great in the world.

agriculture (*kisht[-u-]bars*), more especially those rivers which ships can navigate (*gudhashtan*); (and we have mentioned only the great rivers) because (*az ān-k*) of the small rivers the number is not known (*padhidh*).

We have also brought to light all the deserts and sands which are notorious in the world, with their extension and breadth.

§ 2. Discourse on the disposition (*nihādih*) of the Earth with regard (*az*) to its cultivation or lack of cultivation

1. The Earth is round (*gird*) as a sphere (*gū'ī*) and the firmament enfolds it turning on two poles (*falak muḥīt-ast bar vāy gardān bar du qutb*), of which the one is the North Pole and the other the South Pole.

2. If on any sphere (*har gū'ī ki bāshadh*) you trace two large circles (*dāyira*) intersecting one another at right angles (*zāwiya-yi qā'ima*), those two circles will cut that sphere into four parts. The Earth is likewise divided into four parts by two circles, of which the one is called Horizon (*dā'irat al-āfāq*) and the other Equator (*khaṭṭ al-istiṭwā*). As regards the Horizon, it starts from the eastern parts (*nāḥiyat*), passes by the limit of the inhabited lands (*ābādhānī*) of the Earth, which (*iṣ*) at the South Pole; then it passes by the western parts until it reaches again the East (*bāz mashriq rasadh*). And this circle is the one which separates this visible (*ẓāhir*) inhabited (*ābādhān*) half of the Earth from the other hidden (*pūshidha*) half which is beneath us. The Equator is a circle which starts from the eastern limit (*hadd*) and follows the middle of the Earth by the line farthest distant [equidistant] from both poles until it reaches the West, and it goes on in the same way until it comes back to the East.

3. Within the northern quarter, the inhabited lands (*ābādhānī*) lie in that half (of it) which adjoins the Equator. And there are also some inhabited lands in the southern quarter, in the half (of it) adjoining the Equator. The amount of the inhabited lands of the North is: 63 degrees of breadth by 180 degrees of length (*darāznā*), because (*az ān-k*) the largest (*mihtarīn*) circle traceable round the Earth (*gird-i zamīn bar gardadh*) is of 360 degrees. The measure of the inhabited lands lying in the southern parts (*nāḥiyat*) is somewhat over 17 degrees by 180 degrees. The measure of the area (*masāḥa*) of these two (*har du*) forms one-ninth of the whole of the Earth (*nuh bahr-i hama-yi zamīn*). All the cities of the world, the different kingdoms (spelt: *pādshāy-hā*), the seas, the mountains, and the rivers and (in general) all the places possessing animals (*jānavar*) and fishes are within this ninth part (*nuh yak*) of the Earth which we have mentioned.

4. In the eastern region (*nāḥiyat*) the farthest lying city is the capital (*qaṣaba*) of China (*Chīnistān*) called Khumdān on the shore of the Green Sea (*daryā-yi sabz*). The Greeks (*Rūmiyān*) call this sea the Eastern Ocean (*uqiyānūs-i mashriqī*) and the Arabs (*tāziyān*) the Green Sea (*baḥr al-akhḍar*). And so Aristotle says in the book *Āthār-i 'Ukwī* ("Meteorologica") that this sea surrounds the Earth like the Horizon and ships cannot work in this sea | and nobody has <sup>2b</sup> crossed it (*burīdha*) and it is unknown where it ends. And on the whole stretch of the inhabited zone (*har chand kī ābādhānī-st*) the people see that sea but cannot cross it in a ship, except for a very short distance from the inhabited places.

On the other hand, the farthest of the lands (*shahr-hā*) of the western parts (*nāḥiyat*) is called Sūs-the-Distant (and is situated) on the shore of a sea called the Western Ocean. The latter's water resembles that of the Eastern Ocean as regards the colour, taste, and smell. Likewise on the whole stretch of the inhabited zone in the West, both in the northern and southern direction (*nāḥiyat*), the said sea adjoins them, and the inhabitants can cross in ships only the part of it lying close to the inhabited lands.

Consequently the people judging by analogy (*qiyās*) said that the two seas were one (ocean) which surrounds the Earth on the East and West and passes by the two poles. And on account of this ocean (*daryā*) no one knows anything about what there is in that other (invisible) half (*nīma*).

5. As regards the Equator, it passes through the said half (in its largest extension (?)<sup>1</sup> (*in nīma-yi bishtarīn*) across the Great Sea. North of the Equator the inhabited lands stretch for 63 degrees; farther on the animals cannot live in view of the intensity of the cold that prevails there up to the North Pole.

As regards the region lying south of the Equator some parts of it are (occupied by) the sea, and, moreover, great heat prevails there (*va digar sakht garmā-st*) and the people of those regions are more removed from the character of humanity (*tab'-i mardī*). They are Zangīs, Abyssinians, and the like. And farther on, down to the South Pole, no one can live on account of the excess of heat. Assistance (*taufīq*) is from God!

### § 3. Discourse on the disposition of the Seas and Gulfs<sup>2</sup>

I. The first is the GREEN SEA, which we have named the EASTERN OCEAN. Its extension (*ḥadd*), so far as it is known, is from the extreme

<sup>1</sup> V.s., p. 50. ll. 28-9?

<sup>2</sup> *Khalīj* means both "gulf" and "strait".

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limit (*ākhir*) of cultivation (*'imārat*) in the south down to the Equator, the island Wāqwāq, the lands of Wāqwāq, the country (*nāhiyat*) of Chīnistān, and the confines of the lands (*karāna-yi shahr-hā*) of the Toghuzghuz and Khirkhīz. This sea has no known gulfs (straits?).

2. The other sea is the WESTERN OCEAN. Its extension, so far (*ān-k*) as it is known, is from the extreme limit of the countries of the Sūdān, the Maghrib, and Sūs-the-Distant, up to the Rūmī Strait (*khalīj*), up to the extreme limit of the countries of Rūm and Ṣaqlāb and up to the Tūlī (*i.e.* Thule) Island. This sea has a strait through which it joins the Rūmī Sea.

3. Another large sea is the one called the GREAT SEA (*Baḥr al-Aḡam*). Its eastern limit adjoins the sea (called) the Eastern Ocean, and about one-third (*miqdār-i si-yakī*) of the Equator stretches across this sea. Its northern limit starts from China (*Chīn*), skirts the countries of Hindūstān and Sind, and the boundaries (*hudūd*) of Kirmān, Fārs, Khūzistān and Ṣaymara [sic]. The southern limit of this sea begins at the Jabal al-Ṭā'in, skirts the country (*nāhiyat*) of Zābaj and reaches that of Zangistān and Abyssinia. The western limit of this sea is a gulf which surrounds all the Arab country (*gird-i hama-yi nāhiyat-i 'Arab andar gardadh*).

This sea has five gulfs: (a) One of them begins (*bar dāradh*) from the limits of Abyssinia and stretches westward; off (*barābar*) the Sūdān it is called the BARBARĪ GULF. (b) Another gulf (which) adjoins it, takes a northern direction (*[ba] nāhiyat-i shamāl furūdh āyadh*) up to the confines (*hudūd*) of Egypt, growing narrow till (*tā ānjā-kī*) its breadth becomes one mile (*mīl*); it is called the ARABIAN GULF (*khalīj-i 'Arabī*), or the GULF OF AYLA (spelt: *Īla*),<sup>1</sup> or QULZUM. (c) The third gulf starts (*bar gīradh*) from the frontiers of Fārs and stretches in a north-western direction until the distance between it and the Gulf of Ayla amounts to 16 stages (*mansil*) on swift camels (*bar jammāza*); it is called the GULF OF 'IRĀQ. All the Arab lands lie between these two gulfs, *i.e.* the Gulf of Ayla and that of 'Irāq. (d) The fourth gulf is that of PĀRS which starts from the limit (*hadd*) of Pārs, where it has a small breadth, and extends to the frontiers of Sind. (e) The fifth |  
3a gulf starts from the country of Hindūstān and becomes a gulf while taking a northern direction; it is called INDIAN GULF (*khalīj-i hindū'ī*).

Each portion of the Great Sea is called after the towns and countries (*nāhiyat*) which adjoin it, *e.g.* (*chūnān-k*) the sea of Pārs, the sea of Baṣra, the sea of 'Omān (spelt: '*Ommān*'), the sea of Zangistān, the Indian Sea, and the like. And this sea is the mine of all precious things (*gauhar*)<sup>2</sup> coming forth from the sea. Its length is 8,000 miles, and its breadth

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 7, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 86, l. 25.

varies in each place. In this sea, from the limit of Qulzum down to the limit of Chīnistān, ebb and flow take place twice during the period of day and night. The flow (*madd*) is (when) the water swells and rises higher (*bartar*), and the ebb (*jazr*) is (when) the water decreases (*bikāhadh*) and falls lower. In no other sea do the ebb and flow exist, except by the increase and decrease of water in the rivers.

4. Another (sea) is the RŪM SEA (*daryā-yi Rūmiyān*) in the western parts. The form of that sea is conical (*šīnaubar*). Its western limit adjoins the Western Ocean; on its northern coast lie the countries of Spain (*Andalus*), the Franks (*Ifranja*), and the Byzantines (*Rūmiyān*); on its eastern coast lie the towns of Armenia and some parts of Rūm; on its southern limit are the towns of Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Tangier. This sea has two straits, of which the one serves to connect it with the Ocean, and the other, similar to a river, traverses the middle of Rūm, skirts (*kanāra*) Constantinople and reaches the sea of the Georgians (*Gurziyān*). And there is no sea round which lie lands more prosperous (*ābādhāntar*). The length of this sea is 4,000 miles and its breadth is various. The greatest breadth of the strait (*khalīj*) of Constantinople is 4 miles, and the narrowest (*bārik-tarīn*) part of the western strait (*khalīj*) is 10 farsakhs and from the one shore the other is visible.

5. Another sea is the SEA OF THE KHAZARS. Its eastern<sup>1</sup> side (*nāhiyat*) is a desert adjoining the Ghūz and Khwārazm. Its northern side (adjoins) the Ghūz and some of the Khazars. Its western side adjoins the towns of the Khazars and of Ādharbādhagān. Its southern side adjoins the towns of Gilān, Daylamān, Ṭabaristān, and Gurgān. This sea has no straits (*khalīj*). Its length is 400 farsangs with a breadth of 400 farsangs. It produces nothing but fish.

6. Another sea is that of the Georgians (*Gurziyān*) and it is called BONTOS (Black Sea). Its eastern limit is formed by the confines of the Alāns (al-Lān); its northern limit is formed by the places (occupied by) the Pechenegs (*Bajanāk*), the Khazars,<sup>1</sup> the Mirvāts, the Inner Bulghārs, and the Ṣaqlābs; its western limit is the country (*nāhiyat*) of the Burjāns; on its southern limit lies the country of Rūm. Its length is 1,300 miles with a breadth of 350 miles.

7. Another sea is that of KHWĀRAZM which is situated at a distance of 40 farsangs in the north-western direction from (the town of) Khwārazm. All round it are the places of the Ghūz. The circuit (*gird-bar-gird*) of the sea is 300 farsangs.

These are the seven seas. And outside (*birūn az*) these there are numerous lakes (*daryāyak*), sweet (fresh) and bitter (salt?).

<sup>1</sup> The word written twice.

- The lakes which are salt (*shūr*) are eleven: the first is 8. MAEOTIS (*Māwīs*, "the Azov<sup>1</sup> sea") at the extreme limit of the Ṣaqlābs towards the North. Its length is 100 farsangs with a breadth of 30 farsangs. From the Sea of the Georgians a strait (*khaliḡ*) joins it. And from this same sea a strait joins the Western Ocean.<sup>2</sup> Round it (*i.e.*, Maeotis) lie desolate places (*vīrānī*). 9. The second is the lake KABŪDHĀN in 3b Armenia. Its length | is 50 farsangs with a breadth of 30 farsangs. In the middle of this lake is the village Kabūdhān and this lake is called after it. The lands round it are inhabited. In the lake on account of the saltiness (*shūrī*) of its water there are no animals except worms. 10. The third is the DEAD SEA (*daryā-yi murda*) in Syria in which there is absolutely (*albatta*) no animal (life), on account of the bitterness of its water. Its length is three days' journey and its breadth two days' journey. 11. The fourth is the lake NAWYṬA (*\*Fāriṭa*?) in Rūm. Its length is three days' journey and its breadth two days' journey. Round it lie inhabited lands (*ābādhānī*) and it has plenty of fish. 12. The fifth is the lake MYMĀṬY (*Smāṭy*?), also in Rūm. Its length is three days' journey and its breadth one day's journey. Round it are inhabited lands. It has plenty of fish and it is said that it has also water-horses. 13. The sixth is the lake YŪN in Pārs near Kāzrūn, 10 farsangs long and 8 farsangs broad. Round it lie inhabited lands and it has many useful products (*manāfi*). 14. The seventh is the lake BĀSFAHRĪ (*\*Bāsafūya*) in Pārs near Shīrāz, 8 farsangs long and 7 farsangs broad. Round it lie inhabited lands (but) it has little utility (*kam-manfa'at*). 15. The eighth is the lake J.NKĀN in Pārs, 12 farsangs long and 10 farsangs broad. It has some useful products and round it are inhabited lands. 16. The ninth is the lake \*BIJAGĀN [now: *Bakhtagān*] in Pārs, 20 farsangs long, 15 farsangs broad. In it salt is formed (*namak bandadh*) and round it are the places inhabited by wild beasts; from it rises (*bigushāyadh*) a spring towards the limits (*hudūd*) of Dārāgird and it continues (*hamī-ravadh*) until it reaches the sea. 17. The tenth is \*TUZ-KŪL (spelt: *Taus-kūk*) in (the land) of the Khallukh. It is 10 farsangs long and 8 farsangs broad. In it salt is formed (and) from it comes salt for seven Khallukhian tribes (*qabilat*). 18. The eleventh is \*ISSI-KŪL (spelt: *Ayskūk*) between the Chigil and the Toghuzghuz. It is 30 farsangs long and 20 farsangs broad. The town Barskhān is on its shore.

The number of the lakes with fresh water is not known. Some (*bahrī*) are called lakes (*daryā*) and some swamps (*baṭiḡha*). Among those called lakes seven are well-known. 19. The lake in Egypt called BUḤAYRA TINNĪS is joined to the sea of Rūm and the river Nile flows

<sup>1</sup> Confused with the Baltic? *V.i.*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 4, 25.



into it. This lake in summer is fresh, but in winter when (the water) of the Nile is low (*rūdh-i Nīl andakī buvadh*) it grows salt. In the middle of this lake are two towns, the one Tinnīs (spelt: *Tinais*) and the other Dimyāṭ. All the costly textiles (*jāma*) exported from Egypt come from these two towns. This lake is 15 farsangs long and 11 farsangs broad. 20. The lake of TIBERIAS (*Ṭabariya*) is in Syria. It is 12 farsangs long and 7 farsangs broad. 21. The lake of \*NICAËA (spelt: *T.ntiya*, < \**Niqiya*) in Rūm. Round it are inhabited lands. It is 8 farsangs long and 5 farsangs broad. 22. The lake RİYAS [sic] in Rūm. Round it are inhabited lands. It is 5 farsangs long and 5 farsangs broad. 23. The lake ARZAN (\**Arshan*) in Pārs, near Shīrāz. The fish of Shīrāz are from this lake. It is 10 farsangs long and 8 farsangs broad. 24. The lake ZARAH in Sīstān. Round it are inhabited lands and villages, except on the side which adjoins the desert (*ba biyābān bāz dāradh*). It is 30 farsangs long and 7 farsangs broad. It happens sometimes (*gāh buvadh*) that the water of this lake Zarah (grows) so much (*chandān*) that the rivers rising from it overflow into the province of Kirmān (*ba Kirmān bigudharadh*) and form an enormous lake. | 25. The DARYĀZHA lying within the limits (*andar ḥadd*) of Surūshana 4a (spelt: *Subrūshna*) is formed by four rivers rising from Buttāmān (*kī az Buttāmān gushāyadh*). It is situated amidst mountains. From it comes (*bigushāyadh*) the river watering Samarqand, Bukhārā, and Sughd. The lake is 4 farsangs by 4 farsangs.

So much (*in*) about those lakes (*daryāyak-hā*) which are known and which are mentioned in the information (*akhbār*) contained in the books [or: in the *akhbār* and books?].<sup>1</sup>

And outside these (*bīrūn az in*), small lakes are numerous, such as the lakes,<sup>2</sup> 26. one of which lies in the mountains of Gūzgān in Mānshān close to Bastarāb and is 1 farsang long and half a farsang broad, and 27. such as there are in the mountains of Ṭūs and Ṭabaristān. But they are neither (well)-known nor ancient, and sometimes they dry up so that no water remains in them. Therefore (*az bahr-i ān*) we have not mentioned them.

As regards the waters called swamps they are numerous but the well-known ones (*ānch ma'rūf ast*) are nine: 28–30. three among them (lie in) the desolate lands of the south (*si andar vay vīrān-yi junūb-ast*) beyond Nubia (*Nūba*) close to Jabal al-Qamar, from which<sup>2</sup> rise ten rivers. From each five of them one marsh is formed (*batīḥa bandadh*); then (*āngah*) from each of the (two) marshes rise three rivers, which (all) join in one place (*ba yak jā gird āyadh*) and from all the six of them one swamp (*yakī batīḥa*) is formed. Then from

<sup>1</sup> *mar ū-rā andar kitāb-hā* [\**va*] *akhbār yādh karda-ast*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 6, 62.

this swamp rises the river Nile which passes between Nubia and the lands of Egypt until it empties itself (*uftadh*) into the lake Tinnis. 31.-32. The two other swamps are those of Baṣra, round which there are many inhabited lands, villages, and boroughs. 33. The (sixth) one is the marsh of KŪFA round which there are many inhabited lands, with many amenities (*bā ni'mat-i bisyār*). 34. The seventh is the swamp of Bukhārā which is called ĀVĀZA-YI PAYKAND and is situated in the desert. 35. The eighth is at the upper end (*a'ālī*) of Chīnistān, in the region (*hudūd*) of the town Khumdān. 36. The ninth is in the North of Chīnistān.

All of these lakes and swamps have fresh water with much fish in it. Fishermen are active on them, whereas it (often) happens that the swamps other than these (*juz in*) dry up; therefore we have not mentioned them.

#### § 4. Discourse on the Islands

Any land situated in the midst of a sea above the surface of the water, or any mountain standing in the midst of a sea,<sup>1</sup> is called island.

A. In the Eastern Ocean there is a (well)-known island called 1. SILVER-ISLAND (*jazīrat al-fidḍa*) on which there are many teak-trees (*sāj*) and ebony-trees (*ābanūs*), as well as silver mines. It possesses seven big rivers which come out of seven different places in the same island (*ham az in jazīra*) and empty themselves into that sea. On the island there is a great and well-known city, which is considered as belonging to Chīnistān (*az shumār-i Chīnistān*) and called the City of the Silver-island. It is prosperous (*ābādhān*) and has a numerous population (*bisyār-mardum*).

B. In the Great Sea there are thirteen known islands and 2. two inhabited mountains, of which the one stretches in a southern direction (*az nāhiyat-i junūbī āyadh*) and protrudes into this sea; the other stretches (*biravadh*) in a northern direction and enters into this sea opposite the first one (*barābar-i vay*). These two mountains are mentioned in Ptolemy's books (*in du kūh rā . . . madhkūr-ast* [sic]). A part of each of these (two) mountains is on the land, and a part in the sea. 3. The first of the islands of this Great Sea is called GOLD-ISLAND (*dhahabiya*); its periphery is of 300 farsangs and it possesses gold-mines and many cultivated lands (*ābādhānī*), and its inhabitants are called Wāqwāqian Zangī (*Zangiyān-i Wāqwāqī*). All are naked and (all are) man-eaters (*mardum-khwār*). Chinese merchants go there in great numbers, carrying iron and food, (which) they sell

<sup>1</sup> Peninsulas are also considered islands, *v.i.* B 2.

to the inhabitants for gold, using signs and without saying a word to each other. | 4. Another island in this sea is called ṬABARNĀ 4b (\*Taprobanē). Its periphery is 1,000 farsangs. Round it are fifty-nine large islands both cultivated and desolate. On it are found numerous towns and villages as well as many rivers and mountains. It possesses mines of corundum (*yāqūt*) of all colours. This island lies off the frontier (*sarḥadd*) separating Chīnistān from Hindūstān, and in it there is a large city called MUVAS; it is situated on the extremity (*karān*) which lies towards Hindūstān (*ba Hindūstān bāz dāradh*). Whatever this island produces is carried to that city and therefrom to the cities of the world. 5. The third island RĀMĪ (*al-Rāmī*) lies in the region (*ḥudūd*) of Sarandīb, southward of it. There live black people, wild and naked. They are divers and this is the place of pearls (*murvārīd*). The island produces ambergris (*‘ambar*), Brazil wood (*dār-i parniyān*), and the animal (called) rhinoceros (*karg-i jānavar*).<sup>1</sup> They sell amber for (*barābar*) iron. The root of the trees of Brazil wood (*bikh-i dār-i parniyān*) which comes from this island is an antidote to all poisons (*tiryāk-ast az hama zahr-hā*). 6. The fourth island is Ṣ.RĪḤ (\*Zābaḡ?), west[?] of Sarandīb. In it grow camphor trees, the people there are wild and snakes numerous. 7. The fifth is called JĀBA and SALĀHIṬ (Sumatra). From it comes much ambergris, cubeb (*kabāba*), sandal-wood, spikenard (*sunbul*), and cloves (*qaranful*). 8. The sixth lies west of the said Jāba and is called BĀLŪS; between them there is a distance of 2 farsangs. The people there are black and man-eaters. From it come good camphor, coco-nuts (*jaus-i hindī*), bananas (*maus*), and sugar-cane (*nay-shakar*). 9. The seventh, south of Bālūs, is called KALA, and it is the kingdom of the Indian Jāba.<sup>2</sup> Between Bālūs and Kala the distance is a two days’ journey. In it (Kala) grow numerous bamboos (*khayzurān*), and it possesses tin (*arziz*) mines. 10. The eighth island, called BANKĀLŪS (\*Lankabālūs), is situated west of Kala. Between them there is a distance of six days. Its people are naked; they mingle (*andar āmizand*) with the merchants. Their commodity is iron. Their food is bananas, fish, and coco-nuts. This island is at a distance of 20 days from the town of \*Malay. 11. The ninth island, situated near Sindān, is called HARANJ and produces much camphor. 12. The tenth island is LĀFT which possesses a flourishing (*khurram*) town, (also) called Lāft. On it there are fields

<sup>1</sup> To distinguish it from the bird *karg*.

<sup>2</sup> پادشاهی جابه هندوست could be alternatively translated: “The king of Jāba is

an Indian” but our text is an exact rendering of I. Kh., 66: و هی مملکت جابه الهندی.

(*kisht-u-barz*) and many amenities (*ni'mat*), and pleasant waters, and from all the world (people) go there for trade. This island is situated off Pārs. 13. The eleventh is NĀRA, lying on the Equator line, in the middle (*bar miyāna*) of the inhabited world. Its longitude (*tūl*) from East to West is 90 degrees. The astronomical tables and observations (*zīj va raṣad*), as well as the positions of planets (*kawākib-i sayyāra*) and fixed stars (*thābitāt*), were calculated in the ancient tables (*zīj*) with regard to this island (*badhīn jazīra rāst kardand*). This island is called "equinoctial" (*istiwā al-layl wa 'l-nahār*). 14. The twelfth island, called WĀL (\**Uwāl*), lies off Pārs and possesses many pleasant villages. It is a port of call (*jāy-i manzil*) for ships. 15. The thirteenth, called KHĀRAK, lies south of Baṣra at a distance of 50 farsangs. It possesses a large and prosperous town called Khārak. Near it excellent (*murtafi'*) and costly pearls (*murvārīd*) are found. 16. The other two islands are small and lie close to each other. They are called SOCOTRA (*ū rā Saqītrā* [sic] *khvānand*) and are situated near the country 'Omān. It is a place of little amenity (*kam ni'mat*) but has many inhabitants.

In that sea there are (other) numerous islands but they are desolate, unknown, and small. Therefore we have not mentioned them.

17. And in that sea<sup>1</sup> off the Syrian desert (*bādiya*) lie the rocks 5 a (*kūh*) called FĀRĀN and JUBAYLĀT. The sea | there is always billowy and agitated (*bā mauj va āshufta*).

C. In the Western Ocean there are twenty-five known islands of which the names are found in Ptolemy's book. Of them (*az vāy*) six lying off the Land of the Sūdān are called 18. AL-JAZĀ'IR AL-KHĀLIYA and possess gold-mines. Once a year people from the region (*nāhiyat*) of the Sūdān and the towns of Sūs-the-Distant go to fetch gold from the mines but nobody can settle down there (*kas muqīm natawānad shudan*) on account of the intensity of heat. 19. The seventh island is GHADĪRA (spelt: '*Adīra*') which lies at the point where the sea of Rūm joins this Ocean; from it rises (*bigushāyadh*) a large spring of water. The mouth of the strait opens into the Rūm Sea (*dahna-yi khalij daryā-yi Rūm gardadh*). The eighth and the ninth are two islands situated close to one another: the one is called 20. RHODES (spelt: *Rūdhas*) and the other 21. ARWĀDH; they lie off the lands of Rūm. (The position of) the stars was observed by the Greeks (*raṣad-hā-yi Yūnāniyān*) from (*andar*) these two islands. The tenth and the eleventh are two islands situated half a farsang from one another, off the last limits (*ākhir-i ḥadd*) of Rūm in the northern direction. They are called 22. ISLAND OF MEN and 23. ISLAND OF WOMEN. On the

<sup>1</sup> i.e. in one of the gulfs belonging to it, v.s. § 3, 3 (b).

former the inhabitants are all men, and on the latter women. Each year for four nights they come together for the purpose of procreation (*az bahr-i tavāhūd rā*), and when the boys reach the age of three years they send them to the Island of Men. On the Island of Men there are thirty-six big rivers which rise there and fall into the sea, while on the Island of Women there are three such rivers. Beyond these islands in the northern direction of the same sea (*nāhiyat-i shamāl-i in daryā*) there are twelve islands called 24. BRITĀNIYA, of which some are cultivated and some desolate. On them are found numerous mountains, rivers, villages, and different mines. The twenty-fourth is the island called 25. TUWAS (or *Tūs*) and situated north of the islands of Britāniya. It is 100 farsangs long and from it comes a large water (*āb-i buzurg*) which overflows the dry land (*bar khushk rīzadh*) and flows straight to the sea of Maeotis (spelt: *Marts*) situated north of the Şaqlāb, as we have mentioned.<sup>1</sup> The twenty-fifth is the island 26. THŪLĪ (Thule). For some of the northern cities the longitude was fixed (*girifta-and*) from those islands [sic]. This is the island where the circle parallel (*muwāzī* spelt: *mawāzī*) to the Equator and passing through this island touches (*gudharadh*) the (extreme) limit of the inhabited lands (*ābādhānī*) of the world, in the northern direction.

The known islands of the Western Ocean are those which we have enumerated.

D. In the sea of Rūm there are six inhabited islands and two mountains. Of the latter the one is called 27. JABAL-ṬARIQ (Gibraltar). One of its extremities (*sar*) is in the land of Spain (*Andalus*) and the other, in the strait joining the sea of Rūm to the Ocean. In it there is a silver mine, and from it come the drugs (*dārū*) usual in that land, e.g., gentian (*jintiyānā*) and the like. The other mountain is 28. JABAL AL-QILĀL near the Roman land (*shahr-i Rūmiya*?);<sup>2</sup> west of it (*andar maghrib az vāy*) there is a mountain<sup>3</sup> of which it is said that no one has been able to climb on to its summit on account of its height, and from it come game, timber, and fuel.

As regards the six islands, the one is called 29. CYPRUS (spelt: *Qubras*), of which the periphery is 350 miles (*mīl*). It has mines of silver, copper, and plasma (*dahang*). It lies off Qaysāriya, 'Akka and Tyre (*Şūr*). The second island, lying north of Cyprus, is 30. QURNUS (spelt: *Qrys*), of which the periphery is 350 miles. The third is called 31. YĀBIS (spelt: *Bālus*); its periphery is 300 miles. The fourth is 32. SICILY (spelt: *Şaqliya*), near the Roman country (*Rūmiya*); a high mountain encircles it. | In the days of old, Roman treasure used 5 b

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 3, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Less probable: "town of Rome", *v.i.* 32.

<sup>3</sup> The Alps?

to be (kept) in that island on account of its strength (*ustuvāri*). Its length is 7 post stages (*manzil*) and its breadth 5 stages. The fifth island is called 33. SARDINIA (spelt: *Surdāniya*). It lies south of the Roman country (*Rūmiya*); its periphery is 300 miles. The sixth is 34. CRETE (spelt: *Iqrītas*), situated off Atrābulus, (and) north of it. Its periphery is 300 miles.

These six islands are cultivated (*ābādhān*) and have many amenities (*ni'mat*). They have many towns and districts (*rustā*), a numerous population, many merchants, troops, and much wealth (*khwāsta*). These islands of the Rūm Sea are more cultivated than any islands of the world.

E. In the Armenian Sea lies one island with a village called 35. KABŪDHĀN. It is a rich locality (*jāy*) with many inhabitants.

F. In the Caspian Sea (*daryā-yi Khazarān*) there are two islands. The one lies off the Khazarian Darband and is called 36. JAZĪRAT AL-BĀB. It produces *rūyan* (madder, *rūnās*) exported to all the world and used by the dyers. The other island is 37. SIYĀH-KŪH; a horde (*gurūh*) of Ghūz Turks who have settled there loot (*duzdī*) on land and sea. There is another island on the sea, but one of its corners is joined to the land off Dihistān; it is called 38. DIHISTĀNĀN-SUR, and on it are found a few people (*andakī mardum*): hunters of falcons and pelicans (*ṣayyādān-i bāz va ḥawāsil*), and fishermen.

In the whole world there is no other extensive, reputed, and inhabited island, except those which we have mentioned here. We have represented on the Map (*ṣurat kardīm*) the seas, the gulfs, and the islands as they are, and at their proper places. The might is in God!

### § 5. Discourse on the Mountains and Mines which exist in them

The nature (*nihādh*) of the mountains is twofold. Some are real (*aṣḥ*) mountains, stretching from one region (*nāhiyat*) into another, growing now thin and now thick (*siṭabr*), going, now straight and now curved, till the place where they finish (*bi-buradh*); these are called ridges of mountains (*'amūd-i kūh*). The other (kind) are the ramifications (*shākh*) of the mountains which branch off (*bar giradh*) from the ridge of the mountain and also go on till the place where they end; they are called branches (*shākh*), just as a tree has numerous branches. And it may happen that those branches also have branches. Such is the likeness (*mithāl*) of the mountains. The mountains of which the ridge passes through (*andar miyān*) countries and districts

(*rustā*) have (usually) many branches, while those that stretch in the deserts and along the border of a sea, or of a river, have few branches. The ridges of the mountains are mostly joined to one another.

1. The first mountain in the eastern direction is the one which we have called AL-ṬĀ'IN FIL-BAHR ("Thrusting into the sea"). Half of it is on land and the other half in the sea.

2. The other mountain is SARANDĪB, of which the length is 100 farsangs and it is so high that in some places no one can climb (up it). From (the top of the) Sarandīb to (its) foot (*dāman*) is a distance of two days. The mountain possesses mines of corundum (*yāqūt*) of different colours. And in its river-beds (*rūdh-kadha*) diamonds are found. In the whole world there is no other place of diamonds. Its soil is of emery (*sunbādha*). In (Sarandīb) there are costly pearls (which are extracted from) the sea that is nearer to it. It produces plenty of spikenard (*sunbul*), cloves, cardamum (*qāqula*), nutmeg (*jauz-i bavā*) and all kinds of spices (*afvāh*). It has numerous coco-nut trees, Brazil wood (*dār-i parniyān*), and bamboos. There are found in it musk-deer, civet-cats (*hayvān-i sabād*) | and rhinoceroses <sup>6a</sup> (*karg*). On it the trace of a human foot is found impressed upon a stone (*nishān-i pāy-i mardum ba-sang furū shuda*). It is said to be the trace of Adam's foot, on him be peace! The people (*mardumān*) of Sarandīb are naked. This mountain lies in the first clime.

3. From the corner (*gūsha*) of this mountain starts (*bar dāradh*) (another) mountain adjoining it (which passes) between (*miyān*) the end (*ākhir*) of Hindūstān and the beginning of Chīnistān. It is called MĀNISĀ. It follows (*furūdh āyad*) a northern direction until it reaches the place where Hindūstān ends and Tibet begins. It follows again a northern direction between Tibet and China (*Chīn*) up to the farthest limit of Rāng-rong (?) belonging to Tibet. Then (*ān-gah*) it turns ('*atf*) westwards and goes between China and the country (*nāhiyat*) Nazvān belonging to Tibet in a north-western direction up to the farthest limit of Tibet; then between (*miyān*) Tūs.mt and the confines (*va miyān-i hudūd*) of China<sup>1</sup> to the farthest limit (*ākhir*) of the desert situated at the extreme end (*ākhir*) of Chīnistān; (then stretches) between (*miyān*) the towns of Transoxiana and the towns of Turkistān up to the confines (*hudūd*) of Ṭarāz and Shiljī, and there the ridge of the mountain disappears (*anjā in 'amūd biburradh*).

4. And at the end of Hindūstān and the beginning of Tibet a branch (of the Mānisā range) shoots off (*bar giradh*) eastwards into Chīnistān (*ba Chīnistān andar*) for a distance of 50 farsangs. And likewise from<sup>2</sup> the place which is the end of Tibet numerous branches

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Khotan? See Notes.

<sup>2</sup> Small erasure, but the text is complete.

shoot off east and westwards and spread out (*va andar parāganadh*). And at the confines of Transoxiana numerous branches shoot off, and from each of them too numerous branches spread out in every direction (*hama nāhiyat*) of Transoxiana. And in those branches mines of silver and gold are found, as well as much lead (*surb*) and iron and many drugs (*dārū*).

5. In the provinces (*nawāhī*) of Chīnistān there are eighteen mountains, small and big, separate (*burīdha*) from each other. And in each locality there are some mountains scattered (*parāganda*) in every direction. In fourteen of these mountains gold-mines are found.

6. Then another mountain is at the farthest limit of the Toghuzghuz Turks where they adjoin China (*Chīn*). Its length is 4 farsangs and it is called ṬAFQĀN.

7. And also in the neighbourhood of Ṭafqān, in the Toghuzghuz country (*nāhiyat*), a mountain shoots off (*bar gīradh*) in a western direction between (*andar miyān*) the Toghuzghuz, the Yaghmā, and various encampments (*khargāh*: "felt-huts") until it joins the mountain Mānisā. In the neighbourhood of the river Khūlandghūn this mountain is called IGHRĀJ-ART, and each part of this mountain (*har yakī az īn kūh*) has many names, because (*sīrāk*) every part of these mountains is called by the name of the region (*nāhiyat*), or by that of the town (*ya ān-i ān shahr*) which is nearest to it.

8. Another mountain shoots off (*bar gīradh*) from the beginning of the Toghuzghuz frontier (*ḥadd*) in the neighbourhood of the lake Issi-kūl (spelt: *Iskūk*). It continues till the end of the Tukhs (*Tukh-siyān*) and the beginning of the Khallukh frontier, then it bends (*'atf*), and a branch separates<sup>1</sup> from it (*bāz gardadh*) into the land (*nāhiyat*) of a Khirkhīz tribe. This mountain is called TŪLAS and in it are found many sable-martens (*samūr*), grey squirrels (*sanjāb*), and musk-deer (*āhū-yi mushk*), while in that branch (*'atf*) which stretches off (*bāz kashadh*?) towards the Khirkhīz country musk-deer (*hayvān-i mushk*), *khutū*-[horns], grey squirrels, and sable-martens are found.

9. Another mountain stretches from the district of Kūlī in Kanbāya (spelt: *Kanbāta*) belonging to Hindūstān. It follows an eastern direction till Ṣamūr<sup>2</sup>, then takes (*furūdh āyadh*) a northern direction, passing between Dahum's country (*mamlakat-i D.h.m*) and that of the raja of the Hindus (*rāy az Hinduwān*) up to the limits (*ḥudūd*) of Hitāl (sic). Then this mountain splits into two branches (*ba du shākh gardadh*).

<sup>1</sup> Turns back? Cf. under 17. [See p. 286, n. 1].

<sup>2</sup> Indistinctly written: صُور, صُور?



9 A. One branch going northwards enters (*furūdh āyadh*) the confines (*hudūd*) of Tīthāl (?) and Nītāl (\*Nēpāl?), and passes between (*miyāna*) the farthest limit of India and Tibet, going north of the confines (*hudūd*) of Bolōr, Samarqandāq, Shaknān [sic], and Vakhān (spelt: *Khān*), and south of the desert; then, on the confines (*hudūd*) of Zhāsht (\*Rāsht?), it takes (*furūdh āyadh*) a north-western direction and passes | through the confines of Buttamān belonging 6 b to Transoxiana, until it reaches (*bar āyadh*) the confines of Surūshna (spelt: *Sarūshana*). This mountain has numberless (*bisyār va bī-adad*) ramifications in the districts (*az hudūd*) Shaknān, Vakhān, and Zhāsht.

9 Aa. From the interior (*miyān*) of Vakhān and Zhāsht start many mountains (which) spread out (*parāganadh*) inside the limits (*andar hudūd*) of Khuttalān, and mines of gold and silver are found there. Of the branches of Khuttalān, one branch separates (*bar dāradh*) and becomes one with another (coming) from the district (*hudūd*) of Buttamān. From them separate numerous branches directing themselves (*uftadh*) into the district of Chaghāniyān, where they scatter. And where the said original ridge of the mountain ('*amūd-i aṣlī*) comes near Buttamān, (the chain) splits into two, but when (these two branches) come to the confines (*hudūd*) of Surūshana (spelt: *Shurūshna*) they unite again. From the confines (*hudūd*) of Buttamān a branch shoots off (*bar gīradh*) which passes between the Buttamān-of-Daryāzha and Chaghāniyān (*andar miyān-i Buttamān-i Daryāzha va miyān-i Ch.*) and skirts the confines (*bar hudūd*) of Samarqand and Sughd down to the confines of Bukhārā. And likewise, each of these branches has a few or many offshoots.

9 B. As regards the other branch, from the frontier (*hadd*) of Hibtāl [sic] it traverses (*az miyān*) Hindūstān, follows the confines (*hudūd*) of Qinnauj (Kanauj) and passes between the country of the continental (?) Jāba (*mamlakat-i jāba-yi khushk*)<sup>1</sup> and the kingdom of Lhrz<sup>2</sup> where it is called the mountain of Q.s.k (?), and so it runs north (*andar shamāl*) of the confines of Qashmīr, Vayhind (spelt: *Vbhnd*), Dunpūr, and Lamghān, and south of Bolōr, Shaknān, Vakhān, and Badhakhshān, passing south (*bar jumūb*) of the districts (*rustā-hā*) of Khuttalān. Then it enters (*uftadh*) the limits (*hudūd*) of Tukhāristān, stretches between (*miyān*) Tāraqān, Sakalkand, Khulm (and) Simingān, and south of Balkh, and enters the confines of Sān and Chāryak belonging to Gūzgān.

9 Ba. Then it turns westwards (and) in a north-western direction penetrates into the country of Ghūr (passing) south of Aspuzār (*Isfizār*),

<sup>1</sup> *Khushk*, "dry land", cf. § 4, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Small erasure, but the text is complete.

Herat (*Harē*), Būshang, and Nishāpūr. Then between Nishāpūr and Sabzavār (spelt: *Sqr̄vār* < \**Safzavār*), it takes the direction of the road (following the latter) on its northern side (*ba rāh furūdh āyadh az sūy-i shamāl*) and again turning westwards passes north of Simnān and Rayy and enters (*uftadh*) the region (*nāhiyat*) of Daylamān, (stretching on) up to the end of the limits (*hudūd*) of Gilān.

9 Bb. And when this mountain after having turned aside from the province of Balkh (*az hudūd-i Balkh 'atf kunad*) (reaches) the frontier (*andar hadd*) of Madr belonging to Tukhāristān, so many small and large branches spread out of it (*bar dāradh*) in those districts (*navāhi*) that only God knows their number. And from each of its branches many (other) spurs shoot off which spread (*parāganadh*) in the region (*andar hudūd*) of Tukhāristān, Andarāb, Panjhīr, Jāriyāna (spelt: *Khāriyāna*),<sup>1</sup> Bāmiyān, Bust, Rukhadh, Zamīndāvar, and Ghaznīn, and (further) stretch (*bikashadh*) down to the limits (*hudūd*) of Sind. In those branches mines of gold and silver (are found). And when the (principal) ridge of this mountain reaches the districts of Ghūr, a branch shoots off from it and forms a circle (*gird andar āyadh*) like a finger-ring; then the branches unite (again) into one chain, and inside the ring a tribe . . . [2-3 words missing]. And from this ring of mountains a large branch shoots off, which together with those other branches takes an eastern [?] direction and spreads out in the limits (*hudūd*) of Bust and Ghaznīn. Likewise in the locality of Aspuzār this mountain possesses small offshoots which spread out (*andar parāganadh*) in the districts (*rustā*) of Aspuzār (*Isbzār*).

{Likewise in the region (*nāhiyat*) of Kūhistān and Kūmish, and the limits (*hudūd*) of Daylamān this mountain has many ramifications.}<sup>2</sup>

9 Bc. On reaching the locality of Sān and Chahāryak belonging 7 a to Gūzgān, this ridge of mountains splits into two: | the one branch is that which we have described (*padhīdh*);<sup>3</sup> the other one goes north of it taking a western direction between Kundarm and Anbīr. It passes between Gurzivān and Jahūdhān, between Bashīn and Diza, between \*Marrūdh and Baghshūr and south of Sarakhs. Then it takes a northern direction and goes to the limits (*hudūd*) of Tūs, Bāvard, and Nasā until it reaches the limits (*hudūd*) of Gurgān. Then comes a valley, three days long but narrow, which is called DĪNĀR-ZĀRĪ. And the mountain, which (stretches?) on the other side of the valley, takes a direction through the limits of Sibarāyin (\**Siparāyin* > *Isfarāyin*) until it reaches the limits of Gurgān (*az hudūd-i S. furūdh āyadh tā ba hudūd-i G. rasadh*). Then it turns south-westwards going on (*hamī ravadh*) south of Āmol and the towns

<sup>1</sup> Jārbāya?<sup>2</sup> This sentence ought to come under 9 Ba.<sup>3</sup> See above, 9 Ba.

of Ṭabaristān down to the limits (*hudūd*) of the town Rayy. Then it joins the other chain ('*amūd*) which we have described (*sifat*). The two chains united go up to the end of the province of Gīlān, as we have explained. From the limits of Hindūstān where this mountain begins till the limits of Gīlān where it ends this mountain is called "Belt of the Earth" (*kamar-i zamīn*), or in Arabic "Minṭaqat al-Ard".

10. Other mountains are in the province of Kirmān. They are separate (*burīdha*) from each other, (but jointly) are called the mountains of Kirmān. One of them called the KŪFIJ MOUNTAIN is in the midst of the desert. It stretches from the sea to the limits (*hudūd*) of Jīruft and consists of seven mountains joined to one another. Each of them has a chief (*har kūhī rā . . . mihtarī dāradh*) and the representatives of the government ('*āmīl-i sulṭān*) do not go (*nashavadh*) to those mountains, and those chiefs (*ān mihtarān*) every year collect and send in the amount of tribute-money (*muqāṭa'a gird kunand*). These seven mountains do not obey each other, and the people of these mountains are called Kūfijiyān. They have a special language. It is a place of great amenity (*ni'mat*) and great strength (*ustuvvār*) and cannot be conquered by armies and war. Between Jīruft and this mountain there are hills (*shākhak-hā-yi kūh*) and the locality is called BŪ GHĀNIM'S KŪHISTĀN. Another mountain is BĀRIJĀN. It runs along (*darazā*) from the frontier of Jīruft to the frontier of Bam, possesses mines of lead (*surb*), copper, and lodestone (*sang-i maghnātīs*), and has two villages: Kaftar and Dihak. Another mountain of Jīruft has a length of two days' journey and possesses numerous mines. Another mountain called KŪH-I SĪM ("Silver Mountain") consists of two small mountains joined together. It lies between Khatr (\*Khabr?) and Jīruft and possesses silver-mines.

11. Another mountain in the province Pārs begins (*bar giradh*) between Pasā and Dārāgird and stretches eastwards till the frontier (*sarḥadd*) of Kirmān. Then it takes a northern direction till (it reaches) the frontier of Tās (*Unās?*) and Raudhān (\**Rōdhān*). Then it turns westwards and runs on to the frontier between Pārs and Khūzistān. Then it takes a northern direction, passes (*furūdh āyadh*) between Bū-Dulaf's Kara (*i.e.*, Karaj) and Sipāhān, and enters the lands of the Jibāl (*ba shahr-hā-yi J. furūdh āyadh*) until it reaches the confines (*hudūd*) of Hamadān. Then it passes south of Hamadān, following a north-western direction until it reaches the confines of Marāgha, belonging to Ādharbādhagān, and then stops (*biburradh*). This mountain in the districts (*kuwar*) of the Jibāl | sends out so 7b many offshoots that there remains no town but possesses near it a spur of this mountain.

Likewise in the province of Pārs this mountain has many ramifications and (other) mountains lie there, both joined (to one another) and separate (*burīdha*), so that in the neighbourhood of each city of Pārs there is a mountain. This mountain has also ramifications near Sipāhān, which spread out (*parāganadh*) in Khūzistān. Near Sipāhān this mountain is called KŪH-JĪLŪ.

12. Another mountain lies in the northern parts (*nāhiyat*), between the frontier of the Kīmāk and the beginning of the Khirkhīz. It starts from the frontier of Kīmāk and stretches eastwards to the frontier of the Khirkhīz. Then it follows a northern direction till where the inhabited part (*ābādhānī*) of the world finishes in the north. In the northern region this mountain is called by the Kīmāk, K.NDĀV.R-BĀGHĪ (\**Kundāvar*, *Kandā'ur-taghī*).

13. Another small [?] mountain situated in the province (*nāhiyat*) of Ādharbādhagān near Ardabīl, is called SABALĀN (spelt: *Sabilān*?).

14. Another mountain lies in the districts of Armenia. It starts from Takrīt in 'Irāq, where it is called KŪH-I\*BĀRIMMĀ, and so it goes between the frontiers (*bar miyān-i ḥadd*) of Armenia and Ādharbādhagān until it reaches the limits of Bardā'.

15. In the same region (*nāhiyat*) are two other mountains separate from each other. The higher one is called ḤĀRITH (Ararat). It is impossible to climb up to its top on account of the difficulty of the road; it is constantly covered with snow, and cold (reigns) there. Numerous towns of Armenia (procure for themselves) game and fuel from that mountain. The other mountain, called ḤUWAYRITH, is similar to Ḥārith but smaller than it.

16. In the province of Jazīra there are two separate mountains. The one, called JŪDĪ, is the mountain on which Noah's ark (*kashtī*) came aground (*biistādh*). The other, called the MOUNTAIN OF MĀRDĪN, is situated near Nišibīn (spelt: *Našibīn*).

17. In the Arab country there are many small mountains; thirteen of them are called TIHĀMA. One mountain is near Mekka and is called GHAZWĀN. Another called SHIBĀM (spelt: *Shiyām*) is near Ṣan'ā; on it sown and cultivated lands are found. This place is strong, and in the days of old the residence of the king (added: *of the kings*) of Yemen was on this mountain. Another mountain (there), having a periphery (*chahār sū andar gird*) of 20 farsangs, lies at the end of the mountains of Tihāma. Its summit is flat (*hāmūn*) and has villages (*ābādhānī*), agriculture (*kisht*), and running waters. In the days of old, Muḥammad ibn Faḍl al-Qarmaṭī conquered it. Another hill (*kūhak*) called RAPWA stands near Madīna; the Mekkan whetstones (*sang-i fasān*) come from there. The other two hills (*kūhak*)

are near Fayd on the right hand of the road at a distance of two days; they are called the TWO MOUNTAINS OF ṬAYY (*Ṭabalay Ṭayy*).

18. In the province of Syria a mountain starts from the Syro-Egyptian frontier from the place which is called the TĪH OF THE SONS OF ISRAEL. Near, and joined to it, stands a high mountain called ṬŪR SĪNĀ. And so this mountain runs on straight through (*andar*) Syria in a north-eastern direction to the limits (*hudūd*) of Zughar (spelt: *Za'r*), and farther (*hamchinīn*) to the limits of Damascus, Ba'albakk, Ḥimṣ, passing north of these towns and north of Baghrās and crossing the river Jayḥūn between Armenia and Rūm. Then it takes a straight northern direction (and continues) between Armenia and Rūm to the beginning of the frontier of the Sarīr belonging to (*aṣ*) Rūm. Then it turns eastwards passing between the Sarīr (spelt: *Surīr*) | and Armenia and (between) Arrān and Qabq till (it reaches) 8 a the neighbourhood of the Khazar sea. Then it changes its direction and turns back (*bar gardadh*) westwards, passing between the Sarīr and the Khazars and reaches the beginning of the frontier of the Alāns (*al-Lān*). Then it goes straight northwards as far as the end of the Khazars. Then it traverses the country of the Khazarian Pechenegs (*miyān-i nāḥiyat-i Bachanāk-i Khazarī biburradh*) and separates the Inner Bulgars from the Rūs (*miyān-i Bulghār-i dākhlī* [*\*va*] *Urūs* [sic] *biburradh*) as far as the limits of the Ṣaqlāb. Then it takes a northern direction, traverses (*andar miyān*) the Ṣaqlāb (country) and skirts that town of the Ṣaqlāb which is called Khurdāb, after which it reaches the end of the Ṣaqlāb and there stops (*biburradh*).

From the ṬŪr Sīnā to Zughar (spelt: *Za'ur*) they call this mountain MOUNTAIN OF THE KHĀRIJITES (*shurāt*, spelt: *sh.rāh*) and on it are many villages (*ābādhānī*) and near it all the people are Khārijites (*khārijīyān*). From \*Zughar to the limits of Damascus they call it BALQĀ. From Damascus to Ḥimṣ, LUBNĀN; from Ḥimṣ to the limits of Baghrās, [the Mountain of the] BAHRĀ (spelt: *Dahrā*) and TANŪKH; from the limits (*hudūd*) of Baghrās to the beginning of the Sarīr frontier, LUKKĀM; from there, until having curved in the above-mentioned way (*tā ān 'atf-hā bikunadh*) it reaches the beginning of the Alāns, it is called QABQ; after this, until finally (*tā ākhir ki*) it disappears (*munqaṭī*), each place is called after the town and the district which adjoins it, as is the case with the other mountains.

18 A. When it reaches the end of Syria and the beginning of Armenia a large branch separates from it and enters the region (*nāḥiyat*) of Rūm. It (also) has ramifications, and numerous gold-mines exist in it.

18 B. And from the beginning of the frontier of the Sarīr a branch starts which finally joins the Sea of the Georgians (*Gurziyān*).

18 c. And when it reaches the middle of the Sarīr a huge (*ʿaẓīm*) branch shoots off from it and thus it runs on eastwards (*az sūy-i mashriq*) between those two mountains until it reaches a fortress. The latter is a town on the summit of this mountain, of which the wall (*bāra*) is every day guarded in turn (*ba-naubat*) by (a detachment of) 1,000 men.<sup>1</sup> Mines of gold and lead are found there.

18 d. And when this mountain reaches the limits of the Alāns a very great (*sakht ʿaẓīm*) branch separates (from it) which goes in a western direction as far as the Alān Gate and there, on the summit of this mountain, stands a town, which is the most flourishing of the Alān towns. There this branch ends.

19. Another small mountain stretches between the end of the Rūs frontier (*ḥadd*) and the beginning of the Kīmāk frontier; it runs on for a distance of five days.

20. In the country (*andar ḥadd*) of Rūm there is a mountain in the province called Rustā-yi Awās (Ephesus?) and therein is a large and frightful cavern (*shikaft . . . bā ḥaul*) which is said to have been the place of the "Companions of the Cavern" (i.e., the Seven Sleepers).

21. Another mountain in Rūm, situated near the town (or land?) of Afrakhūn, stretches in length for a distance of six days.

22. Another mountain stands near the Georgian mountain (*Kūh-i Gurs*) and in it are mines of silver and copper.

23. In the province of Egypt there are two mountains: the one is situated on the eastern side of the river Nile (*bar sūy-i mashriq az rūdh-i Nīl*). From the frontier of Uswān and the beginning of the frontier of Nubia (*Nūba*) it runs straight north and enters Upper Egypt (*Ṣaʿīd al-aʿlā*). It skirts the limits (*ḥudūd*) of Būṣīr (spelt: *Tawṣīr*) and Fustāt, which is the capital (*qaṣaba*) of Egypt, until it reaches Ḥauf [al-Sharqī: "eastern bank"] (spelt: *Khauf*) and the place where the Jifār (spelt: *Jifāra*) sands are situated, and there it ends. In that mountain mines of silver and gold are found and it is (called) MUQATṬAM (spelt: *Muʿaẓẓam*).

24. The other mountain is on the western side of the river Nile. It also starts (*bar giradh*) just (*rāst*) from the beginning of the Nubian frontier and takes a northern direction until in the region (*ḥudūd*) of Fayyūm it reaches Ibrīq (\**Abwait*?).<sup>2</sup> Then a small branch shoots off  
8 b (*bāz kashadh*) westwards and disappears. | In this mountain there are mines of garnets (*bījādhā*), emeralds (*zumurrud*), and chrysolites (*ẓabarjad*). And on this mountain wild asses (*khar-i wahshī*) are found striped (*mulammaʿ*) with black and yellow, but if you take

<sup>1</sup> This detail ought to come under 18 d., cf. § 48, 3.

<sup>2</sup> See note, p. 204-5.

them out of this climate (*hawā*) they die.<sup>1</sup> This mountain is called MOUNTAIN OF THE OASES (*kūh-i al-wāḥāt*).

25. And in Rūm there is a small mountain beyond the gulf near Seleucia.

26. Another mountain is within the limits (*andar ḥudūd*) of Spain; it starts from (*az ḥadd*) Malaga (spelt: *Māliqa*) and in an eastern direction runs down to (*tā bi ḥadd*) Shantariya; then it turns northwards and enters (*furūdḥ āyadh*) the province of Lerida (*Lārīda*); then it bends westwards to the province of Toledo (*Tulayṭila*), and (the city of) Toledo is situated at the foot of this mountain; and there it ends.

27. Another mountain stands in the country of Spain on the frontier of Coria (*bi ḥadd-i Qūriya*) and Truxillo (*Tirjāla*). And from it come many drugs (*dārū*).

28. Another mountain stands in (*andar ḥudūd*) Western Rūm and is called BULGHARĪ. It is an inhabited mountain with many amenities (*ni'mat*).

All these mountains which we have enumerated are those situated in the northern quarter of the inhabited lands of the world. As regards Southern Inhabited Lands—so far as people can penetrate—they possess nine mountains.

29. The one, called JABAL AL-QAMAR, possesses mines of silver and gold, and the river Nile comes out of it. Its length is 500 far-sangs.

30. The other eight mountains vary in longitude, latitude, and extension (*tūl va 'arḍ va masāfat*); their places and dimensions are such as we have shown (*paydhā*) on the Map (*ṣūrat*). And assistance is from God!

## § 6. Discourse on the Rivers

Rivers are of two classes (*darb*). The first are natural and the others artificial (*ṣinā'ī*). The latter are those of which the beds (*rūdḥkadha*) have been dug out and the water brought (therein) for the benefit (*ābādhānī*) of a town or for the agriculture (*kisht-u-barz*) of a district. Most of the artificial canals are small and ships cannot navigate them. There are towns with ten canals, or more or less, the water of which is used for drinking, for the fields (*kisht-u-barz*), and for the meadows (*giyā-khwār*); the number of these canals cannot be fixed (*na-mahdūd*) because at every moment it is subject to an increase or decrease.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, § 39, 10.

The natural rivers are those great waters which (are formed) by the melting of snow, or by the springs coming from the mountains or from the surface of the earth; (and) they make their way, while their beds become now broad (*farākh*) and now narrow, and continually flow (*hamī ravadh*) until they reach a sea, or a marsh. Some of these natural rivers are not very large and are used (*ba kār shavadh*) for the benefit (*ābādhānī*) of a town, or a district, such as the rivers of Balkh and of Marv, and it may happen that from a natural river numerous canals are derived (*bar dāradh*) and utilized while the original stream (*ān 'amūd-i rūdh*) goes down to a sea, or marsh, as is the case of the Euphrates.

1. The first river in the eastern parts is the KHUDMĀN RIVER coming from the Sarandīb mountain. After having flowed for a distance of twelve days it forms a swamp (*āngah baṭīḥa bandadh*),<sup>1</sup> of which the length and width alike are 5 farsangs. Then from that marsh too comes out such a large (*chandān*) river as to flow for a distance of seven days down to Khumdān. Some of it is used for cultivation, and the rest flows out into the Eastern Ocean.

2. Another river called KĪSAU [sic] rises from the east of the mountain Mānisā and reaches the place situated in the centre of  
9a Tibet (*badh-ān jāy kī ba-miyāna-yi hudūd-i Tubat*). And it flows on, following that mountain (*badh-in kūh*), among mountains and cultivated lands, until it comes opposite the Tibeto-Indian frontier (*tā barābar-i hadd-i miyān-i Tubbat va Hindūstān rasadh*). Then it cuts through many mountains and traverses them down to the limits of Kujān and Bughshūr [sic]; then it passes between the Chinese provinces (*nāhiyat*) of Īr.sh and Khūr.sh and flows out into the Eastern Ocean. This river, after it has entered the limits of Bughshūr (B.ghsūz?), is called \*GHYĀN (spelt: 'Inān).

3. Another river, called \*WAJĀKH (فجاج \**βajākh*?), rises on the eastern side of the said mountain Mānisā at the extreme limit (*ākhir-i hadd*) of the desert. It skirts (*karān*) the towns (districts?) of Thajākh [sic], Barīḥa, and Kūskān, flows on through the province of Khotan, and while passing through the region of \*Sha-chou (*chūn az nāhiyat-i Sājū andar gudharadh*) forms a swamp. Thence it flows down to the limits of Kuchā, then passes through (*andar miyān*) the province (*nāhiyat*) of Kūr.sh (?) and the province of F.rāj.klī and empties itself into the Eastern Ocean. On the western bank of this river are the houses (nests?) of the birds 'akka (magpies?), and in springtime (*ba vaqt-i bahārān*) all the banks of the river are (strewn) with the little ones of these 'akka. The breadth of this river is

<sup>1</sup> "A swamp is formed" (?).



half a farsang and this breadth can never be crossed' (*va hargiz pahnā-yi in āb naburrand*?). When the river reaches the limits of Kuchchā [sic] it is called the RIVER OF KUCHCHĀ and as such is known in the books. And from the same neighbourhood (*ham az ān nazdiki*), (but) nearer to Transoxiana, come out three rivers, of which the one is called S.MĀY.ND-GHŪN, the second KH.RĀY.ND (Khwāy.nd?)-GHŪN, and the third KHŪL.ND (Khūk.nd?)-GHŪN. Between Gh.zā and K.lbānk all the three rivers flow into the river of Thajākh [sic].

4. From the Kīsau river a big river separates which comes near this [?] fortress of Tubbat-khāqān and to \*Ūsāng (*ba nazdik-i in qal'a-yi Tubbat-khāqān va ba-Karsāng* [sic] *āyadh*) and there it is used for the fields and meadows (*kisht-u-giyā-khwār*).

5. Another river is called ILĀ. It comes from the mountain Irghāj-ārt [sic], takes a northern direction, and falls into the lake Issi-kül (spelt: *Absikūk*) [?].

6. Another river is JAYHŪN which rises from the region of Vakhān and follows the frontier (*bar hadd*) between the limits of Bolōr and those of Shakhnān, (which is) of Vakhān,<sup>2</sup> down to the limits of Khuttalān, Tukhāristān, Balkh, Chaghāniyān, Khorāsān, and Transoxiana, (then) down to the limits of Khwārazm, (finally) to fall into the sea of Khwārazm.

7. Another river is called KHARNĀB; it rises to the west of the mountain Qasak and flows into the Jayhūn between Badhakhshān and Pārghar. This Kharnāb is larger (*mihtar*) than the Jayhūn, but everybody gives the name of Jayhūn (to the latter) because (this) Jayhūn follows a longer course (*az rahī dūrtar ravadh*).

8. Another river flows behind (*az ān sūy*) Buttamān for a distance of 60 farsangs; it flows from the mountains which stretch from north to south (*az nāhiyat-i shamāl ba junūb dāradh*), till it reaches Munk and Hulbuk; and having reached Pārghar it flows into the Jayhūn.

9. Another river called VAKHSHĀB rises from the Vakhsh mountains and near Vakhsh flows into the Jayhūn.

10. Another river rises from the limits of the KUMĪJĪS (*Kumījiyān*), flows through their mountains, passes through (*bar miyān*) Nū-diz, and flows into the Jayhūn near Qavādiyān.

11. Another river is CHAGHĀN-RŪDH, which rises from Chaghāniyān and falls into the Jayhūn near Tarmid [sic].

These four rivers (8.-11.) flow from north to south.

12. Two other rivers, of which the larger is called RŪDH-I DARGHĀM

<sup>1</sup> So in view of § 2, 4. Less probably: “cannot be dammed in”.

<sup>2</sup> Or: *Shakhnān* [va] *Vakhān*, “Shakhnān and Vakhān”. Cf. § 10.

(spelt: *D.ṣ'ām*), come from the limits of Tūkhāristān, unite into one river, and having passed between Valvālij and Khulm, | fall into the Jayhūn.

13. Another river rises from the mountains on the confines of Lamghān and Danpūr [sic] and passes south [north?] of \*Nīnhār (*bar ḥadd-i* بارحدی *bigudharad az sūy-i junūb*). It is called the RIVER OF LAMGHĀN. It flows past the region (*bar hudūd*) of Mūltān (spelt: *Mūliyyān*) and the towns \*Rūr (spelt *Divin*), Sadūsān, Bulrī, Maṣūra, and Manjabrī, and near Kūlī empties itself into the Great Sea.

14. Another river called SIND-RŪDH rises on the west of the mountain Qasak, which is also called the Mountain of Ice (*Kūh-i yakh*). The river flows southwards (*az sūy-i junūb*), enters the confines (*hudūd*) of Multān, and joins the river of Lamqān [sic] from the eastern side.

15. Another river (called) HĪVĀN, comes from the mountain Hivān, passes between Jalavvat, Balavvat, and Birūza (spelt بروز), enters the province of Multān, and falls into the river of Lamghān from the western [read: *eastern*] side.

After the junction of these three rivers the river is called MIHRĀN.

It is said that from the summit of the Mountain of Ice, which is Qasak, a water springs up like a fountain (*bar damadh chūn farwāra*) and also [that it?] separates into two in such wise (*hamchinān*) that one half flows northwards, and it is the river Kharnāb, and the other flows southwards, and it is the river Sind-rūdh, which afterwards becomes the Mihrān.

16. Another river is the LESSER MIHRĀN which rises in the Indian mountain (*Kūh-i Hinduvān*) and, separating the frontiers (*miyān-i ḥadd*) of (the dominions of) Dahum and (those of) the Rāy, passes between (*miyān*) Hamānān and B.lhārī and between (*miyān*) Nu'nūn and Nu'nīn; it skirts (*bar hudūd*) Qandahār, reaches the limits of Kūlī, and flows into the Great Sea.

17. Another river is ŪZGAND which rises from behind the mountain of the Khallukh and skirts Ūzgand, the town of Bāb, Akhsīkat, Khūjand, and Banākat, down to the limits of Chāch (spelt: *Chāj*). Then it skirts S.tkand, Pārāb, and numerous boroughs down to the limit (*tā bi-ḥadd*) of Jand and Javāra (Khavāra?), and flows into (*bā* sic) the sea of Khwārazm.

18. Another river is KHURSĀB (spelt: *Khirsāb*) which rises from the extreme limit (*ākhir-i ḥadd*) of Buttamān on the northern side of the mountain, and near the town of Khursāb joins the river Ūzgand.

19. Another river is ŌSH, which rises in the same mountain, passes between (*bar miyān*) Ōsh and Ūrasht (Ūrast) and joins the Ūzgand.

20. Another river is QUBĀ which rises in the same mountain and joins the Ūzgand near Qubā.

21. Another river is KHATLĀM [sic] which rises in the mountain Mānisā and at the point which is the frontier between the Khallukh and the Yaghmā skirts (*bar*) the town of Khatlām. Then it flows to the neighbourhood of Bāb and joins the Ūzgand river.

22. Another river is PARAK which rises from behind the Khallukh mountain and takes a southern direction, flowing through the limits of Chāch. Between Banākat and the wall of Qalās it joins the Ūzkand.

When all these rivers have united, their joint course is called the CHĀCH RIVER and the Arabs (*Tāziyān*) call it Sayhūn.

23. Another river is that of BUKHĀRĀ. Four rivers rise in the mountain of Middle Buttamān. They flow for a distance of 6 farsangs; then all four form a swamp (*baṭīḥa*) called Daryāzha; out of the latter flows a river which skirts the confines (*bar ḥudūd*) of Surūshana, Samarqand, and Sughd, and cuts through (*andar miyān*) Bukhārā; some of it is utilized for cultivation (*kisht-u-barz*) in Bukhārā, while some falls into the *Avāza* of Paykand. |

24. Another river is that of BALKH which rises in the region (*ḥudūd*) 10 a of Bāmiyān, skirts (*bar ḥudūd . . . bigudharadh*) the confines of Madr and Ribāṭ-i Kirvān [sic], and reaches Balkh. All of its waters are used up for cultivation in Balkh.

25. Another river is HĪDHMAND which rises at the frontier (*ḥadd*) of Gūzgānān. In the neighbourhood of Ghūr it flows past (*bar*) Durghush [sic], Til, and Bust and makes a sweep round the region of Sīstān (*az gird-i Sīstān andar āyadh*). Some of it is utilized for agriculture, and some flows into the lake Zarah.

26. Another river is that of MARV which rises at the limit of Ghar-chistān, on the frontier separating Gūzgānān from Ghūr (*az ḥadd-i miyān-i Gūzgānān va Ghūr*). It flows past (*bar*) Bashīn, cuts through the middle of the valley (*miyān-i dara biburradh*), and flowing past Marūdh, Diz-i Hīnaf [sic], Lōgar, B.r.kd.r (\*Barakdiz?) and Gīrang, reaches Marv where it is used up in the fields.

27. Another river is that of HERAT (*Harī < Harē*) which rises at the limits (*ḥudūd*) of Ghūr and is used in the fields of Herat. Herat possesses also other considerable (*buzurg*) rivers formed by torrents (*sayl*), but at times there remains no water in them. Therefore we have not mentioned them.

28. In the province (*nāhiyat*) of KIRMĀN there are no considerable rivers and no lakes, except the Great Sea and a small river capable of turning ten mills, coming from the limits of Jīruft and flowing fast;

most of it is used in the hot lands of Kirmān; the rest (of the rivers) flow into the Great Sea near Hormuz.

29. Another river is SAKĀN in Pārs which rises in the mountains and the district (*rustā*) of Rūyagān; changing its direction it flows round the town Kavar (*az girdi Kavar andar gardadh*) and between Najīram and Sirāf joins the Great Sea.

30. Another river is KHŪYADHĀN rising from the district (*nāhiyat*) of Khūyadhān in Pārs. It passes east of Tavaj and joins the Great Sea between Ganāfa and Najīram.

31. Another river is SHĀDHAGĀN which rises in the region (*nāhiyat*) of Bāzranj in Pārs and flowing past the western corner of Tavaj joins the Great Sea.

32. Another river is SĪRĪN (Shīrīn?) which comes from the mountain Dhanbādh (Dīnār?) in the district of Bāzranj. It passes between Vāyagān and Lārandān; on the confines (*bar hudūd*) of Arragān it passes through the town [*ba-shahr* read: \**ba Rīshahr* "through Rīshahr"] and joins the Great Sea between Sīnīz and Ganāfa.

These four rivers flow in a north to south direction.

33. Another river is KURR which rises from the limits of Azd (\**Urd*?) in the district (*rustā*) of Karvān belonging to (*az*) Pārs. It flows in an easterly direction until it has passed south of Iṣṭakhr (*hamī tā ba-Iṣṭakhr bigudharadh*) and joined the lake \*Bijagān [now: *Bakhtagān*].

34. Another river is FARVĀB which flows from the district Farvāb, also in Pārs, in an easterly direction; having reached Iṣṭakhr, it changes its direction and east of Iṣṭakhr flows into the river Kurr, which is the healthiest (*durusttarīn*) and best water in Pārs.

35. Another river is ṬĀB, which rises in the Kūh-Jilū, situated on the confines (*ba hudūd*) of Sīpāhān, follows the frontier between Khūzistān and Fārs (*ba hadd-i miyūn-i Khūzistān va Pārs*) and falls into the Great Sea. The town Māhīrūbān stands in the sea between (two branches of) this river (*andar miyān-i īn ābast bayn-i daryā*).<sup>1</sup>

36. The river SARDAN rises also in the Kūh-Jilū and falls into the river Ṭāb (*ba rūdh-i Ṭāb andar uftadh*). The town Sardan (spelt: *Surdan*) is between these two rivers.

37. Another river is that of SHŪSHṬAR in the province of Khūzistān. Its beginning is from the confines of the province of Jibāl (*shahr-i* 10 b *Jibāl*). It flows<sup>2</sup> through Shūshṭar, Sūq al-Arba'ā, Ahwāz, Jubbay, and Bāsiyān until it reaches Dahana-yi Shīr ("The Lion's Mouth") and Ḥiṣn Mahdī. Then it falls into the Great Sea.

<sup>1</sup> On the position of this town, cf. § 29, 15.

<sup>2</sup> On the margin: *al-juz' al-thānī*, "second section" (?).

38. Another river in Khūzistān is MASRUQĀN. It separates (*bar dāradh*) from the Shūshtar river and flows down to Ahwāz watering all the fields; the rest falls again into the river of Shūshtar (*bāz rūdh-i Sh. uftadh*) near Ahwāz. The town 'Askar-i Mukram (spelt: 'Askar va Makrum) is situated between these two rivers.

39. Another river also separates from the river of Shūshtar off (*az hadd*) Bāsiyān and irrigates the fields<sup>1</sup> of Bāsiyān, Khān Murdūna [sic], and Dauraq up to the limits of Rām Ūrmizd.

40. Another river is that of SHŪSH which rises in the neighbourhood of Karkha (*az hadd-i Karkha bar-dāradh*) from one of the spurs of the Jibāl mountains and it flows to irrigate the countryside (*sawād*) of Shūshtar [?] and Shūsh. It passes between Shūsh and B.dhūshāvur [?], but before reaching the limit of Başunnay all of it is used up in the fields (*tā . . . rasadh hama andar kisht-hā ba-kār shudha bāshadh*).

41. Another river is the RAS (?), flowing up in the North (*andar hadd-i shamāl*), in the country of the Ghūz. It is a large river of which (the waters) are black and bad-smelling (*siyāh va ganda*); it rises from the mountain which is on the frontier between the Kīmāk and the Khirkhīz, traverses (*andar miyān*) the Ghūz country and falls into the Khazar sea.

42. Another river is the ARTUSH (Irtish?) which rises in the same mountain. It is a large water, black yet drinkable and fresh (*shirīn*). It flows between the Ghūz and the Kīmāk until it reaches the village Jūbīn (\*Chūbīn) in the Kīmāk country; then it empties itself into the river Ātil.

43. Another river is the ĀTIL [sic] which rises in the same mountain north of the Artush; it is a mighty and wide river flowing through the Kīmāk country (*andar miyāna-yi Kīmākiyān*) down to the village Jūbīn (\*Chūbīn); then it flows westwards along the frontier between the Ghūz and the Kīmāk until it has passed Bulghār (*tā bar Bulghār bigudharadh*); then it turns southwards, flowing between the Turkish Pechenegs and the Burṭās,<sup>2</sup> traverses the town of Ātil belonging to the Khazar (*az hadd-i Khazarān*), and flows into the Khazar sea.

44. Another river is that of the RŪS which rises from the interior of the Ṣaqlāb country and flows on in an eastern direction until it arrives at the Rūs limits. Then it skirts the confines (*bar hudūd*) of Urtāb, Ṣ.lāb, and Kūyāfa, which are the towns of the Rūs, and the confines of Khifjākh. Then it changes its direction and flows southwards to the limits of the Pechenegs (*ba hudūd Bachanāk*) and empties itself into the river Ātil.

<sup>1</sup> Read: *kisht*, instead of *kashtihā*.

<sup>2</sup> V. i., p. 463.

45. Another river is the RŪTĀ (?) which rises from a mountain situated on the frontier (*sarḥadd*) between the Pechenegs, the Majgharī, and the Rūs. Then it enters the Rūs limits (*andar miyāna-yi ḥadd-i Rūs*) and flows to the Ṣaqlāb. Then it reaches the town Khurdāb belonging to the Ṣaqlāb and is used in their fields and meadows.

46. Another river is the TIGRIS which rises in the mountains of Diyārbakr (*Āmid*; spelt: *Īmidh*), flows past (*bar*) Balad, Mauṣil, Takrīt, and Sāmarra, cuts into two both Baghdād and Wāsiṭ (*miyāna-yi B. biburradh*), and finally reaches Madhār, Bula (\*Ubullā), and the limits of Baṣra; then it empties itself into the Great Sea. Near Fath a river separates from the Tigris, which is called canal of Ma'qil and flows to Baṣra. Another river too separates from the Tigris off Bula (*ba bar-i Bula*) and is called Bula-canal (*nahr Bula*). It flows straight westwards until in the limits (*ḥudūd*) of Baṣra it joins the Ma'qil canal. Then it passes through (*aṣ*) Baṣra, where it is called Dubays-canal. Finally it once more (*bāṣ*) joins the Tigris near 'Abbādān. Between Wāsiṭ and Madhār a canal separates from the  
 11 a Tigris, and forms two swamps | called Baṣra Swamps.

47. In the Armenian mountains rise two rivers called the two ZĀBS (*Zābayn*, spelt: *Zābīr*), the Lesser and Greater Zāb. Both flow in a south-western direction and empty themselves into the Tigris between the towns Ḥadītha and Sinn.

48. Of the other two rivers, the one called SĀS (*Sābus*?) rises in the Armenian mountains and is utilized in the fields; when it reaches the town 'Ukbara (spelt: *'Akbara*) nothing remains of it. The other river, rising in the same mountain and called NAHRAWĀN, is utilized in the fields, and when it reaches Nahrawān none of it remains.

49. Another river is the EUPHRATES, which rises in the mountain 'Ulayq ('Alīq?) and flows through the Rūm country, cutting the mountain Lukkām (*aṣ miyān . . . biburradh*). It arrives at the limits (*ḥudūd*) of \*Malatya (spelt: *Malatīya*) and thus (*hamchinīn*), turning southwards, skirts Shumayshāt, Sanja, and Bālas (\*Bālus?). Then it takes a north-easterly [read: *south-westerly*!] direction until it has skirted Raqqa, Qarqīsiya, Raḥba, 'Āna, Hīt, and Anbār. Then again it changes its direction and flows towards the south-[east] (*miyān-i junūb* [*\*va mashriq*]), till it reaches the Kūfa swamp. After Anbār a canal called Nahr-'Isā separates from it, goes down to Baghdād (*tā B.*), and empties itself into the Tigris, and the people navigate (*ba-kashtī ravandh*) this canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris. Lower down (*aṣ sīr-i Nahr-'Isā*), another canal larger than the Nahr-'Isā separates from the Euphrates (*ham aṣ in rūdh*); it is called Nahr-Ṣarṣar and is utilized in the fields of the town Ṣarṣar. Still

lower down, a canal larger than the Nahr-Şarşar, which is called Nahr al-Malik, separates (from it), and is utilized in the fields of the town of the Nahr al-Malik. Still lower down a canal starts in the region (*hudūd*) of Karbalā. It is called Nahr-Sūrā and flows until it too [*i.e.*, like the *Euphrates*] empties itself into the Wāsiṭ swamp. The town Jāmi'ayn is between these two rivers, *i.e.*, the chief stream (*'amūd*) of the Euphrates and the Sūrā canal.

50. Another river in the province (*hudūd*) of Khorāsān is called HIRAND. It rises from the mountain of Tūs and skirts the region of Ustuvā (spelt: *Āsatawū*) and Jarmagān. It cuts into two (the town of) Gurgān (*miyāna-yi G. biburradh*), flows to the town of Abaskūn, and empties itself into the Khazar sea.

51. Another river in the province Ṭabaristān is called TĪZHIN-RŪDH. It rises in the Qārīn mountain in the neighbourhood of Pirrīm, skirts Sārī, and (empties itself into the Khazar) sea.

52. Another river, called BĀVUL, rises in the Qārīn mountain, skirts Māmaṭīr, and empties itself into the Khazar sea.

53. Another river, called HARHAZ, rises in the mountains of Rayy and Lārijān on the frontier (*az ḥadd*) of Ṭabaristān and flows down to the neighbourhood of Āmol, (where) most of its water is utilized in the fields while the rest empties itself into the Khazar sea.

54. Another river, called SAPĪD-RŪDH, rises in the mountain Ḥuwayrith in Armenia, flows westwards [read: *eastwards*], traverses (*miyān*) Gilān, and empties itself into the Khazar sea.

55. Another river, called ARAS (spelt: *Arus*), rises on the eastern side of the Armenian mountains, from a place adjoining the Rūm. Taking an eastern direction it flows on until, having skirted Vartān and followed the frontier between Ādharbādhagān, Armenia, and Arrān, it joins the Khazar sea.

56. Another river called KURR rises in the province Arrān in the mountain lying between Arrān and the Sarīr. Taking an easterly<sup>1</sup> direction it flows down to the limits of Shakī and Qabala (spelt: *Qibla*) and skirts Bardīj (*\*Bardēj*). | Then it unites with the river 11 b  
Aras (spelt: *Āris*) and their waters flow between Mūqān and Bākū to join the Khazar sea.

57. Another river in the 'Arab country<sup>2</sup> is BAYḤĀN (spelt: *Mijān*) It rises from the farthest end (*ākhir-i hudūd*) of the Tihāma mountains, *i.e.*, from the easternmost part of it (*ānk ba mashriq nazdiktār-ast*), skirts the town of the Wādī Bayḥān (spelt: *Mijān*), Shabwa (spelt: *Saywa*), and the towns of Ḥaḍramūt, (then) traverses the Aḥqāf sands, and flows into the Great Sea.

<sup>1</sup> So instead of: *westerly*.

<sup>2</sup> So instead of: *Arrān*.

In the Syrian lands (*bilād-i Shām*) there are no large rivers.

58. Another river, called Nahr al-Karūm (\**Kurūm*?), rises in the province ('*amal*) of Buqallār (Buccellariote theme) in Central Rūm (*az miyāna-yi Rūm*), and flows into the Sea of the Georgians.

59. Another river rises in the theme of Paphlagonia (*Iflākhūniya*) in Rūm, skirts the town of Ṭanābrī (\**Kāngri*?), and falls into the Sea of the Georgians.

60. Another river rises from the Opsikian theme (*Ubsiq*) of Rūm, skirts the town of B.ndāq.lus (?) and Dīdūn (*B.d.ndūm*, *N.dydūn*?), to flow into the \*Niḳiya (spelt: *Tanḳiya*) lake in Rūm.

61. Another river also rises here (*idhar*) and follows the frontier (*bar miyān-i ḥadd*) between the theme of Anatolicon (\**Natliq* spelt: *Batliq*) and the Buccellariote theme (*Buqallār*). Then it turns southwards, flowing between Khāk (خاك) and \*Niḳiya, and empties itself into the \*Niḳiya lake.

62. Another river is the NILE in Egypt. South [read: *north*?] of the Jabal al-Qamar rise ten great rivers.<sup>1</sup> From each five (of them) a swamp is formed (*baṭiḥa bandadh*); then from each of the swamps come out three rivers. From all these six rivers a swamp is formed (*yakī baṭiḥa bandadh*) outside the limits of Nubia towards the south (*birūn as ḥudūd-i Nūba andar junūb*). Then the river Nile comes out of these marshes and enters Nubia (*ba miyān-i N.*), flowing northwards until it has traversed (*biburradh*) all of the province of Nubia. Then it turns westwards down to the town of Sukar (spelt: *Sakra*), then it turns back (*bāz gardadh*) eastwards until it has skirted (*bar taraf*) the Mountain of the Oases (*Kūh-i al-Wāḥāt*) and flowed past (*bar*) Uswān (Assuan). Then it flows straight northwards and crosses all the province of Egypt. It skirts Akhmīm, Fayyūm, and Fustāt, and empties itself into the lake Tinnīs.

63. And from the sands which lie between the districts (*nāwāḥi*) of Egypt and the Qulzum Sea rises a great river which flows westwards and crosses Nubia in its breadth (*miyān-i Nūba biburradh ba pahnā*). At the place where the town of Kābīl is situated, which belongs to the Nubians and is their capital, it falls into the Nile. This river is called the RIVER OF THE RAML AL-MA'DAN.<sup>2</sup>

64. From the Nile a large canal separates near Fustāt and is constantly utilized (*ba kār hamī shavadh*) in the fields until it reaches Alexandria; the remainder of the water flows again (*bāz*)<sup>3</sup> into the lake Tinnīs.

65. In the lands (*andar shahrhā*) of Ifrīqiya, in Tanja, and down

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 3, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 59, 63.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps: *ba* . . . *bāz* "towards", cf. p. 50, l. 20.



to the region (*nāhiyat*) of Sūs-the-Distant there are no great and important (*kull*) rivers, except such as (*magar chunānk*) serve for drinking (*khurd*) and (the irrigation of) the fields.

Likewise we have not found any information in the books and reports (*andar kitāb-hā va akhbār-hā*) about any rivers in Sūdān.

66. Another river rises in the west of the country Rūm, from the mountain Bulgharī, and follows (*hamī ravadh*) an easterly direction until it reaches the place (*jāy*) of the Ṣaqlābians living in the Rūm country. After having traversed the country of the Burchān (*ba nāhiyat-i Burchān* [sic] *bigudharadh*) it skirts the theme (*bar 'amal*) of Thrace (spelt: *Burāqiya*), and in this (reach?) traverses the town Quṣṭanṭīniya (*andar in* [*miyān*?] *miyān-i Q. bigudharadh*), while the remainder (of the water) flows out into the strait. This river is called Bulgharī.

67. The river TAGUS (تاجوس \**Tāju*) rising in the mountains of Spain near Toledo, flows round the town of Toledo (*az gird-i shahr-i Tulayṭula andar āyadh*), following a westerly direction, then turns eastwards, (then) again westwards. And it flows on till the limits of \*Merida (spelt: *Hārda*) and Santarem (*Shantarīn*). At the latter place it empties itself into the Western Ocean.

And in all this world there are no rivers on which ships can go 12a except those which we have mentioned. As regards the southern parts (*nāhiyat*) we have found absolutely (*al-batta*) no mention of any big river there, except of the 68. BUJA [sic] RIVER of which it is said that it rises in a mountain situated in the south, traverses (*miyān*) the Buja, and falls into the sea near Abyssinia (*Habasha*). God is omniscient and there is no might but in God!

### § 7. Discourse on the Deserts and Sands

Every land (*zamīn*) where there are sands (*rīg*), or salt marshes (*shūra*), but no mountains, no running water, and no fields is called desert. Deserts are of various description : some extensive, and some small. And so are the numerous sands in those deserts: some extensive and some small. In the present chapter we shall mention, if God will it, each extensive desert, or sand, in the inhabited part (*ābādihānī*) of the world.

1. In the southern part of the country Chīnistān, between the mountain Ṭā'in fil-baḥr and Khumdān there is a desert,<sup>1</sup> of which a part protrudes into the sea like an island. East of this desert<sup>1</sup> is the \*Eastern<sup>2</sup> Ocean, and south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the

<sup>1</sup> Plain?

<sup>2</sup> So instead of *Western* which stands in the original.

mountain al-Ṭā'in fil-bahr; and north of it, the Khumdān river. In the soil of this desert there is much gold.

2. Another desert is situated north of China (\*Chīn حین?). East of it lies the Eastern Ocean; south of it, the provinces (*nawāhī*) of China (حین); west of it, the river of Kuchchā; and north of it, the Toghuzghuz and Khirkhīz.

3. In the country of Chīnistān there are sands, three days' journey (*manzil*) wide, situated between two Chinese (از حین) towns Khathum and Vasārnīk. They stretch in length from the limit of the swamp of the Kuchā [sic] river up to the limit of that (*in*) desert which we have mentioned in the north of \*China (خیز).<sup>1</sup>

4. Another desert is (that) east of which lie the limits of Tibet; south of it, the country of Hind (*bilād-i Hind*);<sup>2</sup> west of it, the limits of Transoxiana; and north of it, the Khallukh country. It is a hard (*ṣa'b*) desert, without water and grass.

5. Another desert [plain?] is in the country of Hind, on the shore of the Great Sea, stretching in length from the limit (*ḥadd*) of Sarandīb up to the beginning of Dahum's kingdom (*mamlakat*); yet this desert is intersected (*buridha*) and disposed in patches (*pāra pāra*).

In the provinces of Sind and Hind small deserts are numerous.

6. Another small and limited desert is the one east of which are situated the towns of Sind; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the Kūfj mountains; and north of it, some parts of Sind and Kirmān.

7. Another desert (is the one) east of which lie the northern parts of the province of Sind down to the region (*ḥudūd*, basin?) of the river Mihrān, and of which the southern (part) skirts (*bar ḥudūd . . . biravadh*) Sind, Kirmān, and Pārs; west of it are the limits of Rayy, Qum, and Qāshān, and its north skirts (*bar . . . bigudharadh*) Khorāsān with its Marches (*ḥudūd*) and Sīstān. It is called the desert of KARGAS-KŪH, because west of it stands a small mountain called Kargas-kūh, after which the desert is called. In this desert hills are scattered everywhere. (The parts) of this desert are called after the provinces which happen to lie near them. In this desert lie the sands  
12b which surround Sīstān (*az gird bar āyadh*) | and are called the Sīstān sands.

8. Another desert is the one of which the east skirts the confines of Marv (*bar ḥudūd Marv bigudharadh*) down to the Jayhūn. Its south marches with the regions of Bāvard, Nasā, Farāv, Dihistān, and with the Khazar sea up to the region of Ātil. West of it is the river Ātil; north of it, the river Jayhūn, the Sea of Khwārazm, and

<sup>1</sup> On the doubtful readings in 2. and 3. see notes to § 3, 5d.

<sup>2</sup> Here in the sense of the upper part of the Indus basin.

the Ghūz country, up to the Bulghar frontier. It is called the DESERT OF KHWĀRAZM AND THE GHŪZ. In this desert there are sands which begin from the limits of Balkh, and stretch south of the Jayhūn and down to the sea of Khwārazm. Their breadth varies from 1 to 7 stages (*manzils*).

9. Another sand lies between the Kimāk and the limits of Jand and Javāra. Its length is immense and its breadth is exiguous.

10. Another desert is the steppe (*bādiya*) of which the eastern side stretches from the limits of Hajar to those of Baḥrayn and Baṣra; (then) it marches with the region of Qādisiya and Kūfa (spelt: *Kāh*), up to the limits of the river Euphrates; south of it lies the whole of the Arab sea (*daryā-yi 'Arab hama*), the limits of the Ayla [read: \*Barbarī] Gulf, the Great Sea, the districts (*nawāḥi*) of Ḥaḍramūt and Yemen; its west marches with the regions of Jidda, Jār, Madyan, and \*Ayla; its north, with the regions of Mu'ān (spelt: *Maghān*), Salamiya, Tadmur and Khunāsira down to the river Euphrates. It is called the BEDOUIN STEPPE (*bādiya*). Whatever part of this desert is adjacent to a town, or to an Arab tribe (*ḥayy*), it is called after those places. In this desert there are sands beginning from the sea-shore in the region of Baḥrayn and varying in breadth from 2 to 4 stages (*manzil*), while its length is 20 stages. It is called the HABĪR SAND, and its sand is red and used by the goldsmiths. All the pilgrims travelling by the 'Irāq route must cross this sand-plain (*riḡ*).

11. Other sands lie on the sea-shore south of this [*i.e.* 10.] desert and surround (*ax gird bar āyadh*) the towns of Ḥaḍramūt. They are called the AḤQĀF-SANDS.

12. Other sands are those east of which are the Gulfs of Barbar and \*Ayla; south of them, the desert of Buja; west of them, the countries of Nubia and Egypt; north of them, the Qulzum Gulf. These sands are called SANDS OF THE MINES (*ma'dan*) because in them there is much gold, and much gold is (actually) found there.

13. Another desert is that east of which lies the country of Abyssinia (*Habasha*); south of it, the country of Buja; west of it, Nubia; north of it, the sands just described.

14. Other sands lie in the country of Egypt. Their eastern side stretches from 'Asqalān to the Dead Sea (*Buḥayrat al-mayyita*); both south and west of them (*junūb va maghrib-i way har du*) lies the province of Fustāt; their northern side stretches from the Tinnīs lake to 'Asqalān. They are called the SANDS OF JIFĀR.

15. In the country of Maghrib (*nāḥiyat-i M.*), from Egypt, the Mountain of al-Wāḥāt, Barqa and Ṭarābulus down to the province of Sūs-the-Distant, (the land) is mostly desert (*bishtar-i hama biyābān-ast*).

16. In the country of Maghrib there are extensive sands in the province Sijilmāsa, called RAML AL-MA'DAN. Much gold is found there.

17. The region lying south of the Equator is mostly desert (*bishtar-i hama biyābān-ast*). Their inhabited places (*ābādhānī*) are situated amidst (*andar*) the deserts, except a few which are up in the mountains.

13a 18. Likewise there are mostly deserts in the northern region of those inhabited lands of the world which belong to the northern quarter and stretch from the frontier of China down to the country | of the Khazars. The dwellings (*jāy*) of the Turks are mostly situated in (*andar*) deserts, except a few which lie among the mountains, running waters, trees, and fields.

The extensive and known deserts and sands existing in the Islamic lands are those which we have enumerated, and in the lands of Unbelief (*nāhiyat-i kāfirī*), except those of the Turks (*juz az Turk*), they are also as mentioned by us. God is omniscient and assistance is from God!

### § 8. Discourse on the Countries (of the World)

1. One country (*nāhiyat*) differs (*judhā*) from another in four respects (*rūy*). First, by the difference of water, air, soil, and temperature (*garmā-va-sarmā*). Secondly, by the difference of religion, law (*sharī'at*), and beliefs (*kīsh*). Thirdly, by the difference of words (*luḡhāt*) and languages. Fourthly, by the difference of kingdoms (*padhshā'i-hā*). The frontiers of a country are separated from those of another country by three things: first, by mountains,<sup>1</sup> great or small, stretching between them; secondly, by rivers, great or small, flowing between them; thirdly, by deserts, great or small, stretching between them (*miyān-i du nāhiyat andar*).

2. The Greeks (*Rūmiya*) have said that all the cultivated lands (*ābādhām*) of the world form three parts. The one is that which, on the east, has the Eastern Ocean and the (farthest) limits of the Toghuzghuz and Khirkhīz; on the south, the Great Sea up to the Qulzum; on the west, the countries of Syria and Rūm, up to the Straits of Constantinople; [and on the north], the Ṣaqlāb country and the farthest limits (*ākhir-i hudūd*) of the cultivated lands of the world. This part (of the world) is called GREAT ASIA (*Āsiyā al-kubrā*). This part (of the world) constitutes two-thirds (*du si-yak*) of the cultivated lands (lying) in the northern parts.

3. The second part has on its east the beginning of the country of Egypt, from the Equator to the sea of Rūm; on its south, a desert

<sup>1</sup> Singular in the text.

lying between the lands (*bilād*) of Maghrib and those of the Sūdān; on its west, the Western Ocean; on its north, the Rūm Sea. This part of the world is called LIBYA (*Lūbiya*), and constitutes one-twelfth of all the cultivated lands of the world lying in the north.

4. The third part has on its east the Straits of Constantinople; on its south, the sea of Rūm; on its west, the Western Ocean; and on its north, the limit of the cultivated lands of the north. This part is called EUROPE (*Urūfī*, spelt: *Azwfī*), and forms one-quarter of all the cultivated lands of the world.

5. As regards the cultivated lands lying to the south, the Greeks (*Rūm*) call them the "Inhabited Lands of the South".<sup>1</sup>

6. The Inhabited Lands of the world ("oecumene") consist of fifty-one countries, of which five lie south of the Equator, *viz.*, Zāba [sic], Zangistān, Habasha, Buja, and Nūba. One western country, the Sūdān, partly belongs to the north and partly to the south, as the Equator traverses it. Forty-five countries lie in the northern side (*šūy*) of the Inhabited Quarter (*chahār yak-i ābādihān*), *viz.*, China, Tibet, Hindūstān, Sind, Khorāsān with its Marches (*ḥudūd*), Transoxiana with its Marches, Kirmān, Pārs, the desert of Kargas-kūh (spelt: *Karas-kūh*), Daylamān, Khūzistān, the province of Jibāl, 'Irāq, the lands of the Arabs (*diyār-i 'Arab*), Jazīra, Ādharbādhagān, Syria, Egypt, Maghrib, Spain, Rūm, the Sarīr, the Alān, the Khazar, the Ṣaqlāb, the Khazarian Pechenegs, the M.rvāt, the Inner Bulghār, the Rūs, the Majgharī, the N.nd.r (\*V.n.nd.r), the Turkish Pechenegs, the B.rādas [sic], the Burtās, the Khifjāq, the Ghūz, the Kīmāk, the Chigil, the Tukhs, the Khallukh, the Yaghmā, the Toghuzghuz, and the Khirkhīz. Each of these countries | is divided into provinces 13 b (*a'māl*), and in each of the latter there are numerous towns. In another section (*faṣl*) we shall explain (*padhīdh kunīm*) the size (*miqdār*) of each country and town, its nature and climate, the wonders and marvels coming from each town; all the kingdoms (*pādhshāhī-hā*) and towns of each country; their customs and manners and the religion of their inhabitants, so far as (*badhān miqdār ki*) we could find (these details) in the books of (our) predecessors (*pīshīnagān*) or hear reports about them (*ba-akhbār-hā shanīdīm*), for (*zīrāk-kī*) nobody can know all the particulars (*aḥwāl*) about the world, except God, the Exalted. There is no power but in God!

#### § 9. Discourse on the properties of the country of Chīnistān

East of the country of Chīnistān is the Eastern Ocean; south of it, the confines of Wāq-Wāq, the Sarandīb mountain, and the Great Sea;

<sup>1</sup> Persian *ābādihānī* corresponds here to Greek *οἰκουμένη* and Arabic *al-ma'mūra*.

west of it, Hindūstān and Tibet; north of it, Tibet and the countries of the Toghuzghuz and Khirkhīz. This is a country with many amenities (*ni'mat*) and running waters. In it are found numerous gold-mines, mountains, deserts, lakes, and sands. Its king is called Faghfūr-i Chīn and is said to be a descendant of Farīdhūn. It is reported that the king (*malik*) of China has 360 districts (*nāhiyat*) and each day of the year the taxes of a district are brought to the Treasury. The inhabitants of this country (*nāhiyat*) are good craftsmen and make wonderful things. Embarking (*andar nishasta*) on the river \*Ghiyān (spelt: 'Inān) they visit Tibet for trade. Most of them are Manichaeans (*dīn-i Mānī*), but their king is a Buddhist<sup>1</sup> (*shamanī*?). From this country comes much gold, silk (*harīr va parand*), Chinese *khāwkhīr* (?), brocades (*dībā*), china (*ghadāra*), cinnamon (*dār-šīnī*), *khutū*-horns from which knife-handles (*dastahā-yi kār* [read: *kārd*] *kunand*) are fabricated, and all sorts of wonderful objects (*kār-hā-yi badī'*). There are elephants and rhinoceroses (*karg*) in China.

1. WĀQ-WĀQ, a province of China. In its soil gold-mines are found. (Even) their dogs have gold collars. Their chiefs wear extremely precious necklaces of rhinoceros horn (*surū-i karg*). The people are black and naked. (Wāq-Wāq) belongs to the hot zone and has no amenity (*ni'mat*). Its capital is M.qys, which is a small town (where) merchants of various classes (*gūnāgūn*) stay.

2. Besides Wāq-Wāq, China has nine large provinces (*nāhiyat*) on the coast of the Eastern Ocean: (a) IR.SH; (b) KHÜR.SH; (c) F.RĀJ.KLĪ; (d) THĀY; (e) KH.SĀNĪ; (f) T.NKŪY; (g) BŪNŪGHNĪ; (h) QŪRĪ; (i) ANF.S.

All nine have various subdivisions (*nāhiyat*) which all differ (*mukhālīf*) in religion (spelt: *badhīn*!), appearance, and habits, and in them (*vay*) there are numerous towns, but the government (*sulṭān*) of all these provinces is on behalf (*az dast* "from the hand") of the Faghfūr-i Chīn.

3. KHUMDĀN (Ch'ang-an-fu) is the capital of Chīnistān. It is a great town and serves as residence to Faghfūr. It possesses numerous trees, habitations (*ābādānī*), and amenities (*ni'mat*), and is situated on the sea-coast.<sup>2</sup> Khumdān produces pearls. The inhabitants are round-faced and broad-nosed. They dress in brocade (*dībā*) and silk and make their sleeves wide and skirts long.

4. BUGHSHŪR [sic], a large town belonging to China. In it reside numerous merchants from different cities and it is a very pleasant place (*va jā'ī bisyār-ni'mat-ast*).

<sup>1</sup> "Shamanist" would be impossible here.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 2, 4. but a swamp is mentioned near Khumdān under § 3, 34.

5. KUCHĀN, a small town in which reside Tibetan and Chinese merchants.

6. KHĀLB.K, a large town, prosperous (*ābādhān*) with numerous amenities (*bā ni'mat-i bisyār*) and governed from China.

7. KHĀMCHŪ (Kan-chou), half of which (*nīma-yi ū*) is owned by the Chinese and the other half (*nīma'i az ū*) by the Tibetans. A perpetual war goes on between them. They are idolaters (Buddhists? *but-parast*), and their government is on behalf | of the Khāqān of Tibet. 14a

8. SAUKJŪ (Su-chou) is the frontier of Tibet. Its government is from China. In its mountains musk-deer and yaks (*ghizhghāv*) are found.

9. SAKHCHŪ is like Saukjū,<sup>1</sup> but larger (*mih*). Its government's seat is Saukjū.

10. KUCHĀ [sic] is situated on the frontier and belongs to China, but constantly (*har vaqtī*) the Toghuzghuz raid (*tāzand*) the inhabitants and loot them. The town possesses many amenities.

11. KŪGHM.R possesses many idol-temples. It is a pleasant place situated close to the mountains. In it there is a certain dead body (*yakī murda*) venerated by the inhabitants.

12. BURJ-I SANGĪN (“Stone-tower”), a large village in China, prosperous and very pleasant.

13. KHĀJŪ (Kua-chou), a large town and a residence of merchants. Its government is from China. The inhabitants profess the faith of Mānī.

14. SANGLĀKH (“Stony place”), a large village in the district (*'amal*) of Sājū. The inhabitants are idolaters (Buddhists?).

15. SĀJŪ (Sha-chou) belongs to China and is situated (half-way) between the mountains and the desert. It is a prosperous place (*ābādhānī-st*) and possesses many amenities and running waters. (The inhabitants) are harmless and profess the faith of Mānī.

16. K.SĀN, a town far from the road. It has few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*) and its governor (*kārdār*) comes from Tibet.

17. KĀDHĀKH lies in China, but the governor (*kārdār*) is on behalf of Tibet.

18. KHOTAN is situated between two rivers. In its limits (*hudūd*) live wild people who are man-eaters (*mardumān-and vaḥshī mardum-khwāra*). The commodities (*khwāsta*) of the inhabitants are mostly raw silk (*qaz*). The king of Khotan lives in great state (*hay'at*) and calls himself “Lord of the Turks and Tibetans” (*'aẓīm al-Turk wal-Tubbat*). He lives on the boundary of China and Tibet. This king of Khotan has eunuchs (*khiṣiyān*) in charge of all his districts. This

<sup>1</sup> So vocalized.

land (*shahr*) turns out 70,000 warriors. The jade stone (*sang-i yashm*) comes from the rivers of Khotan.

19. KH.ZA, village of Khotan, round which there are some sands.

20. HUTM (Khutm, Jutm?) is desolate; only a flourishing idol-temple is found there (*andar vay yak but-khāna ābādhān bas*).

21. SĀVNĪK, a village, round (*az gird*) which there are sands.

22. BŪRKHĪMŪ and NAVĪJKATH(?), two towns of China on the sea-coast (*bar karān-i daryā*),<sup>1</sup> prosperous, large, very pleasant, and having a warlike population (*jang kunanda*).

23. SARANDĪB lies in the south of China, on the boundary between Hindūstān and Chīnistān, on the sea-coast (*bar karān-i daryā*). It possesses numerous districts and running waters. In its rivers diamonds (*almās*) are found. From Sarandīb come different kinds of corundum (*yāqūt*). Its king is independent (*ba sar-i khwīsh*).

24. 'AZR (Gh.zr?), a small town near Sarandīb which serves as residence to the king of Sarandīb.

#### § 10. Discourse on the country of Hindistān [sic] and its Towns

East of it are the countries of China and Tibet; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the river Mihrān; north of it, the country of Shahnān belonging to Vakhān<sup>2</sup> and some parts of Tibet. This country possesses many amenities, a numerous population, and many kings (*pādshāy*). Numerous towns lie in it. It has mountains, deserts, seas, and sands. Many perfumes (*tib-hā*) come from it, musk, aloes-wood ('ūd), ambergris, camphor, various precious things (*gauhar*), pearls (*murvārid*), corundum (*yāqūt*), diamonds, corals, and pearls (*durr*) as well as multifarious drugs (*dārū*), and wonderful textiles (*jāma*) of different kinds. In its plains and deserts various animals are found, such as elephants, rhinoceroses (*karg*), peacocks, *k.rk.rī*-[birds?], parrots (*tūtāk*), Indian cuckoos (*shārak*), and the like. This is the largest country | in the northern oecumene. All through Hindūstān wine (*nabīdh*) is held to be unlawful and adultery (*sinā*) to be licit. All the inhabitants are idolaters.

1. QĀMARŪN (Kāmarūpa, Assam), a kingdom in the eastern part of Hindūstān. Rhinoceroses and gold-mines are numerous there. From it come emery (*sunbādha*) and good fresh aloes ('ūd-i tar).

2. ŠANF (Champa?), large land (*shahr*) of the Qāmarūn kingdom. The Šanfī-aloes come from there.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *daryā* means here only "the river".

<sup>2</sup> Probably "Sh. and V.". See note to § 2.



3. MANDAL, small land (*shahr*) of the Qāmarūn kingdom. From it come the Mandalī-aloes.

Both these lands (*shahr*) are on the coast.

4. FANŠŪR, a large town and a merchants' resort. From it comes much camphor. It is a maritime emporium (*bārgah-i daryā*). The king of Fanšūr is called S.ṭūhā. He has a separate kingdom (*mamlakatī judhā*). In the kingdom of Fanšūr there are ten kings, all on behalf of (*az dast*) S.ṭūhā.

5. H.DD.NJĪRA (?), a town with a market 1 farsang long. Its king is Saṭūhā.<sup>1</sup> It is a flourishing and pleasant town.

6. QIMĀR (Khmer), a large country (*shahr*) and its kings are the most just among the kings of Hindūstān. And in all Hindūstān adultery is licit, except in Qimār, where it is forbidden. The presents (*ṣilat*) given by the kings of Qimār consist of elephant-tusks (*dandān-i pīl*) and the Qimārī-aloes.

7. N.MYĀS, HARKAND, ŪRSHĪN, S.M.ND.R, ANDRĀS—these five large towns (lands?) are situated on the sea-coast, and the royal power (*pādshāhī*) in them belongs to Dahum. Dahum does not consider any one (*hich-kas*) superior to himself and is said to have an army of 300,000 men. In no place of Hindūstān are fresh aloes (*'ūd-i tar*) found but in the (possessions) of the king of Qāmarūn and of Dahum (*magar pādshāyi* [sic] *Q. va D.*).<sup>2</sup> These countries produce in large quantities good cotton which (grows) on trees yielding their produce (*bar dihadh*) during many years. The product (*māl*) of this country is the white conch (*sapīd muhra*) which is blown like a trumpet (*būq*) and is called \**shank* (spelt: *sanbak*). In this country there are numerous elephants (*pīl*).

8. ṬUSŪL, a large country adjacent to China, from which it is separated by a mountain. The inhabitants are dark (*asmar*). Their garments are of cotton.

9. MŪSA, a country adjacent to China and Ṭusūl. The people have strong fortresses and constructions. Much musk comes from there.

10. MĀNAK, a country adjacent to China and Mūsa.

These three (last-named) countries are at war with the Chinese (*Chīniyān*) but the latter come out stronger (*bihtar āyand*).

11. NŪBĪN (?) forms the frontier of Dahum's country (*mamlakat*). The provisions and corn (*ghalla*) of Sarandīb come from this town.

12. ŪR.SHĪN, a town with a district (*nāhiyat*) protruding into the sea like an island. Its air is bad. That sea is called there the Sea of Gulfs (*baḥr al-aghbāb*). The royal power belongs to a woman who is called "rāyina"<sup>3</sup> (*pādshāhī az ān-i zanī buwadh rāyina khwānand*).

<sup>1</sup> So vocalized.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently \**pādshāhī-yi Q. va D.*

<sup>3</sup> \**rāniya*?

Extremely large ('*aṣim busurg*) elephants are found there, such as in no other place of India. From it come large quantities of pepper (*bilbil* < \**pilpil*) and rotang (*naysa*).

13. MALAY, four towns (lands?) along the coast, all of which are called Malay. It is the kingdom (*pādshāhī*) of Ballah-rāy. From it comes much rotang (*dār-i naysa*) and pepper.

14. ṢAMŪR (صُور)<sup>1</sup>, SINDĀN, SŪBĀRA (spelt: *Sūyāra*), KANBĀYA, four towns on the coast, in which live Muslims and Hindus (*Hinduṣvān*). In that locality (*andar-ū*?) is a Friday-mosque (*maḡgīt-i ādhīna*) and an idol-temple. The people of these towns have long hair (*mūy-i furū-hishta*) and at all seasons wear only an izār  
15 a (*yak-isār bāshand ba har vaqtī*). | The climate (of these parts) is hot. The government (*pādshāhī*) there belongs to Ballah-rāy. Near these (towns) there is a mountain on which grows much bamboo (*khaizurān*), rotang (*naysa*, spelt: *nīra*), pepper, and coco-nut. In Kanbāya shoes (*na'lain*: "sandals"?) are produced which are exported to all the countries of the world.

15. QĀMH.L (\**Qāmuhul*), a pleasant town which is a part of Ballah-rāy's kingdom.

16. BĀBĪ, a pleasant town of which the king is a Muslim. 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who mutinied (*khurūj*) and seized Manṣūra, was from this town.

17. QANDAHĀR, a large town in which there are numerous idols of gold and silver. It is a place of hermits and Brahmans (*sāhidān va brahmanān*). It is a pleasant town to which appertains a special province (*nāhiyat-i khāṣṣa*).

18. Ḥ.SĪNĀKRA (Ḥ.*sīnāgra*?), a pleasant locality with numerous districts.

19. B.JŪNA, a populous village on the edge of the desert.

20. KŪNS.R, a small town with idol temples.

21. NŪNŪN, a town which is said to possess more than 300,000 idols, and there are numerous brothels (*rūsipī-khāna*) in it.

22. B.KSĀN, a populous village of which the inhabitants shave (*bisuturand*) their hair and beards. In it there are numerous idols of gold and copper (*rūyīn*).

23. H.MĀNĀN, a place of Indian hermits. (The inhabitants) are Brahmans who say that they are of the prophet Abraham's tribe, God's blessings be on him.

24. B.LHĀRĪ (*Ballahārī*?), a large and populous town and a residence of merchants from India, Khorāsān, and 'Irāq. It produces much musk.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 5, 9.

25. R.BĪND (?), a populous town where stuff for Indian turbans (*jāma-yi shāra*) is produced.

And in all these (places) the king is Ballah-rāy. Behind this king's (country) lies (that of) the king of Qinnauj.

26. F.MA (*N.ma*?), a small town where great quantities of precious things (*gauhar*) are brought (*uftadh*).

27. KHĀLHĪN (\**fālhin*?), a small but populous town producing great quantities of velvets and stuff for turbans (*jāma-yi makhmal va shāra*), as well as of drugs.

28. B.RHĀRA, a large and pleasant town.

29. QINNAUJ<sup>1</sup>, a large town and the seat of the raja (*rāy*) of Qinnauj who is a great king; most of the Indian kings obey him and this raja does not consider any one his superior. He is said to have 150,000 horse and 800 elephants (destined) to take the field on the day of battle (*ki ba-rūz-i harb bar-nishīnand*).<sup>2</sup>

30. BULRĪ, QALRĪ, NARĪ (?), RŪR (spelt: *Zūr*), four towns belonging to Sind but lying on this (eastern!) side of the Mihrān river. This is a very pleasant locality. There stands a preacher's pulpit (*minbar*) and the Hindūstān merchandise (*jihāz*) is brought (*uftadh*) to these little towns. Rūr possesses two strong walls (*bar-ū du bāra muḥkam*). This place is full of dampness and humidity (*tar-u-namnāk*).

31. B.SM.D (?), a small but very pleasant town in Hind (Panjāb?).

32. MULTĀN, large town in Hind. In it there is a very large idol, and from all Hindūstān people come on pilgrimage (*ba-hajj*) to visit this idol whose name is Mūltān [sic]. It is a strong place with a citadel (*qundiz*). Its governor (*sultān*) is a Quraishite from the descendants of Sām. He lives at a camp (*lashkargāh*) half a farsang (from Multān) and reads the khuṭba in the name of the "Western One" (*bar maghribi*).<sup>3</sup>

33. JANDRŪZ (\**Chandrōr*), a small town near Mūltān [sic].

34. JĀB.RS.RĪ (?), a populous and very pleasant village. In it great quantities of tamarind (*khurmā-yi hindī*) and cassia fistularis (*khīyār-i shanbar*) are found.

35. BAHRĀYIJ was a large town but at present is desolate, and little (*andak jā'i*) of it is left.

36. LAHŌR, a town with numerous districts. Its government (*sultān*) is on behalf of the chief (*mīr*) of Multān. In it there are markets and idol-temples. In it great numbers of *jalghūza*-trees,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such is the Arabic vocalization, once clearly indicated in our text too.

<sup>2</sup> After this paragraph ought to come 38.

<sup>3</sup> The Fāṭimid caliph is meant here

<sup>4</sup> According to Raverty: *Pinus Gerardiana*.

15b almond-trees, and coco-nuts are found. All the inhabitants are idolaters | and there are no Muslims there.

37. RĀMIYĀN (*Rāmayān* ?), a town on a huge mound (*tall*). In it there are some Muslims called Sālḥārī. The rest are all idolaters. Many Hindū slaves (*barda*) and numerous Indian commodities (*jihās-i Hindūstān*) are brought there (*uftadh*). The local government is on behalf of the amīr of Multān. At the town gate stands an idol-temple with a copper idol inlaid with gold (*ba-zar kanda*). They hold it in great reverence, and daily thirty women go round about this idol (*sī zan-and ki gird-i but āyand*) with drums, tambourines (*daf*), and dances (*pāy kūftan*).

38. JĀLHANDAR,<sup>1</sup> a town situated on the summit of a mountain in the cold zone (*sardsīr*) and producing great quantities of velvets and stuffs (*jāma*), plain and figured (*sādha va munaqqash*). Between Rāmiyān and Jālhandar there is a distance of five days, and all this road is planted with trees (producing) myrobalan (*halīla*), terminalia belerica (*balīla*), embilica officinalis (*āmula*), and (other) drugs (*dārū*), exported to all the world. This town belongs to the dominions (*hudūd*) of the raja (*rāy*) of Qinnauj.

39. S.LĀBŪR (*S.lāpūr* ?), a large town with markets, merchants, and commodities (*khwāsta*). The government (*pādshāhī*) belongs to the raja of Qinnauj. The coins with which their trade is carried on are of various kinds, e.g., *bārāda*, *nākhwār*, *shabānī*, *kabuhra*, *kīmavān*, and *kūra*, each of them having a different weight. S.lābūr has numerous idol-temples. Their sages (*dānishmand*) are Brahmans. Sugar, candy-sugar (*panīdh*), honey, coco-nuts, cows, sheep, and camels abound there.

40. BRĪHŪN (?), a town like a fortified camp (*ribāt*). Four days in the year a lively (*tīz*) market is held there. The place lies near Qinnauj, within the dominions of the latter's raja (*va hudūd-i rāy-ast*). It possesses 300 idol-temples and a water, of which it is said that whoever washes himself in it is free from any ill-luck (*āfat*). And whenever one of their chiefs (*mihtar*) dies, all the inferiors (*kihtar*) living under his shadow kill themselves. The king of their town sits on a throne and wherever he travels (*har jā kī ravadh*) many men (*basī mard*) carry the throne on their shoulders to where (the king) wants. From this town to Tibet is a five days' journey over difficult passes.

41. HAYTĀL, a country near Qinnauj, from which it is shut off by a huge mountain. The country is small but the people are warlike and good fighters (*mubārīz*). The government at Haytāl (*pādshāhī*)

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph ought to follow on 29.

belongs to (one of the) margraves (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*) who is on hostile terms with the raja of Qinnauj.

42. ṬYTHĀL (?), a country adjacent to Haytāl. Between them stands a mountain of difficult access (*ṣa'b*) over which the inhabitants transport (*bigudār-and* < \**bigudharānand*) loads tied to their backs. It is a place with few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*).

43. BAYTĀL (Nepal?), a country adjacent to Ṭaythāl. It is a place (visited by) the merchants from all over the world and much musk comes from there.

44. ṬĀFĪ (\**Tāqī*), a country with populous towns and ample amenities (*ni'mat-i farākh*). Its people are dark and white.

45. \*SALŪQIYĪN (spelt: *S.lūfiyīn*), a large country with many commodities. The people call their king *najāya*. They (?) take wives from the tribe of Ballah-rā (*ishān zan az qabila-yi B. kunand*). Much red sandal-wood comes from this country.

46. AL-JURZ (spelt: *Lhrz*),<sup>1</sup> a country called after the name of its king. And this country is a place with justice and equity. It is reported that 100,000 men take the field (*bar-nishīnad*) together with (the king). And of all the three kings (mentioned)<sup>2</sup> this one is the most valiant. From this | country come much aloes and sandal- 16 a wood.

47. GARDĪZ, a frontier town between Ghaznīn and Hindūstān, situated on the summit of a mound (*tall*) and possessing a strong fortress (*ḥiṣār*) with three walls. The inhabitants are Khārījites.

48. SAUL, a pleasant village on a mountain. In it live Afghāns. And as you go thence to Ḥusaynān the road passes between two mountains, and on the road one must cross seventy-two torrents (*āb*). The road is full of dangers and terrors.

49. ḤUSAYNĀN, a town in the hot zone lying by a steppe (*bar ṣahrā*).

50. \*NĪNHĀR,<sup>3</sup> a place of which the king makes show of Islam (*musalmānī numāyadh*), and has many wives, (namely) over thirty Muslim, Afghān, and Hindū (wives). The rest (*va dīgar mardum*) of the people are idolaters. In (Nīnhār) there are three large idols.

51. HĪVĀN, a town on a mountain. From this town flows downhill a water which is used in the fields.

52. JALŪT and BALŪT,<sup>4</sup> two towns (respectively) situated to the right and left of the road, on the tops of two mountains separated by a stream. In them (*vay*) there are idol-temples and they produce sugar-cane, cows, and sheep.

53. BĪRŪZA is a town within the limits (*andar ḥudūd*) of Mūltān

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 5, 9 B.

<sup>3</sup> Spelt: *Banihār*, cf. § 6, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Those of Tāqī, Salūqī, and Jurz?

<sup>4</sup> Under § 6, 15: Jalavvat and Balavvat.

in Hindūstān. All the merchandise of Hindūstān (*hama jihāz-hā-i H.*) comes (*uftadh*) there and in it are idol-temples.

54. LAMGHĀN, a town situated on the middle course [? cf. p. 58, l. 4] of the river, on (its) bank (*bar miyāna bar karān-i rūdh*). It is the emporium (*bārgāh*) of Hindūstān and a residence of merchants and it possesses idol-temples.

55. DYNWR (supra: *Dunpūr*), a town situated opposite (*barābar*) Lamghān on the bank of a river. It is the residence of merchants from all Khorāsān. It has idol-temples. In both these towns reside Muslim merchants, and both are prosperous and pleasant.

56. VAYHIND, a large town. Its king Jaypāl is under the orders (of the raja) of Qinnauj. In it live a few Muslims, and the Hindūstān merchandise, such as musk, precious things (*gauhar*), and precious stuffs, mostly come to this country (*jihāz-hā-yi H. bishtar badhīn nāhiyat uftadh az mushk va gauhar va jāma-hā-yi bā-qimat*).

57. QASHMĪR, a large and pleasant land (*shahr*) with numerous merchants. Its king depends on the raja of Qinnauj (*pādhshāh-i vay rāy-i Qinnauj-rā-st*). It possesses many idol-temples to which the Hindus come on pilgrimage.

## § 11. Discourse on the Country of Tibet and its Towns.

East of it are some parts of Chīnistān; south of it, Hindūstān; west of it, some of the Marches (*hudūd*) of Transoxiana and some of the Khallukh country (*hudūd*); north of it, some parts of the Khallukh and Toghuzghuz. This country is cultivated and populous, but has few commodities (*ābādhan va bisyār-mardum va kam-khwāsta*). All the people are idolaters. Some of the country belongs to the hot zone and some to the cold one (*sardasir*). Everything Indian is imported (*uftadh*) into Tibet and from Tibet re-exported to Muslim countries. There are gold-mines in Tibet, and from it come much musk, black foxes, grey squirrels (*sanjāb*), sable-martens (*samūr*), ermine (*qāqum*), and *khutū*-[horns]. It is a place of few amenities (*kam-ni mat*). Its king is called Tubbat-khāqān and he has great numbers of troops and arms. One of the marvels of Tibet is that whoever visits it, without any reason, becomes (of) smiling (countenance) and merry heart until he leaves that country.

16b I. RĀNG-RONG, a province (*nāhiyat*) of Tibet adjacent to Hindūstān and Chīnistān. In Tibet| there is no province poorer (*darvishtar*) than this. The people live in tents and their wealth (*khwāsta*) is sheep. The Tubbat-khāqān levies from them poll-taxes (*sar-gazit*) instead of land-taxes (*kharāj*). This country is a month's journey long and as much across. It is reported that on (*bar*) its mountains there are gold-

mines, and in them (*andar vāy*) nuggets (*pāra'ī*) of gold are found in the form (*mānand*) of several sheep's heads joined together (*ba yak pāra*). Whoever, having collected this gold, brings it home, death strikes that house until the gold is replaced in its (former) place.

2. THE BOLORIAN (*B.lūri*) TIBET, a province of Tibet adjoining the confines (*hudūd*) of Bolor.<sup>1</sup> The people are chiefly merchants and live in tents (*khayma*) and felt-huts (*khargāh*). The country is 15 days' journey long and 15 days' journey wide.

3. N.ZVĀN (?), a wealthy (*tuvangar*) country of Tibet with many commodities. In this country (*shahr*) there is a tribe (*qabila*) called Mayūl [sic] from which the kings of Tibet come. In (this province) two small villages are found of which the one is called N.zvān and the other Muyūl [sic]. It is a place of few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*) but has numerous commodities (*khwāsta*), such as gold, furs (*mūy*), sheep, and (many other) commodities and implements (*khwāsta va ālāt*).

4. B.RKHMĀN, a town with numerous merchants.

5. LHĀSĀ, a small town (*shahrak*) with numerous idol temples (Buddhist temples?) and one Muslim mosque (*mazgit*). In it live a few Muslims.

6. ZAVA, a small village within the limits (*hudūd*) of Twsmt.<sup>2</sup>

7. \*AJĀYUL (? اچايل), a place with pastures, meadows (*marghazār*), and felt-huts of some Tibetans. When the Tubbat-khāqān dies and from the said tribe (*i.e.*, the M.yūl tribe?) no one remains, the people elect a chief (*mihtar*) from among these \*Ajāyul.

8. GREAT AND LITTLE J.RM.N.GĀN (*Charmangān*?), two towns on the edge of the desert. It is a place of few amenities and few commodities (*andak khwāsta*). The people (*mardum*) are hunters<sup>3</sup> (*ṣayyādī kunand*).

9. TWSMT (Tūsmat?), a land (*shahr*) formerly held by the Chinese and now by the Tibetans. In it there are troops (*lashkar*) belonging to the Tubbat-khāqān (*az ān-i T.-kh.*).

10. BĀLS, 11. K.RYĀN (?), 12. V.J.KHYĀN (?), 13. B.RĪKHA, 14. J.N.KH-KATH, 15. KŪNKRĀ, 16. RĀYKŪTIYA, 17. B.RNIYA, 18. N.DRŪF, 19. D.STŪYA, 20. M.TH, small towns (lands?) which formerly belonged to China, but now are held by the Tibetans. In them the Toghuzghuz (*mardumān-i Toghuzghuzī*) are numerous. They are places possessing commodities (*khwāsta*), amenities (*ni'mat*), and cultivation (*ābādhānī*). Between 15. Kūnkrā and 16. Rāykūtiya huge fortress is situated to the right (of the road) on a high mountain, and the treasure (*khazīna-hā*) of the Tubbat-khāqān is placed there.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 26, 19.

<sup>2</sup> V. *infra* 9.

<sup>3</sup> Or: fishermen, cf. § 28, 9.

21. GH.ZĀ, the very beginning (*nukhustīn ḥadd*) of Tibet from the Toghuzghuz side, near the river Kuchā.

22. BĪNĀ and \*K.L.BĀNK (?), two small towns belonging to Tibet with numerous troops, warriors, and arms (*ba lashkar va mardumanī* [sic] *jangī va bā silāh*).

23. K.RSĀNG (\*Ūsāng) belongs to Tibet. In it large idol-temples are found. The (locality ?) is called Great Farkhār.

## § 12. Discourse on the Toghuzghuz Country and its Towns

East of it is the country of China; south of it, some parts of Tibet and the Khallukh; west of it, some parts of the Khirikhīz; north of it, also the Khirikhīz (who ?) extend along all the Toghuzghuz country (*andar hama ḥudūd-i ū biravadh*). This country is the largest of the Turkish countries and originally (*dar aṣl*) the Toghuzghuz were the most numerous tribe (*qaum*). The kings of the whole of Turkistān in the days of old were from the Toghuzghuz. They are warlike people (*mardumānī jangī*) possessing great numbers of arms. In summer and winter (*dīmistān!*) they wander from place to place along the grazing grounds (*giyā-khwar*) in the climates which (happen  
17 a to be) the best (*khushtar buvadh*). From their country | comes much musk, as well as black, red, and striped foxes, furs (*mū*) of the grey squirrel, sable-marten, ermine (*qāqum*), weasel (*fanak* ?), *sabija* (?), *khutū*-horns, and yaks (*ghizhghāw*). The country has few amenities, and their commodities are the things (*ālāt*) which we have enumerated, as well as sheep, cows, and horses. The country possesses innumerable streams. The wealthiest (of the Toghuzghuz ?) are the Turks (*Turkūn*). The Tātār too are a race (*jīnsī*) of the Toghuzghuz.

1. JĪNĀNJKATH (\**Chīnānj kath*, "Chinese town"), capital (*qaṣaba*) of the Toghuzghuz. It is a middle-sized (*miyāna*) town. It is the seat of the government and adjoins the limits (*ḥudūd*) of China. In summer great heat reigns in it but the winter there is very pleasant.

2. Near it is the mountain Ṭ.fqān, behind (*aṣ pas*) which are five villages: KŪZĀR.K, J.M.LKATH, \*PANJĪKATH, BĀRLUGH, JĀMGHAR. The king of the Toghuzghuz in summer lives in this village of Panjīkath. North of the Toghuzghuz is a steppe (*ṣahrā*) stretching between them and the Khirikhīz up to (*tā*) the country of the Kimāk.

3. K.MSĪGHĪYĀ, a village between two mountains.

4. S.TKATH, a small district with three villages.

5. ARK (?), a small town near the river Khūland (Khūkand ?)-ghūn, possessing plenty of fruit, except grapes. To it belong seven villages, and Ark and its districts are said to turn out 20,000 men.



6. K.RĀRKHŪN (*K.vārkhūn*?), a village amid sands, possessing few amenities (*andak ni'mat*) but many people.

7. The villages of BEK-TEGIN consist of five villages belonging to the Soghdians. In them live Christians (*tarsāyān*), Zoroastrians (*gabrakān*), and heathens (? *šābiyān*).<sup>1</sup> The locality is in the cold zone and is surrounded by mountains.

8. KŪM.S (*Kūmis* ?)-ART, a village on a mountain (*bar sar-i kūh*). Its people are hunters.

9. KH.MŪD (*Khumūl*, *Qumūl* ?), a locality with meadows (*margha-zār*) and grazing grounds (*giyā-khwār*), with tents and felt-huts of the Toghuzghuz. The people own sheep (*khudāvandān-i gūspand*).

10. J.MĪKATH, a large village of which the chief is called Yabghū (spelt: *Baighū*). They [now ?] settle (*nishānand*) there the subjects of Yabghū (*Baighū'iyān*), (as) the Kīmāk (*Kīmākiyān*), Khallukh, and Yaghmā used constantly to plunder (*ghārat kardand*) this village.

11. T.NZĀGH-ART, an earthen mountain (*kūhī-st az khāk*)<sup>2</sup> and a stage (*mansil*) for the merchants.

12. MĀB.NJ J.RĀBĀS (?), a stage at which a big river (*āb*) and plenty of grass (*giyā*) are found.

13. B.LKH.MKĀN (?), a stage where formerly lived the Toghuzghuz and which is now desolate.

14. S.D.NK (?), a stage at which it snows and rains constantly.

15. سحك—ART, a stage.

16. IRGŪZGŪKATH (?), a stage with pasture lands (*charā-gāh*) and springs.

17. \*IGHRĀJ-ART, a stage which is never free from snow. Wild beasts (*dhadhagān*) and harts (*gavaznān*) are found there in profusion (*bār-and*), and from this mountain harts' antlers (*surū'i gavazn*) are brought in great numbers.

### § 13. Discourse on the Country of the \*Yaghmā<sup>3</sup> and its Towns

East of it is the Toghuzghuz country (*nāhiyat*); south[?] of it, the river Khūland-ghūn which flows into the Kuchā river; west of it are the Khallukh borders (*hudūd*). In this country there is but little (*nist magar andak*) agriculture, (yet) it produces many furs and in it much game is found.

Their wealth is in horses and sheep. The people are hardy (*sakht*), strong, and warlike (*jang-kun*), and have plenty of arms. Their king

<sup>1</sup> Here *Šābiyān* are probably the Buddhists, differently from § 34, 17.

<sup>2</sup> \**Topragh-art* which in Turkish exactly means "earthen pass".

<sup>3</sup> Spelt: *Yaghmiyā*.

is from the family of the Toghuzghuz kings. These Yaghmā (*Yagh-mā'iyān*) have numerous tribes; some say that among them 1,700 known tribes are counted. Both the low and the nobles among them venerate (*namāz barand*) their kings. The B.LĀQ (*B.lāqīyān*) are also a clan (*qaum*) of the Yaghmā mixed with the Toghuzghuz, and in their region<sup>1</sup> there are a few villages (*dih-hā-st andakī*).

- 17b 1. KĀSHGHAR | belongs to Chīnistān but is situated on the frontier between the Yaghmā, Tibet, the Khirkhīz, and China. The chiefs of Kāshghar in the days of old were from the Khallukh, or from the Yaghmā.

The mountain Ighrāj-art traverses (*andar miyān*) the Yaghmā country (*nāhiyat-i Yaghmiyā* [sic]).

2. \*ARTŪJ (spelt: *B.rtiīj*) was a populous village of the Yaghmā, but snakes grew (so) numerous (*ghalaba girift*) (that) the people abandoned the village.

3. KHĪRM.KĪ (*Khīraklī?*), a large village. (The people) are \*Artūjians (spelt: *Bartūjī*). In the village are three kinds of Turks: Yaghmā, Khallukh, and Toghuzghuz.

#### § 14. Discourse on the Khirkhīz Country

East of it is the country of China and the Eastern Ocean; south of it, the Toghuzghuz borders and some parts of the Khallukh; west of it, (parts) of the Kīmāk country; [north of it, parts] of the Uninhabited Lands of the North (*vīrānī-yi shamāl*). In the [outlying] part of their country (*andar nāhiyat az vay*) there is no population (*hich ābādhānī nīst*), and that (region) is the Uninhabited Lands of the North where people cannot live on account of the intensity of cold. From this country are brought in great quantities musk, furs, *khadang*-wood, *khalanj*-wood, and knife-handles made of *khutū* (*dastayi-kār-i khutū*, read: *kārd-i khutū*). Their king is called Khirkhīz-khāqān. These people have the nature of wild beasts (*ṭab'-i dadhakān*) and have rough faces (*durusht-sūrat*) and scanty hair. They are lawless (*bīdādhkār*) and merciless, (but) good fighters (*mubārīz*) and warlike. They are at war and on hostile terms with all the people living round them. Their wealth (*khwāsta*) consists of Khirkhīz merchandise (*jihāz-hā-yi Khirkhīz*), sheep, cows, and horses. They wander (*mī-gardand*) along rivers, grass, (good) climates, and meadows (*marghazār*). They venerate (*buzurg dārand*) the Fire and burn the dead. They are owners (*khudāvandān*) of tents and felt-huts, and are hunters and game-killers (*nakhchīr-san*).

<sup>1</sup> *Andar-ū*, perhaps, in the Yaghmā country in general.

1. FŪRĪ (*Qūrī* ?), name of a tribe which also belongs to the Khirkhīz but lives east of them and does not mix with the other groups of the Khirkhīz. They are man-eaters (*mardum-khwār*) and merciless. The other Khirkhīz do not know their language (*zafān-i ishān digar Kh. nadānand*) and they are like savages (*va chūn wahshīyand*).

2. This side of the Fūrī (*az zir-i vay*) there is a town K.M.JKATH where the Khirkhīz-khāqān lives.

3. K.SAYM, name of a clan (*qaum*) of the Khirkhīz who with their felt-huts have established themselves on the slopes of the mountains (*babarākūh*). They hunt for furs (*mū*), musk, *khutū*-[horns], and the like. They are a different tribe from the Khirkhīz. Their language (*sukhan*) is nearer to that of the Khallukh and they dress like the Kīmāk.

Except at the residence (*nishast*) of the khāqān, no class of the Khirkhīz has any villages or towns at all (*al-batta*).

### § 15. Discourse on the Khallukh Country and its Towns

East of it are some parts of Tibet and the borders of the Yaghmā and the Toghuzghuz; south of it, some parts of the Yaghmā and the country (*nāhiyat*) of Transoxiana; west of it, the borders of the Ghūz; north of it, the borders of the Tukhs, Chigil, and Toghuzghuz. This is a prosperous (*ābādhān*) country, the most pleasant of the Turkish lands. It possesses running waters and a moderate climate. From it come different furs (*mūy-hā*). The Khallukh are near to (civilized) people (*mardumānī-and ba-mardum nazdīk*), pleasant tempered (*khush-khū*) and sociable (*amīzanda*). In the days of old, the kings of the Khallukh were called Jabghūy, and also Yabghū. The country possesses towns and villages. Some of the Khallukh are hunters, some agriculturists (*kishāvarz* [sic] *kunand*), and some herdsmen. Their wealth is in sheep, horses, and various furs. They are a warlike people, prone to forays (*tākhtan baranda*).

1. KŪLĀN, a small district adjacent to the Muslim world (*ba musalmānī payvasta*). In it agriculture (*kisht-u-barz*) is practised.

2. MIRKĪ, a village inhabited by the Khallukh and also visited by merchants. Between these two villages [*sic*, Kūlān and Mirkī] there are three Khallukh tribes | called: Bīstān, Khaym, and B.rīsh.

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3. NŪN-KAT (\**Navī-kat* ?) was a town near the mountain Ūrūn-‘Ārj (*Ghārch* ?), but now it is desolate and is a thieves’ haunt. It is a stage (on the road) and a few felt-huts of the Khallukh are found there.

4. GH.NKSĪR, a large village with numerous Khallukh tribes. It is a prosperous place.

5. TŪZŪN-BULAGH, a village with fields (*kisht-u-barz*), running waters, and amenities. It lies on the frontier between the Khallukh and the Yaghmā.

6. By Tūzūn-'Ār.j (*Ghārch*?) is the lake TUZ-KŪL (spelt: *Tūzkūk*), wherefrom seven tribes of the Khallukh procure for themselves salt.

7. KŪKYĀL (\**Kök-yal*?), ATLĀLIGH (*Otlāligh*?), LŪL.GH (*Ūl.gh*?) are three prosperous and pleasant villages, situated on the slope of a mountain (*babarākūh*); their princes (*dihqān*) were Yabghū's brothers.

8. ŪZKATH and M.LJKATH (? ملجكت), two villages situated on the slope of a mountain (*barākūh*), prosperous and pleasant, which belong to Jabghū's kingdom (*va pādshāy* [*\*pādshā'i-yi*] *Jabghūy*).

9. KIRMĪNKATH, in which live a few Khallukh, called L.BĀN. It is a large village where merchants from everywhere reside.

10. TŪN.L (\**Tong*?) and TĀLKH.ZA, two villages amidst the mountains, on the frontier between the Chigil and Khallukh, near the lake Issi-kül (spelt: *Iskūl*). The inhabitants are warlike, courageous, and valiant.

11. BARSKHĀN, a town on the bank of the lake (*daryā*),<sup>1</sup> prosperous and pleasant. Its prince (*dihqān*) is a Khallukh, but the (inhabitants) are devoted to the Toghuzghuz (*havā-yi T. khwāhand*).

12. JĀMGH.R, a small borough in the Khallukh country, on the edge of the desert. In the days of old it belonged to the Khallukh, but now its government (*pādshāhī*) is on behalf of the king of the Toghuzghuz. In it live some 200 tribes of men (*divīst qabīla mardum*), and to it belongs a separate district.

13. \*B.NJŪL (بنجول \**Banjūk*?) lies in the country of the Khallukh, but formerly its king was (ruler) on behalf of the Toghuzghuz, and now it is occupied by the Khirkhīz.

14. AQ.RĀQ.R (?), a town (with) a numerous population, situated between a mountain and a river.

15. ŪJ lies on a mountain (*bar sar-i kūh*). There are some 200 men (*mard*) in it.

These two (last-named places) are held by the Khallukh.

## § 16. Discourse on the Chigil Country

It is a country which [?] originally belongs to the Khallukh, but it<sup>2</sup> is [still?] a country (with) a numerous population (*nāhiyati-st bisyār-mardum*). East and south of it are the limits of the Tukhs; north of

<sup>1</sup> Evidently referring to the Issi-kül just mentioned under 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Nāhiyat-ast va aṣl-i ū* [?] *az Khallukh-ast va lākin* &c. [See Annex B.]

it, the Khirkhīz country. And whatever comes (*uftad*) from the Khallukh and Khirkhīz countries is also produced (*khīzad*) in (that of the) Chigil. The latter possess great riches. They own tents and felt-huts (but) possess few (*andak*) pleasant towns and villages. Their wealth is in cows, sheep, and horses. Some of them worship the Sun and the stars. They are good-natured people, sociable and kind, and their king is one of themselves.

1. SĪKŪL, a large town on the frontier between the Khallukh and the Chigil, close to the Muslim world (*nazdik ba musulmānī*). It is a prosperous and pleasant place where merchants reside.

### § 17. Discourse on the Tukhs Country and its Towns

East of it are the Chigil limits; south of it, the Khallukh and their mountainous haunts (*kūhistān-hā*); west of it, a group of Khirkhīz; north of it, the Chigil. This country is much more pleasant (*nāhiyatī-st bisyār-nī'mattar*) than (that of the) Chigil. From it come musk and various furs (*mīty*). Their wealth is in horses, sheep, furs, tents, and felt-huts. In winter (*dimistān!*) and summer they wander along pasture-lands, grazing-grounds, and meadows (*charāgāh-va-giyā-khwār-va-mar-ghazār*).

1. LĀZINA (?) and F.RĀKHIYA (?), two clans (*qaum*) of Tukhs, each of which | possesses a small country, and there are two villages 18b called after these two tribes.

2. SŪYĀB, a large village from which 20,000 men come forth.

3. BĪGLĪGH ("home of the Beg's men"), a large village, called in Soghdian S.m.knā. Its prince (*dihkān* [sic]) is called Y.nāl.b.r.r.kīn (\*Yināl-beg-tegin). 3,000 men take the field with him (*bā ū . . . bar nishinand*).

4. ŪRKATH, situated between two villages of the Tukhs. Few people live in it but (the place) is pleasant and the inhabitants rich (*tuvangar*).

### § 18. Discourse on the Kīmāk Country and its Towns

East of this country lives a race (*jinsī*) of Khirkhīz; south of it are the rivers Artush [sic] and Ātil; west of it, some of the Khifchākh and some of the Northern Uninhabited Lands (*vīrānī-yī shamāl*); its north lies in those northern parts where men cannot live. In this country there is only one town but many tribes (*qabila*). Its people live in felt-huts and both in summer and winter wander along the grazing-grounds (*giyā-khwār*), waters, and meadows (*marghazār*). Their commodities are sable-martens (*samūr*) and sheep. Their food in

summer is milk, and in winter preserved meat (*gūsht-i qadīd*). Whenever there is peace between them and the Ghūz, they go in winter towards (*ba-bar*) the Ghūz. The king of the Kīmāk is called khāqān. He has eleven lieutenants (*āmīl*) within the Kīmāk country, and the fiefs (*a'māl*) are given by heritage to the children of the lieutenants.

1. ANDAR AZ KHIFCHĀQ ("Cis-Khifchāqia"?),<sup>1</sup> a country (*nāhiyat*) of the Kīmāk of which the inhabitants resemble the Ghūz in some (of their) customs.

2. Q.RQ.RKHĀN, another district of the Kīmāk, of which the inhabitants have the customs of the Khirkhīz.

3. Y.GHSŪN YĀSŪ, another district of the Kīmāk, between the rivers Ātil and Irtish [sic], which has more pleasant people and more settled conditions (*mardumānī bīshtar bā-ni'mat va kāri sākhtatar dāradh*).

4. NAMAKIYA, a town in Kīmāk which is the Khāqān's residence during summer. Between this town and Ṭarāz (spelt: Ṭ.rār) there is a distance of eighty days for a horseman travelling at speed (*ba-shitāb*).

5. DIH-I CHŪB, a village on the bank of a river. In summer numerous people (gather) in it.

### § 19. Discourse on the Ghūz Country

East of this country is the Ghūz desert and the towns of Transoxiana; south of it, some parts of the same desert as well as the Khazar sea; west and north of it, the river Ātil. The Ghūz have arrogant faces (*shūkh-rūy*) and are quarrelsome (*sīṭiza-kār*), malicious (*badh-rag*), and malevolent (*hasūd*). Both in summer and winter they wander along the pasture-lands and grazing-grounds (*charāgāh-va-giyā-khwār*). Their wealth is in horses, cows, sheep, arms, and game in small quantities. Among them merchants are very numerous. And whatever the Ghūz, or the merchants, possess of good or wonderful is the object of veneration by the Ghūz (*va ham az Ghūz va ham az īshān har chīxi-rā ki nīkū buvad va 'ajab buvad namāz barand*). (The Ghūz) greatly esteem the physicians (*ṭabībān*) and, whenever they see them, venerate them (*namāz barand*), and these doctors (*pijishkān*) have command over their lives (*khūn*) and property (*khwāsta*). The Ghūz have no towns, but the people owning felt-huts are very numerous. They possess arms and implements (*silāh va ālāt*) and are courageous and daring (*shūkh*) in war. They continually make inroads (*ghazw*) into the lands of Islam (*nawāhi-yi*

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic the equivalent would be *mā dūn Kh*. [Perhaps "Inner Khifchākh"?].

*Islām*), whatever place be on the way (*ba har jā'ī uftadh*), and (then) strike (*bar-kūband*), plunder, and retreat as quickly as possible. Each of their tribes has a (separate) chief on account of their discords (*nā-sāzandagī*) with each other.

### § 20. Discourse on the Turkish Pechenegs<sup>1</sup>

East of this country are the limits (*hudūd*) of the Ghūz; | south of it, **19 a** those of the Burtās and Barādhās; west of it, those of the Majgharī and the Rūs; north of it, (the river) Rūthā. This country in all respects resembles (that of) the Kīmāk and is at war with all its neighbours. The (Pechenegs) have no towns; their chief (*mihtar*) is one of themselves.

### § 21. Discourse on the Khifchākh Country

The southern frontier of the Khifchākh marches with the Pechenegs (*Khifjākh rā ḥadd-i junūbash ba-Bajanāk dāradh*), and all the rest marches with the Northern Uninhabited Lands where there is no living being. The Khifchākh are a clan (*qaum*) which, having separated from the Kīmāk, has settled down in these parts, but the Khifchākh are more wicked (*badh-khūtar*) than the Kīmāk. Their king (*malik*) is (appointed) on behalf of the Kīmāk.

### § 22. Discourse on the Majgharī Country

East of it is a mountain; south of it,<sup>2</sup> a tribe of Christians (*tarsāyān*) called V.n.nd.r; west and north of (the Majghari) are the districts (*nawāhī*) of the Rūs. This country has some 20,000 men who take the field with their king (*bā malikashān bar-nishīnand*). The king of this country is called \*Jula (جلا read: جله). This country is 150 farsangs in length by 100 farsangs in breadth. In winter they stay on the bank of a river which separates them from the Rūs. Their food is fish and they live on it (*badhān zīndagānī gudharānadh*). They are very rich people but base<sup>3</sup> (*mardumānī bisyār-khwāsta-and va-sufla*?). This country possesses many trees and running waters. The (people) are good-looking and awe-inspiring (*bā-haybat*). The Majghari are at war with all the infidels living around them and are (usually) victorious (*bihtar āyand*).

And all these whom we have mentioned are the different categories of Turks (existing in the) world. Now we shall mention all the lands of Islam, and then the rest of the lands of the infidels (*Kāfirān*), lying in the western parts.

<sup>1</sup> *Bajanāk*.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, south of their country.

<sup>3</sup> *sufla* is rather unexpected.

## § 23. Discourse on the Country of Khorāsān and its Towns

It is a country east of which is Hindistān [sic]; south of it, some of its (own) Marches (*hudūd*) and some parts of the desert of Kargaskūh; west of it, the districts of Gurgān and the limits of the Ghūz; north of it, the river Jayhūn. This is a vast country with much wealth and abundant amenities (*bā . . . ni'matī farākh*). It is situated near the centre of the Inhabited Lands of the world. In it gold-mines and silver-mines are found as well as precious things (*gauhar*) such as are (extracted) from mountains. This country produces horses and its people are warlike. It is the gate of Turkistān. It produces numerous textiles (*jāma*), gold, silver, turquoises, and drugs (*dārū*). It is a country with a salubrious (*durust*) climate and with men strongly built and healthy. The king<sup>1</sup> of Khorāsān (*padshāy-i Kh.*) in the days of old was distinct from the king of Transoxiana but now they are one. The *mīr* of Khorāsān resides at Bukhārā (*B. nishīnadh*); he is from the Sāmān family (*āl-i Sāmān*) and from Bahrām Chūbīn's descendants. These (princes) are called Malikis of the East and have lieutenants (*'ummāl*) in all Khorāsān, while on the frontiers (*ḥadd-hā*) of Khorāsān there are kings (*pādshāhān*) called "margraves" (*mulūk-i atrāf*).

1. NISHĀPŪR is the largest and richest town in Khorāsān (*buzurg-tarin shahrī-st . . . va bisyār-khwāstatar*). It occupies an area of 1 farsang across and has many inhabitants. It is a resort of merchants and the seat of the army commanders (*sipāh-sālārān*). It has a citadel (*quhandiz*), a suburb (*rabaḍ*), and a city (*shahristān*). Most of its water is from the springs and has been conducted (*bi-āvarda-and*) under the earth. It produces various textiles (*jāma*), silk, and cotton.

19 b To it belongs a special province with thirteen | districts (*rustā*) and four territories (*khān*: "house").

2. SABZAVĀR, a small borough (*shahrakī-st khurd*) on the road to Rayy and the chief place of a district (*qaṣaba-yi rustā'iyā!*).

3. KHUSRAU-GIRD, small borough near Sabzavār.

4. BAHMAN-ĀBĀDH and MAZĪNĀN, two small boroughs on the road to Rayy with numerous fields.

5. ĀZĀDHVĀR, a pleasant borough in the desert on the road to Gurgān.

6. JĀJARM, a frontier borough on the road to Gurgān. It is the emporium of Gurgān, as well as that of Kūmis and Nishāpūr (*bār-kadha-y Gurgān-ast va in-i* [sic] *K. va N.*).

7. SIPARĀYIN (spelt: *Sabarāyin*), a prosperous and pleasant town.

<sup>1</sup> Or: "kingdom", \**pādshā'ī*.



8. JARMAGĀN, SIBĪNAKĀN, KHŪJĀN, RĀVĪNĪ, prosperous boroughs with many fields, situated amidst hills and plains.

All these are within the limits of Nishāpūr.

9. NASĀ, a very pleasant town situated at the foot of the mountains, between the mountain and the desert. Its climate is bad (but) it has running waters.

10. BĀVARD is situated (midway) between the mountains and the desert. It is a place with much cultivation and has a salubrious climate and a warlike population.

11. TŪS, a district in which are situated the boroughs, such as TAVARĀN, NAUQĀN, BUZDIGHŪR (spelt: *Brūghūn*), RĀYAGĀN, B.NVĀDHA, (which lie) amidst hills. In its mountains mines are found of turquoise, copper, lead, antimony (*surma*), and the like. (The district) produces stone kettles (*dīk-i sangīn*), whet-stones (*sang-i fasān*), trouser-cords (*shalvār-band*), and stockings. In Nauqān is found the blessed tomb (*marqad*) of 'Alī-ibn-Mūsā al-Riḍā and people go there on pilgrimage. There too is found the grave (*gūr*) of Hārūn al-Rashīd. (Nauqān) produces stone kettles.

12. MAYHANA, a borough in the district (*ḥudūd*) of Bāvard, situated in the desert.

13. TURSHĪZ, KUNDUR, B.NĀBID, KURĪ, boroughs belonging (*az ḥudūd*) to Kūhistān and Nishāpūr,<sup>1</sup> with numerous fields.

14. QĀ'IN, chief town (*qaṣaba*) of Kūhistān, is surrounded by a moat (*khandaq*) and possesses a citadel (*quhandiz*) and a cathedral mosque (*mazgit-i jāmi'*). The government palace (*sarāy-i sulṭān*) is in the citadel. This place belongs to the cold zone.

15. ṬABASAYN, a town lying in the hot zone, and in it palm-trees grow. The water is from underground canals (*kārīz*). The town lies on the desert.

16. KURĪ lies on the desert and produces cotton stuffs (*karbās*).

17. ṬABAS-I MASĪNĀN lies between the mountains and the desert and is a pleasant place.

18. KHŪR (spelt: *Khuvar*, \**Khur*?) and KHUSB,<sup>2</sup> two towns on the edge of the desert. Their water is from underground canals. The wealth of the inhabitants is chiefly in cattle (*chār-pāy*).

19. BŪZHAGĀN, KHĀYMAND, SANGĀN, SALŪMIDH, ZŪZAN, are boroughs on the confines of Nishāpūr (*az ḥudūd-i N.*). These places have much cultivated land and produce cotton stuffs (*karbās*).

20. HERAT (*Harī* < \**Harē*), a large town with a very strong *shahristān*, a citadel, and a suburb. It has running waters. Its cathedral mosque

<sup>1</sup> *Nishāpūr* added above the line.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps with a popular etymology: *khur* "eat" and *khusp* "sleep".

is the most frequented in all Khorāsān (*ābādhāntar-i mazgīt-hā-st ba-mardum az hama-yi Kh.*). The town lies at the foot of a mountain and is a very pleasant place. Many Arabs (*Tāziyan*) live there. It has a large river which comes from the frontier region between Ghūr and Gūzgānān and is utilized in the districts of Herat. It produces cotton stuffs, manna (*shīrkhisht*), and grape-syrup (*dushāb*).<sup>1</sup>

21. BŪSHANG is about half (the size of) Herat (*chand nīma'i az H.*) and is surrounded by a moat and has a strong fortress (*hiṣār*). In it 'ar'-trees (*juniperus polycarpus*?) are found and a plant (*giyāhī*) of which the juice (*shīr*) | is an antidote (*tiryāk*) against the venom of snakes and scorpions.

22. NŪZHAGĀN, a prosperous and very pleasant borough amidst the mountains.

23. FARGIRD, a small borough; the inhabitants own cattle (*khudā-vandān-i chahār-pāy-and*).

24. BĀDHGHĪS, a prosperous and very pleasant place with some 300 villages.

25. KĀTŪN (\*Kālūn), a borough of which the water is from wells and rain; good horses come from there.

26. KHUJISTĀN, a mountainous district with many fields and warlike inhabitants.

27. KŪH-I SĪM, a borough on the slope of a mountain (*babarākūh*) with a silver-mine; the latter has been abandoned on account of the lack of fuel (*bī-hizumī*).

28. MĀLIN belongs to Herat; from it come good Ṭā'ifī raisins (*mavīz*).

29. ASBUZĀR (\*Aspuzār) has four towns: KAVĀZHĀN (?), ARASKAN, KŪZHD (?), JARĀSHĀN, all four within the distance of 6 farsangs; the locality is pleasant and the inhabitants are Khārījites, and warlike. In this district there are numerous and difficult mountains.

30. SĀRAKHS, a town lying on the road amid a steppe (*andar miyān-i biyābān*). A dry river-bed (*khushkrūd*) passes through the market; the water flows in it only at the time of floods (*āb-khīz*). It is a place with much cultivation, and its people are strongly built (*qawī-tarkīb*) and warlike. Camels are their wealth.

31. BAUN (Bavan?), a borough and the chief place of the rustā of GANJ. It is a very pleasant place with running waters. It produces grape-syrup (*dushāb*).

32. KĪF, also a small borough like Baun.

33. BAGHSHŪR lies on the steppe (*biyābān*) and has water from wells.

<sup>1</sup> On the margin of 19 b-20 a a note is found on Marv. See Appendix A.

34. KARŪKH, a borough with a prosperous district situated in the mountains. It produces fine raisins (*kishmish*).

35. SHŪRMĪN, a borough of Herat.

36. GHARCHISTĀN, a district of which the chief place is BASHĪN. The chief of this district is called *shār*. The place produces much grain, possesses numerous fields, and is prosperous. It is all mountains. The inhabitants are peaceful (*salīm*) and rather good (*nē badh* "not bad"). They are herdsman and agriculturists.

37. DIZA, a borough at the foot of a mountain. The Marv river passes through it. It is a pleasant place and abounds in fruit.

38. MARŪD (Marv-rūd), a pleasant and prosperous town situated at the foot of a mountain. It abounds in fruit, and the river of Marv skirts it (*bar karān*).

39. DIZ-I AḤNAF (spelt: *Dar-i Hinf*), a borough in the desert with many fields and running waters.

40. P.R.KDAR (\*Barakdiz) is situated on the bank of the Marv river and has a strong citadel. Zoroastrians (*gabrakān*) called [Bih]-Afrīdhī live there.

41. GĪRANG, a small town.

42. MARV, a large town. In the days of old the residence of the *mīr* of Khorāsān was there but now he lives in Bukhārā. It is a pleasant and flourishing place with a citadel built by Tahmūrath; in it there are numerous castles (*kūshk*). It was the abode of the (Sasanian) kings (*khusravān*). In all Khorāsān there is no town [better] situated.<sup>1</sup> Its market is good. Their land taxes are levied on the extent of irrigation (*bar ābast*). Marv produces good cotton, root of asafoetida (*ushturghāz*), *filāta*-sweets, vinegar, condiments (*ābkāma*), textiles of raw silk (*qazzān*) and of *mulham* silk.

43. SHING-I 'ABBĀDĪ, a town with numerous districts, prosperous and pleasant.

44. DANDĀNAQĀN |, a borough within a wall (*hiṣār*) which is some 20 b 500 paces long. It lies on the steppe. Outside it is a caravan station (*manzil gāh*).

45. KUSHMĪHAN (\**Kushmēhan*), MUSFARĪ, MĀSHĀN, SŪSANAQĀN, SHĀBIRINJĪ (?), ZARQ—these boroughs, small and big, belong to the province ('*amal*) of Marv, and the agriculture of all these districts depends on irrigation from the Marv river.

46. GŪZGĀNĀN, a very prosperous and pleasant province. Justice, equity, and security reign there. On the east, this province marches with the limits of Balkh and Tūkhāristān down to the limits of Bāmiyān; on the south, with the end of the confines of Ghūr and the

<sup>1</sup> Something fallen out: *az nihādī* [-i *vay bih*].

boundary (*ḥadd*) of Bust; on the west, with the limits of Garchistān and (its) chief place Bashīn, down to the limits of Marv; on the north, with the limits of the river Jayhūn. The sovereign (*pādshāy*) of this province is one of the margraves (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*). In Khorāsān he is called "malik of Gūzgānān". He is a descendant of Afrīdhūn. All the chiefs within the limits of Gharchistān and Ghūr are under his orders (*andar farmān*). He is the greatest of all the margraves in authority, greatness (*ʿizz*), rank, policy (*siyāsat*), liberality and love (*dūstdārī*) of knowledge. This country produces numerous horses, felts, saddle-bags (*ḥaqība*),<sup>1</sup> saddle-girths (*tang-i asp*), *zīlū*, and *palās*. In it is found the *khinj*<sup>2</sup> tree, the wood of which never becomes dry, and is so tender (*narm*) that one can make knots (*gīriḥ afgandan*) in it. In this kingdom (*andar in pādshāy* [sic]) there are numerous districts.

47. R.BŪSHĀRĀN (Rīvshārān?),<sup>3</sup> a large and very pleasant district. (The inhabitants) are warlike. The district belongs to the Garchistān of Gūzgānān. Some of the waters of Marv rise from this district. There are gold-mines in it. The chiefs (*mihtarān*) of this district are among the chiefs of the Marches of Gūzgānān (*az mihtarān-i aṭrāf-i G.*) and they pay their annual tribute-money (*muqāṭaʿa*) to the malik of Gūzgānān.

48. D.RM.SHĀN (*Dar-i M.shān*?) consists of two regions; the one is of Bust, and the other of Gūzgānān.<sup>4</sup> The latter (*īn*) is adjacent (*payvasta*) to R.būshārān. The waters rising in this district join those of R.būshārān (spelt: *Būshārān*), and the river of Marv is formed by these waters. The chief of this district is called Darmashī-shāh (*Dar-i Mashī-shāh*?).

49. TAMRĀN, TAMĀZĀN, two districts situated in the mountains near the limits of Ribāt-i Karvān. Their chiefs are called (respectively) Tamrān-\*waranda (فرنده \**βaranda*) and Tamāzān-\*waranda.

50. SĀRVĀN, a mountainous district. The inhabitants look arrogant (*shūkh-rūy*) and are warlike. They are professional thieves (*dusd-pīsha*) and quarrelsome (*siṭṭa-kār*), faithless (*bī-vafā*), and blood-thirsty (*khūn-khwāra*); and clan animosity (*ʿaṣabiyyat*) constantly reigns among them.

51. MĀNShĀN, a district adjacent to Dar-i Andara and lying in the mountains of Tamrān. Its chiefs were in olden times called B.rāz-banda. Actually a deputy governor (*kārdār*) goes there from the capital (*ḥaḍrat*) of the malik of Gūzgānān.

<sup>1</sup> Persice: *khūrijīn* (?).

<sup>2</sup> "white".

<sup>3</sup> Spelt in the text ربوشاران بوشاران  
ربوشاران

<sup>4</sup> درمشان از دو ناحیت یکی از بست  
و دیگر از کوزگانان

All these districts are very agricultural and abound in amenities. Their chiefs are (appointed) on behalf of the malik of Gūzgānān and pay him annual tribute-money (*muqāṭa'a*). The inhabitants are mostly simple-hearted (*sādhā-dīl*) and own great numbers of cattle, (namely) of cows and sheep. In this kingdom (*pādshāhī*) small districts are very numerous. In it (*i.e.*, Gūzgānān) grows a tree of which whips (*tāziyana*) are made.<sup>1</sup> In its mountains are found mines of gold, silver, iron, lead, copper, antimony-stone (*sang-i surma*), and different kinds of vitriol (*zāg-hā-yi gūnāgūn*).

52. TĀLAQĀN lies on the frontier of Gūzgānān and belongs to its king. It is a very pleasant town | which produces much wine (*nabīdh*) 21 a and felt.

53. JAHŪDHĀN, a prosperous and pleasant town at the foot of a mountain. It is the residence of the malik of Gūzgānān who lives in the military camp (*lashkargāh*) at a distance of one farsang and a half from the town. This military camp is called DAR-I ANDARA and is a strong place at the foot of a mountain, (having) a more pleasant and salubrious (*durust*) climate than Jahūdhān and Pāryāb [sic].

54. PĀRYĀB (spelt: *Bāryāb*), a very pleasant town on the caravan high road.

55. NARYĀN, a borough between Jahūdhān and Pāryāb; its territory stretches for 2 farsangs (*ḥadd-i ū du farsang-ast*?).

56. GURZIVĀN, a town situated on a mountain, very pleasant and with an agreeable climate. In the days of old the residence of the kings of Gūzgānān was there.

57. K.ND.RM, a pleasant borough producing good wine (*nabīdh*) in great quantity.

58. ANBĪR (\**Anbēr*), capital (*qasaba*) of Gūzgānān and a good and prosperous town, the residence of merchants and the emporium of Balkh. It is very pleasant and is situated at the foot of a mountain. It produces the Gūzgān leather (*pūst-i gūzgānī*) exported all over the world.

59. K.LĀR, a flourishing and prosperous borough with many trees and running waters. It abounds in amenities.

60. USHBŪRQĀN, a town situated on a steppe (*ṣaḥrā*) on the high road. It abounds in amenities and has running waters.

61. ANTKHUDH,<sup>2</sup> a borough in the steppe (*biyābān*). It is a place with much cultivation, but possesses few amenities (*kam ni'mat*).

62. SĀN, a town with a prosperous district producing many sheep.

63. RIBĀT-I KARVĀN, a town on the frontier of Gūzgānān. In its mountains gold-mines are found.

<sup>1</sup> *V. supra* under 46.

<sup>2</sup> Note on the margin: *Indkhū* [sic].

64. S.NG-B.N appertains to R.būshārān. Its *minbar* has been recently built (*ba-nau nihādha-and*).

65. AZĪV, a town at the end of the province (*amal*) of Gūzgānān.

All the towns which we have enumerated belong to the kingdom of the Gūzgānān malik (*az ān-i pādshāy-i malik-i G.*). In the steppes (*biyābān*) of this land (*shahr*) there are some 20,000 Arabs. They possess numerous sheep and camels, and their amīr is nominated from the capital (*ḥadrat*) of the malik of Gūzgānān, and to the latter they pay their tribute (*ṣadaqāt*). And these Arabs are richer (*tuwangtar* < \**tuwangartar*) than all the (other) Arabs who are scattered throughout Khorāsān.

66. HAUSH, a large village, flourishing and prosperous, situated in the desert. It belongs to this sovereign (*in pādshāh, i.e., of Gūzgān*) and the Arabs just mentioned mostly stay here in summer.

This province (*nāhiyat*) has many districts and large sub-divisions (*rustā-hā va nāhiyat-hā-yi buzurg*), but the towns with pulpits (*minbar*) are those which we have enumerated.

67. BALKH, a large and flourishing town which was formerly the residence of the Sasanian kings (spelt: *Khisrawān*, [sic]). In it are found buildings of the Sasanian kings with paintings (*naqsha*) and wonderful works (*kārkird*), (which) have fallen into ruins. (That place) is called Nau-bihār. (Balkh) is a resort of merchants and is very pleasant and prosperous. It is the emporium (*bār-kadha*) of Hindūstān. There is a large river in Balkh that comes from Bāmiyān and in the neighbourhood of Balkh is divided into twelve branches; it traverses the town and is altogether used for the agriculture of its districts. Balkh produces citrons and sour oranges (*turunj-u-nāranj*), sugar-cane (*nay-shakar*), and water-lilies (*nīlūfar* "lotus"). Balkh has a *shahristān* surrounded by a mighty wall. In its suburb there are numerous marshes.

68. KHULM lies between Balkh and Tūkhāristān in a steppe (*ṣahrā*) at the foot of a mountain. There is a river there and the land-taxes (*kharāj*) are levied on the extent of irrigation (*bar-āb*). It is a place with much cultivation.

21 b 69. TUKHĀRISTĀN, | a pleasant province consisting mostly of mountains. In its steppes (*ṣahrā*) live the Khallukh<sup>1</sup> Turks. It produces horses, sheep, much grain, and various fruits.

70. SIMINGĀN, a town lying in the mountains. There are in it mountains of white stone similar to marble (*rukham*) in which dwellings have been cut (*kanda-ast*), as well as halls (*majlis*), pavilions

<sup>1</sup> Khallukh (§ 15) must be right here (not Khalaj, cf. § 24, 22).

(*kūshk*),<sup>1</sup> idol-temples, and horse-stables, with all the implements (*ālāt*) appertaining to pavilions. On it<sup>2</sup> various figures are painted in the fashion of Indians (*az kirdār-i H.*).<sup>3</sup> Simingān produces good wine (*nabīdh*) and a great quantity of fruit.

71. SAKALKAND, a borough with much cultivation, lying in the mountains. It is a place of poor people (*darvishān*).

72. BAGHLĀN is like Sakalkand.

73. VALVĀLIJ, a flourishing town and the capital (*qaṣaba*) of Ṭukhāristān. It possesses numerous amenities and running waters. Its people are sociable (*āmizanda*).

74. SIKĪMISHT, a district (*nāhiyat*) with much cultivation and much grain.

75. Behind this Sikimisht there is a small kingdom (*pādshāhī*), altogether hills (*shikastagī-hā*) and mountains, called YŪN. Its prince (*dihqān*), called Pākh, draws his strength from the amīr of Khuttalān. Yūn produces salt.

76. ṬĀYAQĀN, a town on the frontier between Ṭukhāristān and Khuttalān. It is a place with much cultivation, lying at the foot of a mountain.

77. ANDARĀB, a borough amid mountains. It is a place with much cultivation, (producing) much grain. It possesses two rivers. Here dirhams are struck from the silver extracted from the mines of Panjhīr and Jāriyāna. Its king is called Shahr-salīr (*\*salēr?*).

78. BĀMIYĀN, a land on the frontier between Gūzgānān and the Marches (*hudūd*) of Khorāsān. It has much cultivation. Its king is called Shīr (*\*shēr?*). A large river skirts it. In it there are two stone idols (*but*) of which the one is called Red Idol (*surkh-but*) and the other White Idol (*khing-but*).

79. PANJHĪR and JĀRIYĀNA(?), two towns where a silver mine is situated. A river passing between these two towns (lower down) enters the limits of Hindūstān.

80. MADR, MŪY, two small towns within the limits of Andarāb (*andar miyān az hudūd-i A.*).

#### § 24. Discourse on the Region of Khorāsānian Marches<sup>4</sup>

East of this region (*nāhiyat*) lies Hindūstān; south of it, the deserts of Sind and Kirmān; west of it, the borders of Herat; north of it, the borders of Gharchistān, Gūzgānān, and Ṭukhāristān. Some parts of this region belong to the hot zone and some to the cold. From its mountains the Ghūr-slaves (*barda-yi ghūri*) are brought (*uftadh*) to

<sup>1</sup> *Kūshk*, usually "castle".

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, on the rock.

<sup>3</sup> Or: "bearing likeness to Indians".

<sup>4</sup> *nāhiyat-i hudūd-i Khurāsān*.

Khorāsān. It is a place with much cultivation. Indian articles (*ālāt*) are brought to this region.

1. GHŪR (Ghōr), a province amid mountains and rugged country (*shikastagī-hā*). It has a king called Ghūr-shāh. He draws his strength from the mīr of Gūzgānān. In the days of old this province of Ghūr was pagan (*kāfir*); actually most of the people are Muslims. To them belong numerous boroughs and villages. From this province come slaves, armour (*zirih*), coats of mail (*jaushan*), and good arms. The people are bad-tempered, unruly (*nā-sāzanda*), and ignorant. They are white and swarthy (*asmar*).

2. SĪSTĀN, a province of which the chief place is called ZARANG. The town has a fortress (*hiṣār*), with a moat round (*pīrāmūn*) it, of which the water comes from (the fortress) itself (*ābash ham az vay bar-āyadh*). There are (several) canals inside the town and in its  
22 a houses there is running water. | The town has five gates, (while) the suburb is surrounded by a wall and has thirteen gates. The province belongs to the hot zone and it never snows there. (The inhabitants) possess wind-mills (*āsiyā bar bādīh sākhta*). The province produces stuffs used as carpets (*jāma-hā-yi farsh*?)<sup>1</sup> similar to those of Ṭabaristān (*tabarī*), *zīlū*-rugs similar to those of Jahrum (*jahrumī*), dried dates and asafoetida (*anguzad*).

3. ṬĀQ, a borough with a strong fortress and a numerous population.

4. GASH [sic], a town with a prosperous and pleasant district. It has running waters and an agreeable climate, and is situated on the bank of the Hīdhmand.

5. NĪH, a prosperous borough with much cultivation. There are no flies (*pasha*) in it.

6. FARĀH, a town in the hot zone; in it dates and fruit are abundant.

7. QARNĪ, a small town. The sons of Layth<sup>2</sup> who appropriated the royal power were from Qarnī.

8. KHUVĀSH (Khvāsh), a town with running waters and underground canals. It is a pleasant place.

9. BUST, a large town with a solid wall, situated on the bank of the river Hīdhmand and possessing many districts (*bā nāhiyati bisyār*). It is the Gate of Hindūstān and a resort of merchants. Its inhabitants are warlike and courageous. It produces fruit, which is dried and exported to other places, cotton stuffs (*karbās*), and soap.

10. \*CHĀLKĀN, a borough with running water; the majority of the inhabitants are weavers.

11. SARVĀN, a borough with a small district called ALĪN(?). It belongs to the hot zone. In it grow dates. It is a strong place.

<sup>1</sup> Or: "covers for carpets".

<sup>2</sup> i.e., the Ṣaffārids.



12. ZAMĪN-DĀVAR, a prosperous district on the frontier between Ghūr and Bust. To it belong two towns TIL and DURGHUSH which both are frontier forts (*thaghr*) against (*bar rūy*) Ghūr. In Durghush grows much saffron. It<sup>1</sup> is adjacent to the district Darmashān (\**Varmashān*?) of Bust.

13. BAGHNĪ, a town near Ghūr in which live Muslims.

14. BISHLANG (Bashling?) belongs to Ghūr and has much cultivation.

15. KHUVĀNĪN (Khvānīn) belongs to Ghūr and has a population of some 3,000 people.

16. RUKHUDH (Rukhkhudh), a very prosperous and pleasant district (*nāhiyat*), to which belongs a special district (*ā rā nāhiyati-st judhā* which forms a separate unit?). The chief place of Rukhudh is PANJVĀY (spelt: *Fijuvānī*).<sup>2</sup>

17. KUHAK and RŪDHĀN are two pleasant boroughs with cultivation; salt (also) comes from them (*vay*).

18. BĀLIS, a district in the desert. It is a place with much cultivation but few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*). In it towns are found, such as S.F.NJĀ'Ī, KŪSHK, SĪVĪ, of which Kūshk is the residence of the amīr.

19. \*GHAZNĪN (spelt: *Ghazaq*), a town situated on the slope of a mountain (*babarākūh*), extremely pleasant. It lies in Hindūstān and formerly belonged to it, but now is among the Muslim lands (*andar Islām-ast*). It lies on the frontier between the Muslims and the infidels. It is a resort of merchants, and possesses great wealth (*khwāsta*).

20. KĀBUL, a borough possessing a solid fortress known for its strength. Its inhabitants are Muslims and Indians, and there are idol-temples in it. The royal power (*mulk*) of the raja of Qinnauj [?] is not complete (*tamām nagardadh*) until he has made a pilgrimage to those idol-temples, and here too his royal standard is fastened (*livā-yi mulkash bandand*).

21. ISTĀKH and \*SUKĀVAND, two small boroughs at the foot of the mountains. Sukāvand possesses a strong fortress and much cultivation.

22. In Ghaznīn and in the limits (*hudūd*) of the boroughs which we have enumerated, live the \*KHALAJ<sup>3</sup> Turks who | possess many sheep. 22 b They wander along climates (*gardanda bar havā*),<sup>4</sup> grazing grounds and pasture-lands (*marā'ī*). These \*Khalaj Turks are also numerous in the provinces (*hudūd*) of Balkh, Ṭukhāristān,<sup>5</sup> Bust, and Gūzgānān.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is more probable that Zamīn-dāvar and not Durghush is meant here.

<sup>2</sup> Here belongs { } in § 26, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Read: *Khalaj* instead of *Khallukh*, v.i., p. 347.

<sup>4</sup> Along places with favourable climate?

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 23, 69: *Khallukh*.

<sup>6</sup> On the margin a note by Abul-Faḍl Gulpāyagānī. See Appendix A.

Ghaznīn and the districts adjacent to it are all called ZĀBULISTĀN.

23. PARVĀN (spelt: *Barvān*), a pleasant town and a resort of merchants. It is the Gate of Hindūstān.

24. BADHAKHSHĀN, a very pleasant country (*shahr*) and a resort of merchants. It has mines of silver, gold, garnets (*bijādha*), and lapis lazuli. Musk is imported there from Tibet.

25. DAR-I TĀZIYĀN ("The Gate of the Arabs"), a place lying in a defile (*darband*) between two mountains. There stands a gate through which the caravans go out. The caliph Ma'mūn made that barrier (*band*).

26. DIH-I S.NK.S (\**Sangas*?), a large and pleasant village in which live Muslims. Near it is a pass called 'AQABA-YI S.NK.S.

27. S.QLIYA (سقلية?), a large village.

## § 25. Discourse on the country Transoxiana and its Towns

East of this country are the borders of Tibet; south of it, Khorāsān and its Marches; west of it, the Ghūz and the borders of the Khallukh; north of it, also the borders of the Khallukh. This is a vast, prosperous, and very pleasant country. It is the Gate of Turkistān and a resort of merchants.

The inhabitants are warlike; they are active fighters for the faith (*ghāzī pīsha*), and (good) archers. Their creed is pure. This is the country where justice and equity reign. In its mountains there are very numerous mines of gold and silver, as well as all sorts of fusible substances (*jauhar-hā-yi gudāzanda*), such as are found in the mountains, and all sorts of drugs (*dārū*), such as are found in the mountains, e.g., vitriol, arsenic, sulphur, and ammoniac (*naushādhur*).

1. BUKHĀRĀ, a large town, the most prosperous of the towns in Transoxiana. Here is the residence of the King of the East (*malik-i mashriq*). The place is damp, produces plenty of fruit, and has running waters. Its people are archers and active fighters for the faith. It produces good woollen carpets as well as saltpetre (*shūra*), which are exported to (different) places. The territory (*hudūd*) of Bukhārā is 12 farsangs by 12 farsangs, and a wall has been built round the whole of it, without any interruption (*divārī . . . ba-yak pāra*), and all the ribāṭs and villages are within this wall (*az andarūn-i in divār*).

2. M.GHKĀN, KHUJĀDAK, ZANDANA (spelt: *Dandūna*), BŪMKATH (?), MADYĀMIJKATH, KHARGHĀNKATH (spelt: *ḡ.zgh.nkath*), boroughs with pulpits (*minbar*) within the area of Bukhārā; they are very prosperous places with much cultivation.

3. FIRAB (Firabr), a borough on the bank of the Jayhūn. The Lord of the River (*mīr-i rūdh*, “overseer of irrigation”) lives there. The place is situated in the desert.

4. PAYKAND, a borough with a thousand ribāṭs. Its soil is good (*durust*). In it stands the tumular dome<sup>1</sup> (*gunbadh-i gūrkhāna-hā-st*) (over the dead?) whom they carry there from Bukhārā (*ki az Bukhārā ānjā barand*).

5. SUGHD, a region. There is no place among the eastern regions more flourishing than this. It has running waters, many trees, and a good climate. The people are hospitable and sociable. It abounds in amenities, is prosperous, and mild, pious people (*narm-i dīndār*) are numerous there.

6. ṬAVĀVIS, a borough of Bukhārā on the frontier of Sughd. In it annually for one day a market (*bāzār*) is held at which many people assemble.

7. KARMĪNA, DABŪSĪ, | RABINJAN, boroughs in Sughd. They are 23a prosperous and pleasant, and have running waters and trees.

8. KUSHĀNĪ, the most prosperous town of Sughd.

9. ARMĀN (read: *Zarmān*?) belongs to Kushānī.

10. ISHTĪKHAN, a flourishing, prosperous, and very pleasant place.

11. K.NJKATH (*Ganj kath*?), F.R.NKATH, two towns lying between the river and Ishtīkhan.

12. D.RĀN (read: *Vadhār*?), a small, flourishing town belonging to Samarqand.

13. SAMARQAND, a large, prosperous, and very pleasant town. It is the resort of merchants from all over the world. It has a city (*shahristān*), a citadel, and a suburb. On the roof of their market a stream of water flows in a leaden (conduit) (*yakī jūy-i āb ravān ast az arzīz*). In Samarqand stands the monastery of the Manichaeans (*khānagāh-i Mānaviyyān*) who are called *nighūshāk* (“auditores”). Samarqand produces paper which is exported all over the world, and hemp cords (*rishta-yi qinnab*). The Bukhārā river flows near the gate of Samarqand.

14. VARAGHSAR, B.NJĪKATH, two boroughs of Samarqand, lying on the Bukhārā river. In this Varaghsar stands (the weir) distributing the waters (*qismatgāh-i āb*).

15. KISH, a borough belonging to the hot zone. Much rain falls in it. It possesses a city, a citadel, and a suburb. Two rivers flowing past (*bar*) the town gate are used in the fields. In its mountains mines of drugs are found. It produces good mules, manna (*taran-gabīn*), and red salt, which are exported everywhere.

<sup>1</sup> Or: *domes*? [Impossible to refer کو رخانه to the later *gūr-khāns*!]

16. NAUQAT-I QURAYSH (Nūqad Quraysh), a very agricultural borough.
17. NAKHSHAB, a very pleasant, prosperous town with cultivation. A river traverses the town.
18. SŪBAKH, a town belonging to Nakhshab.
19. SAKIFAGHN, a town with cultivation.
20. BAZDA, a borough sparsely populated (*kam-mardum*), but with much cultivation. It has a dry river-bed in which during some parts of the year water runs, but most of their water is from wells and water-wheels (*dūlāb*, "noria").
21. KASBA, a place with much cultivation.
22. TIRMIDH, a flourishing town situated on the bank of the Jayhūn. Its citadel is on the bank of the river. This town is the emporium (*bārgah*) of Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān. It produces good soap (*sābūn*), green mattings, and fans (*bādh-bīzan*).
23. HĀSHUMKIRT [sic], a borough with numerous sheep and cattle (*chahār-pāy*).
24. CHARMANGĀN, borough with cultivation and running waters.
25. CHAGHĀNIYĀN, a desolate region. It is a large tract with extensive cultivation (*bisyār kisht-u-barz*), but it has lazy peasants (*barzīgarānī kāhil*) and is a place of poor people (*darvishān*); (yet) it possesses many amenities. The people are warlike and courageous. The district has an agreeable climate, good (*durust*) soil, and waters good for digestion (*gavāranda*). It produces a small number of horses, woollen cloths, *palās*-rugs, and much saffron. The king of this district is one of the margraves (*mulūk-i atrāf*) and is called amīr of Chaghāniyān.
26. DĀRZANGĪ (spelt: *Dārsanlī*), a borough surrounded by a moat and belonging to Chaghāniyān. It produces puttees (*pāy-tāba*), different sorts of tapestry-woven carpets (*gilīmīna*), and woollen carpets.
27. CHAGHĀNIYĀN, a large town situated on the slope of a mountain. It is the capital of this region and possesses running waters, an agreeable climate, and a poor population (*mardumānī darvish*).
28. BĀSAND, a borough with numerous population, situated on the  
23b road of Bukhārā and Samarqand. | It is a strong place; the inhabitants are warlike.
29. ZĪNVAR, a borough with much cultivation, but sparsely populated.
30. NAUZHĀN (*Būrāb*?), a borough with a very strong fortress.
31. نَس ( ? ), a borough near the river Nihām, possessing a nice climate and plenty of [amenities?].
32. HAMVĀRĀN, a borough near the river Kasavān, with sparse population.

33. SHŪMĀN, a strong town on the slope of a mountain; round it a wall is built, and its citadel is situated on the summit of a mountain, with a large spring inside. This place produces much saffron.

34. AFRĪDHĀN, a town with sparse population, situated amid mountains.

35. VAYSHAGIRT (\**Vēshagirt*), a strong town situated between the mountains and the steppe, on the frontier between Chaghāniyān and Khuttalān. Wind blows there constantly, and there lies the tomb (*turbat*) of Shaqīq Balkhī, God's mercy upon him. This place produces much saffron.

36. SURŪSHANA, a large prosperous region with a town and numerous districts (*rustā*). Much wine (*nabīdh*) comes from it, and from its mountains comes iron.

37. ZĀMĪN, a town of Surūshana lying on the road of Khujand and Farghāna. It has a strong fortress and much cultivation.

38. CHARQĀN (*Kharqāna*?), a prosperous borough also belonging to Surūshna.

39. DIZAK, a borough with a stream. Near it is the place MAR-SAMANDA where annually for one day a market is held, and it is said that at that market business (*bāzurgānī*) is transacted for upwards of 100,000 dinars.

40. BŪNĪKATH (spelt: *Navīnkath*), is the chief place of Surūshna and the residence of its amīr. It has a numerous population and is very prosperous and pleasant. It has running waters.

41. FAGHKATH, GHAZAQ, SĀBĀṬ, KURKATH, boroughs of Surūshana, with much cultivation and very populous.

42. BUTTAMĀN, a region lying amidst mountains and broken country (*kūh-hā va shikastagi-hā*), and belonging to Surūshna. It has three tracts (zones, *ḥadd*): Inner, Middle, and Outer Buttamān. This is a region with much cultivation but with a poor population (*darvīshān*). It has many villages and districts (*rustā*) and in its mountains numerous mines of ammoniac (*naushādhur*) are found.

43. BARGHAR,<sup>1</sup> a district of Middle Buttamān. In it lies the Daryāzha (lake) which collects the waters of the Middle Buttamān, and whence rises the Bukhārā river.

44. KHUJAND, a town, and the chief place of that region. It possesses much cultivation, and chivalrous people (*bā-murwvat*) live in it. It produces pomegranates.

45. FARGHĀNA, a prosperous, large, and very pleasant region. It has many mountains, plains, running waters, and towns. It is the Gate of Turkistān. Great numbers of Turkish slaves are brought (*uftadh*)

<sup>1</sup> On the margin: *Frghl*.

here. In its mountains there are numerous mines of gold, silver, copper, lead (*surb*), ammoniac, quicksilver (*simāb*), combustible schists (*chirāgh-sang*?), bezoar stone (*sang-i pāy-zahr*), lodestone (*sang-i maghnāṭis*), and numerous drugs. It produces *ṭabarkhūn* (red colour?), and plants useful in the preparation of wonderful (*‘ajab*) medicines. The kings of Farghāna belonged formerly to (the class of) margraves and were called *dihqān*.

46. CHADHGHAL,<sup>1</sup> a district of Farghāna lying amidst mountains and broken country and possessing many boroughs and villages. It  
24 a produces horses | and a great number of sheep, and has mines as well.

47. AKHSĪKATH, the capital of Farghāna and the residence of the amīr and (his) lieutenants (*‘ummāl*). It is a large town situated on the bank of the river Khashart (Jaxartes), at the foot of a mountain. In its mountains there are numerous mines of gold and silver. Its inhabitants are wine-drinkers (*nabīdh-khwāra*).

48. VĀTHKATH forms the frontier between Khujand and Farghāna and is a borough with much cultivation.

49. شوح (??), a borough producing quicksilver.

50. ṬAMĀKHUS, NĀMĀKHUS [sic], two boroughs situated on the slope of a mountain.

51. SŌKH lies in the mountains on the frontier between Buttamān and Farghāna and has sixty villages.

52. ĀVĀL lies on the slope of a mountain (*babarākūhist*) and possesses villages.

53. BAGHASKĀN (?) belongs to Āvāl.

54. KHUVĀKAND, RISHTĀN, ZANDARĀMISH, densely populated (*anbūh*) boroughs with much cultivation.

55. QUBĀ, a large town, the most flourishing in the district of Farghāna.

56. ŌSH, a prosperous and very pleasant place with a warlike population. It is situated on the slope of a mountain, on which watchers (*pāsbān*) and scouts (*ḍidabān*) are posted, to observe the infidel Turks (*kāfir-i Turk rā nigāh dārānd*).

57. ŪRASHT, KHURSĀB, two boroughs with running waters, spaciousness (*gushādhagī*), many amenities, and a good climate.

58. ŪZGAND, a town on the frontier between Farghāna and the Turks. Two rivers pass its outskirts (*karāna*), of which the one called T.BĀGH.R (\**Yabāghū*) comes from Tibet and the other, BARSKHĀN, comes from the Khallukh country.

59. KHATLĀM, a borough which is the birth-place (*maulūd*) of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, the [Sāmānid] amīr of Khorāsān.

<sup>1</sup> Vide *infra* under 63. "Jadghal", now Chatqal.

60. KASHŪKATH, PĀB, two prosperous boroughs, with much cultivation.

All these are the towns of Farghāna.

61. BUSHT, K.L.SKĀN, YŪKAND, KŪKATH, KHUSHKĀB (?), boroughs situated near to each other, with much cultivation but with poor people.

62. SH.LĀT, a frontier post (*thaghr*) situated towards the Turks.

63. ĪLĀQ, a large province stretching between (*andar miyān*) the mountains and the steppe. It has a numerous population, and is cultivated and prosperous, (but) the people have little wealth (*khwāsta*). Its towns and districts (*rustā*) are numerous. The people profess mostly the creed of those "in white raiment" (*sapīd jāmagan*). The people are warlike and arrogant-looking (*shūkh-rū*). In its mountains are mines of gold and silver. Its frontiers march with Farghāna, Jadghal [sic], Chāch, and the river Khashart. The chiefs of this province are called Dihqān-i Īlāq. Formerly the dihqāns in this province were counted among the margraves (*dihqān in nāhiyat rā az mulūk-i aṭrāf būdandī*).

64. NŪKATH [sic], the chief place of Īlāq, has a city, a citadel, and a suburb. Its river is called Īlāq, and Nūkath is situated on its bank.

65. KŪHSAYM (\**Kūh-i sīm*) is a borough on the slope of the mountain, in which there is a silver-mine.

66. DHAKHKATH, a borough which produces *dārū-yi mūsh* ("mouse-poison"=arsenic?).

67. YAHŪDHLIQ, ABARLIQ (?), ITLUKH (?), ALKH.JĀS (Alkh.njās?), boroughs on the frontier of Farghāna and Īlāq.

68. SĀMĪ S.BRAK, a flourishing and populous borough.

69. رفكسوم (?), حنح, KHĀS,<sup>1</sup> boroughs with much cultivation but sparsely populated.

70. GH.ZJAND, a flourishing and prosperous borough.

71. TUKATH, a borough with great wealth.

72. K.L.SHJ.K, KH.MB.RK, ARDALĀNKATH, S.T.BGH.VĀ, | حناح, are 24b boroughs situated near one another, populous, with much cultivation and running waters. Ardalānkath is the chief place of these boroughs.

73. K.RĀL, GH.ZK, KHĪVĀL, VARDHŪL, K.BRIYA, B.GHŪRĀNK (?), small boroughs, very agricultural, producing horses, and lying close to one another.

74. اردك, BAGHŪYKATH, F.RNKATH, small boroughs, prosperous, pleasant, and lying close to one another.

75. JABGHŪKATH, a small borough which formerly was the military camp of Chāch.

<sup>1</sup> Barthold's Index: *Khābs*.

76. SH.KĀKAB, شاكاباس, two flourishing and prosperous towns of Īlāq.

77. TUNKAT-I B.KHĀRNĀN, a chief place with several districts situated between Īlāq, Jadghal, and Chāch. It has running waters and is a resort of merchants.

78. YĀLĀPĀN, a borough from which the bank of the river Parak is 1 farsang distant. There stands a dirham-mint (*sarāy-i diram zadan*).

79. CHĀCH (spelt: *Chāj*), a large and prosperous district. The inhabitants are active fighters for the faith, warlike (*jang-kun*), and wealthy (*tuvangar*). (The locality) is very pleasant. It produces great quantities of *khalanj*-wood, and of bows and arrows made of *khadang*-wood. Its kings formerly belonged to the class of margraves (*mulūk-i vay . . . az mulūk-i aṭrāf būdandī*).

80. BINKATH (spelt: *Bikath*), capital of Chāch (spelt: *Ĵāj*). This large town, prosperous and flourishing, is the seat of the government.

81. NŪJAKATH, a borough from which come the boatmen (*kashtī-bānān*) working on the rivers Parak and Khashart.

82. K.RJĀKATH (?), TARKŪS,<sup>1</sup> KHĀTŪNKATH, دسمان كك two [sic] small but prosperous boroughs which are the store-places (*bārgāh*) of Sughd and Samarqand, as well as of Farghāna and Īlāq (*va ān-i F. va Ī. ast*).

83. BANĀKATH, a flourishing and prosperous borough on the bank of the river Khashart. شرسنك, حرسنك, SH.TŪRKATH, S.BKATH (Biskath?), ساكك (?), K.K.RĀL, boroughs of Chāch producing the *chāchi*-bows. The locality is flourishing, very pleasant, and prosperous.

84. ISBĪJĀB, a region on the frontier between the Muslims and the Infidels. It is an extensive and pleasant locality on the frontier of Turkistān, and whatever is produced in any place of Turkistān is brought here. It possesses many towns, provinces, and districts, and produces felt and sheep. The chief place is called Isbijāb. It is a large and very pleasant town and is the seat of the government. It possesses great wealth and merchants from all over the world abound in it (*ma'dan-i bāzurgānān*).

85. SĀNĪKATH, a flourishing, pleasant, and wealthy (*tuvangar*) town.

86. دسكك, a flourishing and very pleasant town.

87. SUTKAND, a pleasant locality on the bank of a river. The people are warlike. It is the abode of trucial Turks (*ĵāy-i Turkān-i āshtī*). From their tribes many have turned Muslims.

88. PĀRĀB, a pleasant district of which the chief place is called Kadir. The people are warlike and courageous. It is a resort of merchants.

<sup>1</sup> Barthold's Index: *Tarkūsh*.



89. Between Isbijāb and the bank of the river is the grazing-ground (*giyā-khwār*) of all Isbijāb and of some parts of Chāch, Pārāb, and Kunjdih. On it a thousand felt-tents are seen of the trucial Turks who have turned Muslims.

90. ŠABRĀN (spelt: *Šahrān*), a very pleasant town and the resort of Ghūz merchants.

91. DHARNŪKH (?), a borough on the bank of a river, prosperous but sparsely populated.

92. SŪNĀKH, a very pleasant borough | of Pārāb (spelt: *Bārāb*), 25 a producing bows which are exported to different places.

93. SHILJĪ, ṬARĀZ (spelt: *Ṭ.rār*), كَنْك (Takābkath?), FARŪNKATH, MIRKĪ, NAVĪKATH, boroughs where both Muslims and Turks live. (This locality) is a residence of merchants, and the Gate of the Khallukh (*dar-i Khallukh*). In Afrūnkāt [sic], Mirkī, and Navīkath the Turks are numerous.

## § 26. Discourse on the Region of Transoxianan Marches and its Towns<sup>1</sup>

The Marches (*ḥudūd*) of Transoxiana are scattered districts, some lying to the east of Transoxiana, and some to the west of it.

East of the Eastern Marches of Transoxiana are the borders of Tibet and Hindūstān; south of them, the (Marches) of Khorāsān; west of them, the borders of Chaghāniyān; and north of them, the borders of Surūshana which belong to Transoxiana.

1. KHUTTALĀN (spelt: *Khatulān*), a region lying amidst high mountains, extensive, prosperous, cultivated, populous, and abounding in amenities. Its king is one of the margraves. The inhabitants are warlike. In its limits towards Tibet some wild people live in the deserts. Mines of silver and gold are found in its mountains. Great numbers of good horses come from Khuttalān (*az in*).

2. HULMUK (Hulbuk) is the chief place of Khuttalān and the seat of the king. It is situated on the slope of the mountain and has many men and many districts (*rustā*).

3. NUCHARĀ, a strong town situated between two rivers: Kharnāb<sup>2</sup> and Jayhūn. Its district extends to the confines of Badhakhshān and is called Rustā Bīk. (Nucharā) is a town on one side of which is the Jayhūn and on the other a mountain. It is a very pleasant locality, and the emporium of Khuttalān.

4. PĀRGHAR (spelt: *Bārghar*), a prosperous town, with much cultivation, and very populous.

<sup>1</sup> *nāhiyat-i ḥudūd-i Mā warā' al-nahr.*

<sup>2</sup> \**Vakhshāb*? See Notes.

5. BĀRSĀRAGH, MUNK, T.MLIYĀT (ملیات), small boroughs, very pleasant and prosperous, with a warlike population.

6. VAKHSH, a prosperous region lying on the bank (*karāna*) of Vakhshāb.

7. HALĀVARD, the chief place of Vakhsh. It is an agricultural town with many districts (*rustā*). The inhabitants are warlike archers.

8. LĪVKAND (\*Lēvkand) belongs to Vakhsh, and from it come the *vakhshī*-sheep.

9. ZHĀSHT (Rāsht?), a district lying amid mountains and broken country (*andar kūh-hā va shikastagī-hā*), between Buttamān and Khuttalān, with many divisions (*rustā*) and fields. The chiefs of this district are called Dihqān-i Zāsht [sic].

10. Within the limits of Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān there is a tribe (*gurūh*) called KUMĪJIYĀN. They are courageous and warlike and professional thieves. Their wealth is in sheep and slaves. They possess numerous villages and districts but have no towns. Those of them who are within the limits of Chaghāniyān are found in the district SAYLĀKĀN (\*Sēlākān) situated between Shūmān and Bishgird (\*Vēshgird?). And those of them who live within the limits of Khuttalān are found between \*Tamliyāt (spelt: *Namliyāt*) and Munk. They live among mountains and dales (*dasht*) which have running waters and are pleasant places. Each tribe lives under the orders of the amīr of its district (*andar firmān-i amīr-i nāhiyat-i khwāsh-and*), and the amīrs of Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān, when they have need, solicit their help (*va amīrān-i Khuttalān va Chaghāniyān-rā chūn bāyad az īshān yāri khwāhand*).<sup>1</sup>

25 b 11. THE K.NJĪNA TURKS, a tribe of few men living in the mountains between Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān and established in a valley (*darra*). This place is very strong. The people are professional thieves and looters of caravans (*karvān-shikan*) | and look arrogant (*shūkh-rūy*). In their predatory expeditions they behave gallantly (*andar ān duzdī javānmard-pīsha*). They go for looting to a distance of 40 and 50 farsangs from the periphery (? *gardān*) of their district. They show attachment (*payvastagī numāyand*) to the amīr of Khuttalān and that of Chaghāniyān.

12. DAR-I TUBBAT, a village where a gate stands on a mountain. There live Muslims who levy the toll (*bāz*) and keep watch on the road. And when you come out of this gate (you) are in the limits of Vakhān.

13. R.KHT.J.B (?), a village of Vakhān where the *vakhī* infidels (*gabrakān*, Zoroastrians?) live.

<sup>1</sup> For the sense of *yāri* "friendly help, contribution" cf. Gardīzī (ed. M. Nāzīm), p. 36. For *chūn bāyad v. i.*, p. 136, n. 2.

14. SIKĀSHIM (Ishkāshim), a town and the chief place of the region of Vakhān (*qaṣaba-yi nāhiyat-i ū* (?) *Vakhān-ast*). Its inhabitants are infidels (*gabrakān*, Zoroastrians?) and Muslims, and the malik of Vakhān (spelt: *Rakhān*) lives there. From it come covers for saddle-cloths (*rūy-i namad-zīn*), and the *vakhī* arrows.

15. KHAMDĀDH, a place where the idol-temples of the Vakhīs are (*andar* [*ū*] *but-khāna-hā-yi Vakhīyān-ast*). A few Tibetans are found in it. On its left side is a fortress occupied by the Tibetans.

16. S.NGLNJ (*Sanglich*?), lies at the foot of a mountain. The mine of the Badhakhshī garnets (*bijādha*) and of rubies (*la'l*) lies in that mountain. Near the mine is a hot spring in a pool (*ab-i garm va istādha*), such that on account of its heat it is impossible to put the hand into it. From that mine to Tibet there is a distance of one day and a half.

17. Beyond (S.nglnj) is a region called RŪSTĀ \*B.LJ.M (M.lj.m?) (*va az ānjā bigudhari nāhiyatī āyadh ū-rā rūstā* [محکم] [محکم?] *khwānand*).

18. SAMARQANDĀQ, a large village in which live Indians, Tibetans, and Vakhīs, as well as Muslims. It is the frontier and the farthest point (*ākhir-i hudūd*) of Transoxiana.

19. BOLOR (*Bulūr*)<sup>1</sup> is a vast country (*nāhiyatī-st 'aẓīm*) with a king who declares that he is the Son of the Sun (*mā farzand-i āftāb-īm*). And he does not rise from his sleep until the Sun has risen, saying that a son must not rise before his father. He is called Bulūrīn-shāh. In this country there is no salt but that imported from Kashmīr [sic].

20. ANDRĀS (?), a town in which live Tibetans and Indians. From it to Kashmīr is a journey of two days (? *dwza rāh* < \**du rūza rāh*?).

{The houses which are (seen) on the Map (*ṣūrat*) between Rukhudh and Mūltān are all villages and stations of caravans. (They lie) in the desert, and are places devoid of amenity and poor in grass (*tang 'alaf*).}<sup>2</sup>

21. KHWĀRAZM. West of Transoxiana are the limits of Khwārazm.

22. KĀTH (spelt: *Kāzh*), the capital of Khwārazm and the Gate of the Ghūz Turkistān (*T-i Ghūz*). It is the emporium of the Turks, Turkistān, Transoxiana, and the Khazar. It is a resort of merchants. Its king, who is one of the margraves (*az mulūk-i atrāf*), is called Khwārazmshāh. The people are active fighters for the faith and are warlike. The town abounds in wealth (*khwāsta*). It produces covers for cushions (*rūy-i mukhadda*), quilted garments (*qashāgand*), cotton stuffs (*karbās*), felt, snow (*barf*), and *rukhhīn*.<sup>3</sup>

23. KHUSHMĪTHAN, a borough with merchants and much wealth.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 11, 2.

<sup>2</sup> The paragraph between { } evidently belongs to § 24, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Sort of cheese?

24. NŪZHĀBĀN, a town with a wall, iron gates (spelt: *daryāhā-yi āhanīn*?), running waters, and many inhabitants.

25. GURGĀNJ, a borough which formerly belonged to the Khwārazm-shāh, but now its government (*pādhshāhīyash*) is separate and its king (*pādhshāy*) is called mīr of Gurgānj. The town abounds in wealth, and is the Gate of Turkistān and resort of merchants. The town consists of two towns: the inner one and the outer one. Its people are known for their fighting qualities and archery.

26. K.RDNĀZKHĀS (*Kurdarānkhās*?), B.DHMĪNIYA, DIH-I QARATIGĪN, three boroughs sparsely populated (but) having cultivation.

26a 27. KURDAR, a borough with cultivation, very populous. | Great numbers of lambskins (*pūst-i barra*) come from there.

28. KHĪVA (spelt: *Khiv*), a small borough with a wall, belonging to Gurgānj.

29. JAND, KH.VĀRA, DIH-I NAU ("The New Settlement"), three towns lying on the bank of the Chāch (spelt: *Ĵāy*) river, at a distance of 10 post-stages (*mansil*) from Khwārazm, and of 20 post-stages from Pārāb. The king of the Ghūz stays in winter in the said village of Dih-i Nau.

### § 27. Discourse on the Country of Sind and its Towns

East of this country is the river Mihrān; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the province of Kirmān; north of it is a desert adjacent to the Marches (*hudūd*) of Khorāsān. This country belongs to the hot zone and has many deserts (*biyābān*), and few mountains. The people are swarthy with slim bodies, (good) runners (*davanda*). They are all Muslims. The region has few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*), but numerous merchants (are found in it). The country produces skins (*pūst*), leather (*charm*), red *abānk* (?),<sup>1</sup> shoes (*na'lain*), dates (*khurmā*), and sugar-candy (*pānīdh*).

1. MANṢŪRA, a great (*aṣīm*) town, situated like an island in the middle of the river Mihrān. It is very pleasant and prosperous and is a resort of merchants. The inhabitants are Muslims and their king is a Quraishite.

2. MANJĀBRĪ, SADŪSĀN, two prosperous towns of the country of Sind, situated on the bank of the river Mihrān.

3. \*BĪRŪN<sup>2</sup> (spelt: *وزور*), MASVĀHĪ, two towns in the limits of Sind. (The inhabitants) are the people carrying on the sea-trade (*mardumāni-and kī bāzurgāni-yi daryā kunand*). These places have few amenities.

<sup>1</sup> بابانكا سرخ, the word ابانك unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Or: \*Nīrūn?

4. DAYBUL, a town of Sind on the coast of the Great Sea. It is the abode (*jāygāh*) of the merchants. Products (*ālat-hā*) of Hindūstān and the sea are brought there in large quantities.

5. F.NĪKĪ (\**Q.nb.ḥ*?), \*ARMĀBĪL, two towns of Mukrān (*az ḥudūd-i M.*) which possess many riches and are situated close to the sea on the edge of the desert.

6. TĪZ is the first town of Sind (*az ḥudūd-i S.*), situated on the coast of the Great Sea. It is not an interesting place (*kam sayr*?).<sup>1</sup>

7. KĪZ, KŪSHK-I QAND, BIH (بہ), BIND (بند), DIZAK (spelt: *Drk*), ASKF—all these towns belong to Mukrān. Most of the sugar-candy exported everywhere (*andar jihān*) comes from these boroughs. The king of Mukrān lives in Kij.

8. RĀSK, the chief place of the district of Jurūj. It is prosperous and very populous, and is a place possessing many merchants.

9. MUSHKĪ (spelt: *Ḥushkī*), a borough in the steppe (*biyābān*).

10. PANJBŪR (spelt: *Banjpur*), the largest of the towns of Sind on this side of the river Mihrān.

11. PUHLPARA (spelt: *Buhlbara*), a town belonging to the district of Jurūj. It has few amenities (*kam-ni'mat*).

12. M.HĀLĪ (?), QUSDĀR (spelt: *Qusdhān*), KĪJKĀNĀN, SHŪRA, towns of the region of TŪRĀN. It is a pleasant locality with much cattle. In it live many Muslims and heathens (*gabrakān*, Zoroastrians?). The seat of the king of Tūrān is in Kijkānān.

13. ABL (?), a town of the BUD-HA (بدھ) region, prosperous and extremely pleasant; its inhabitants are Muslims.

14. QANDABĪL, a large town, prosperous, pleasant, and situated on the plain. It produces great quantities of dates.

## § 28. Discourse on the Province of Kirmān and its Towns

East of the province of Kirmān are the limits of Sind; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the province of Pārs; north of it, the desert of Sīstān. Whatever parts of this province lie towards the sea,<sup>2</sup> they are in the hot zone, their people are swarthy; there reside merchants | and there are deserts; the local products are cumin (*zīra*), dates, indigo, 26 b sugar-cane, and sugar-candy; the food of the inhabitants is millet-bread. And whatever places are remote from the sea (and) near to the desert of Sīstān, they belong to the cold zone, are prosperous and very pleasant, and the bodies (of the inhabitants) are healthy (*tan-hā*

<sup>1</sup> To the reading: سیر وکم one would prefer: کرمیر "hot zone".

<sup>2</sup> ناحیتست کهرچه بسوی دریاست جایهای کرمیر است

*durust*); here (too) lie numerous mountains with mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, and lodestone (*maghnāṭis*).

1. SĪRGĀN, the capital of Kirmān and the seat of the king (*pādh-shāh*). It is a large town and a resort of merchants. Their water comes from underground canals, and in the small districts (*rustā*) the water is from wells. The trees are few and the constructions are vaulted (*va binā-hā-shān izaja*).

2. BĀFT and KHĪR (?), two prosperous and pleasant boroughs.

3. JĪRUFT, a town occupying an area of half a farsang by half a farsang. It is a very prosperous and pleasant place. They have a rapid (*tīz*) river which flows with a roar (*bāng kunān*); its water is so abundant that it turns sixty mills, and in its canals auriferous sand (*khāk-i zar*) is found.

4. MĪZHĀN, a borough situated on the slope of a mountain. The fruit, fuel, and snow of Jīruft come from this town.

5. MUGHŪN (?), VULĀSHGIRD, KŪMĪN, BAHRŪGĀN, MANŪGĀN, large and small boroughs. From them come indigo, cumin (*zīrā*, read: *zīra*), and sugar-cane, and here sugar-candy is produced. The inhabitants' food is sorghum (*gāvars*, *v.i.*, p. 147) and they have plenty of dates. They have a custom that the owners never pick up the dates that have fallen from the tree, and those dates belong to the poor (*darvīshān*).

6. BALŪJ, a people established in the steppe (*ṣaḥrā*) between these towns and the Kūfij mountains. They are professional way-layers, herdsmen, intrepid (*nā-bāk*) and bloodthirsty. They were [formerly] very numerous but [the Būyid] \*Panā-Khusrau has destroyed them by various stratagems (*ḥīlat*).

7. KŪFIJ, mountaineers (*kūhiyān*) living on the Kūh-i Kūfij. They are divided into seven tribes of which each has a chief. The Kūfij too are professional looters, herdsmen and agriculturists. East of the Kūh-i Kūfij down to Mukrān is a desert. Between Jīruft and Manūgān is a mountainous country, very prosperous and pleasant, called KŪHISTĀN-I ABŪ GHĀNIM. West of this mountainous tract is a district (*rustā*) RŪDBĀR, altogether woods, trees, and meadows (*marghsār*).

8. HURMŪZ, within half a farsang of the Great Sea. This very hot place is the emporium of Kirmān.

9. SHAHRUVĀ, a borough on the sea-coast where fishermen (*ṣay-yādān*) live.

10. SŪRĪQĀN, MAZRŪQĀN, KASBĀN, RAVĪN, KHABRŪQĀN are towns with many wells, the water of which is used for drinking and agriculture. The towns abound in amenities and have a moderate climate.

11. KĀHŪN, KHUSHNĀBĀDH, two small towns on the road to Pārs.

12. KAFTAR, DIHAK, two boroughs on the mountain Bārijān, and whatever comes (*uftadh*) from the mountain Bārijān is brought (*uftadh*) to these towns.

13. DIH-I GŌZ (spelt: *Kūr*), DĀRCHĪN (spelt: *Dārjīn*),<sup>1</sup> two boroughs between Bam and Jīruft, prosperous and very pleasant. From it (Dārchīn?) comes cinnamon (*dārchinī*).

14. KHWĀSH and RĪQĀN, two boroughs situated in the desert between Sind and Kirmān.

15. SHĀMĀT, | ... GHĀR (*Bahār?*), حان (*Khammāb?*), GHUBAIRĀ, 27 a KŪGHŪN, RĀYĪN (?), SARVISTĀN, DĀRCHĪN,<sup>1</sup> towns between Sīrgān and Bam. They belong to the cold zone, have a good climate, and are prosperous and very pleasant. They have running waters and a numerous population.

16. BAM, a town with a healthy climate (*havā-yi tan-durust*). In its *shahristān* stands a strong fortress. It is larger than Jīruft and possesses three cathedral mosques (*maḡit-i jāmi'*): one belongs to the Khārijites, another to the Muslims, and the third is in the fortress. From it come cotton stuffs (*karbās*), turbans (*'amāma*, spelt: *'āma*), Bam-turbans (or kerchiefs, *dastār-i bamī*), and dates.

17. NARMĀSHĪR, a flourishing town, prosperous and pleasant, where the merchants reside.

18. BAHRA (\**Pahra*), situated at the end of the country (*shahr*) of Kirmān and on the edge of the desert. Through it (the travellers) go to Sīstān.

19. SIBIH, a town in the desert, between Nahla (\**Pahra*) and Sīstān. It belongs to Kirmān (*az 'amal-i K.*).

20. F.RDĪR (?), MĀHĀN, KHABĪŞ, very pleasant towns with a salubrious (*durust*) climate. Some of them are situated in the mountains and some in the steppe (*biyābān*).

21. BARDĀSĪR, JANZARŪDH,<sup>2</sup> two boroughs on the road to Herat and Kūhistān, very favoured by nature (*bā ni'mat-i bisyār*), but with a sparse population.

22. KŪTMĪDHAN, K.RDAGĀN, ANĀR are (*āyand*, read: *-and*) very pleasant boroughs on the road from Pārs to Rūdhan.

23. Between Sīrgān and Bardāsīr lies a mountainous tract (*kūhistān*), very prosperous and pleasant; there lie 260 villages, prosperous, pleasant, and populous.

In the whole province of Kirmān no large river is found, such as could be navigable (*chinānk kashti bitavānad raftan*). In its mountains there are long-living (*darāz-zindagānī*) and healthy people.

<sup>1</sup> At both places probably the same town.

<sup>2</sup> Spelt: *Chatrūd*.

## § 29. Discourse on the Province of Pārs and its Towns

East of this province is the province of Kirmān; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the river Tāb which separates Pārs from Khūzistān, and some borders (*hudūd*) of Sipāhān (Isfahān); north of it, the desert of Pārs, (which is a part) of (that of) Kargas-kūh. (Pārs) possesses many cities and a numerous population. It is a prosperous and wealthy (*tuwāngar*) province with manifold resources (*nīmat-hā-yi gūnāgūn*). It is a resort of merchants and has mountains and rivers. It was the seat of the Sasanian kings (*khusrawān*). The inhabitants are eloquent (*sukhan-dān*) and clever. In its mountains there are gold-mines. It produces manifold textiles (*jāma*) of linen (*katān*), wool, and cotton, and also rose-water, violet-water, palm-blossom water (*āb-i tal'*), carpets, rugs (*bisāt va farsh*), *zīlū*-rugs, and *gilīm* (tapestry woven carpets), of precious quality. Whatever parts of Pārs lie nearer to the sea they belong to the hot zone; and whatever parts are nearer to the desert they belong to the cold zone. In Pārs there are mountains and gold-mines. In it the fire-temples of the \*Zoroastrians (*g.rān*, read: \**gabrān*?) are situated [and the latter] respect [the vestiges] of the people of yore<sup>1</sup> and visit them on pilgrimage. Most of the towns of Pārs have mountains in their neighbourhood.

1. SHĪRĀZ, the capital of Pārs, is a large and flourishing town with many riches and many inhabitants. It is the seat of the government (*dār al-mulk*). This town was built in the Islamic epoch (*in shahr-rā ba rūzgār-i Islām karda-and*). There stands in it an ancient and very strong citadel, called Shah-mōbadh's Fortress. In it (*i. e.*, Shīrāz?) two venerated fire-temples are found. In it a kind of sweet basil (*isbargham*) is found called *sūsan* (spelt: *sūs*) -*i nargis*, of which the leaves (petals?) are like those of a lily (*sūsan*), and the middle (*miyāna*) like the narcissus.

27b 2. IṢṬAKHR, a large and ancient town, which had been the seat of the Sasanian kings. | In it ancient buildings, images (*naqsh*), and figures (*ṣūrat*) are found. Iṣṭakhr has many districts (*nawāhī*), and (some) wonderful buildings called Solomon's Mosque (*mazgit-i Sulaymān*). In it grows an apple, of which one half is sour, and the other sweet. In its mountain iron mines are found, and in its region, silver mines.

3. DIZ-I PISAR-I 'UMĀRA, "The castle of 'Umāra's son", a borough with a fortress, situated on the coast of the Great Sea. It is a place of fishermen, and a travelling stage (*mansil*) of merchants.

<sup>1</sup> Something fallen out: اندر وی آتش کدها کرانست [و آثار] قدیمیازا بزرگ دارند



4. SĪRĀF, a large town in the hot zone. It has a salubrious (*durust*) climate, and is the merchants' haunt and the emporium of Pārs.

5. JAM, KURĀN, KHURMUK (حرمك?), boroughs within the limits (*hudūd*) of Sīrāf, very prosperous and populous.

6. GŪR, a flourishing town which was built by Ardashīr Bābakān and served him as a residence. Round it is a solid wall. From it comes the *jūrī* rose-water exported everywhere. It produces palm-blossom water (*ab-i tal'*) and santoline (*qaiṣūm*)-water which are exported everywhere and are not to be found anywhere else. Gūr possesses a powerful (*sakht*) spring of water.

7. BAJĪRBAGĀN, \*JĪRA (جیره?), BĀNŪ, MIHRĀ, boroughs of Gūr, very pleasant and prosperous, with running waters.

8. NAJĪRAM, a town on the sea-shore which is a resort of merchants.

9. ŠA'ĀDA, BAHĻAVĀN (?), two flourishing boroughs, prosperous and situated close to the sea.

10. GANĀWA (گناه [sic]), a large and flourishing town which is a resort of merchants and possesses much wealth. From it come manifold textiles (*jāma*). In the sea of Ganāfa (گناه [sic]) there is a pearl bank (*ma'dan-i murvārīdh*). Bū Sa'id Daqqāq, who carried on propaganda (*da'vat kard*) and took Baḥrayn, was from this place. Sulaymān ibn al-Ḥasan al-Qarmaṭī was the son of Ibn Bū Sa'id.

11. TAVAZ, a town situated between two rivers. Its inhabitants are numerous and rich (*tuvangar*). All the *tavazī* textiles come from it.

12. KĀZRŪN lies near the lake Yūn. It is a large and prosperous town with much wealth. In it there are two venerated fire-temples.

13. SĪNĪZ, a town on the sea-shore, very pleasant and with a salubrious (*durust*) climate. All the *sīnīzī*-textiles come from there.

14. \*RĪSHAHR (spelt: شهر), a flourishing borough between Sīnīz and Arragān.

15. MĀHĪ-RŪBĀN, a town standing like an island amidst waters. It is a flourishing place and the emporium of the whole of Pārs.

16. ARAGHĀN (Arragān, Arrajān), a large and flourishing town with much wealth, abounding in amenities and enjoying a good climate. In its district (*rustā*) there is a well of water of which no one in the world knows the depth (*ki zarfī-yi ān ba-hama jihān natavānand dānist*); from it comes a water to turn one mill (*miqdār-i yak āsiyāb*) and spreads over the soil. This town produces good grape-syrup (*dushāb*).

17. B.Z.R.K, BĪSŪK, VĀYAGĀN, LĀRANDĀN, boroughs of Arragān, abounding in amenities and enjoying a pleasant climate.

18. NAUBANDAGĀN, a flourishing town, very pleasant and having much wealth (*khwāsta*).

19. [BISHĀVUR]<sup>1</sup>, a wealthy (*tuvangar*) town with a wall round it, built by Shāpūr Khusrau. There are two fire-temples in it to which people go on pilgrimage. Near it stands a mountain on which the figures of every king, mōbadh, and marzbān previous to Shāpūr (*pīsh az vay*) are represented (*nigāshta*) and at the same place their adventures written down (*nivishta-ast*). In its neighbourhood (*hudūd*) there is a mountain from which smoke comes up continually and every bird that happens to fly over this smoke (*bālā-yi ān dūdh biparadh*) is burned and falls down.

20. VĀYAGĀN, KIMĀRIJ, two boroughs of Bishāvur, flourishing and prosperous.

21. JŪYUM, a flourishing and pleasant borough of Shīrāz. |

28a 22. [GŪYUM?], a borough where the weir distributing the water of Shīrāz stands (*bakhsh-gāh-i āb-i Shīrāz az ānjā-st*).

23. BARSARKĀN (?), KUVARISTĀN (\**Kauristān*?), two prosperous and pleasant boroughs of (*az*) Shīrāz.

24. [BAYDĀ], a prosperous borough. Ḥallāj who laid claim to divinity (*da'vā-yi khudhā'i kard*) was from here.

25. HAZĀR, ZARQĀN, KHĪR, boroughs . . . [flourishing],<sup>2</sup> prosperous, and pleasant.

26. PASĀ, a large and flourishing town with a citadel and a suburb. It is a resort of merchants and has much wealth (*khwāsta*).

27. TAMISTĀN, BUSTUGĀN, AZBARĀ, DĀRAKĀN, MAZĪRĀKĀN (Muray-zigān?), SANĀN, prosperous boroughs between Pasā and [Dārā]gird.

28. DĀRĀGIRD, a flourishing and prosperous town, with much wealth (*khwāsta*) but with a bad climate. It produces *mūmiyā'i* (bitumen) which is not found anywhere else in the world. In its region (*nawāhī*) are mountains of salt of white, black, red, yellow, and every other colour, of which good tables (*khwān-hā*) are made [. . . which are exported?].

29. RAM, RŪSTĀ RUSTĀM (?), FURJ (spelt: *F.rkh*), TĀRUM, boroughs between Dārāgird and the limits of Kirmān. These are places with much cultivation, abounding in amenities.

30. KĀRZĪN belongs to Pasā and has a strong citadel.

31. KĀRIYĀN, a borough of Dārāgird within (. . . *ndr*?)<sup>3</sup> an inaccessible (*ša'b*) and strong fortress (*hiṣār*). A venerated fire-temple is found in it.

32. SAMĪRĀN, ĪRAJ, RŪFTA, MĀDHAVĀN (spelt: *Madhāran*), GŪYUM, boroughs of Dārāgird, prosperous and pleasant.

<sup>1</sup> Supplied from 20.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 28 slightly damaged.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 36, 15.

33. JAHNUM, a flourishing town producing *zīlū*-rugs and good prayer-carpets.

34. KĪZH, a town with a strong fortress (*hiṣār*) in it.

35. KHĪR, KURDIYĀN, two prosperous boroughs having much cultivation and belonging to Pasā.

36. ĪJ, ISTAḤBĀNĀT, KHIYĀR, MĀSHKANĀT, boroughs situated on the slope of a mountain, sparsely populated, but having much cultivation, and much favoured by nature.

37. ABĀDHA, BARDANGĀN, JĀHUK, boroughs between Iṣṭakhr and Kirmān. They are caravan-stages, much favoured by nature.

38. KAMĪN, SARVĀB, M.ZĪRAKĀN (?),<sup>1</sup> SHAHR-I BĀBAK (spelt: *Fānak*), KHURRA, KĪS, all these boroughs lie in the mountains of the cold zone. The locality has a salubrious climate and is very pleasant. In Khurra there is a fire-temple, held in great veneration and attracting pilgrims. It was founded by Dārā.

39. BAJJA (spelt: 𐭪𐭫), KILĪDH (spelt: *Kilīnd*), SHAMAGĀN, SURMA, ARJĪNĀN, boroughs lying amidst the mountains of the cold zone. The locality is prosperous, cultivated, very pleasant, and populous.

40. BARQŪH (Abarqūh), an extremely pleasant town; in its neighbourhood there are large mounds of ashes.

41. [NĀYĪN],<sup>2</sup> a prosperous and pleasant town. In its mountains there are silver-mines.

42. SARDAN, a town situated between two rivers. It is a . . . prosperous and flourishing place, and in its mountains a mine of copper (*ma'dan-i rūdh*) is found.

43. ABRAJ, K.SBĀ, MĀYIN, prosperous boroughs between Pārs and Ispāhān.

44. RŪDHĀN, DARKĀN, two towns on the frontier between Pārs and Kirmān. They are caravan-stages and belong to the cold zone.

45. ANĀR, BAHRA, KATHA, MAYBUDH, NĀYĪN, boroughs of the cold zone, much favoured by nature and lying on the frontier between Pārs and the desert.

### § 30. Discourse on the Province of Khūzistān and its Towns

East of this province lies Pārs and the borders of Sipāhān; south of it, the sea and some of the 'Irāq frontier (*ḥadd*); west of it, some of the borders (*ḥudūd*) of 'Irāq, and of the countryside (*sawād*) of Baghdād and Wāsiṭ; north of it, | the lands (*shahr-hā*) of the province of 28 b Jibāl. This province is more prosperous than any province adjoining it. Great rivers and running waters are found in it. (Its) countryside

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra* 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *infra*, 45.

(*sawād-hā*) is flourishing and (its) mountains full of utility. From it come: sugar, manifold textiles, curtains (*parda-hā*), *sūzangird-* (textiles), trouser-cords (*shalvārband*), fragrant citrons (*turanj-i shammāma*), and dates. The people of this province are gain-loving<sup>1</sup> and avaricious.

1. DIZ-I MAHDĪ (spelt: *Dar-i M.*), a flourishing and prosperous town situated on the river between 'Irāq and Khūzistān.

2. BĀSIYĀN (spelt: *Bāsabān*?), KHĀN MARDŪNA, DAURAQ, boroughs situated on the bank of the river, prosperous, flourishing, wealthy (*tuvangar*), and very pleasant.

3. DAYRĀ, a borough near the mountains, very pleasant.

4. ASAK [sic], a large village situated on the slope of a mountain, on the summit of which a fire is constantly shining, day and night. In the days of yore the battle with the Azraqī [Khārijites] (spelt: *Raqiyān*) took place there.

5. JUBBAY (جُبَّيْ *Jubbā, Jubbē*?), a borough on the bank of the Shūshtar river, flourishing and very pleasant. The well-known Abū 'Alī Jubbā'i was from this town.

6. SŪQ AL-ARBA'Ā, a town situated on the bank of the river, very pleasant and prosperous.

7. AHWĀZ, an extremely flourishing town. There is no town in Khūzistān more flourishing than this. It abounds in amenities and has a good situation. The people are yellow-faced. It is said that whoever establishes himself in Ahwāz becomes wanting in brains, and every aroma that is carried there (*hama ṭībī* [spelt: *ṭbyy*] *ki ānjā barī*) loses its scent on account of the climate. In its mountains there are vipers (*mār-i shikanj*, spelt: *shtknj*).

8. UZAM (?), a small borough, very pleasant.

9. RĀMHUR ([sic], *Rāmhiz*?), a borough lying on the bank of a river. Mānī was killed there (*az ānjā*).

10. 'ASKAR-I MUKRAM, a town with extensive countryside (*sawād*), flourishing, prosperous, and very pleasant. All the red and white sugar (*shakar*) and refined sugar (*qand*) of the world comes from there.

11. MASRUQĀN, a flourishing and pleasant borough. In it extremely good fresh dates are found.

12. RĀM ŪRDMIZD, a large town, flourishing, prosperous, and very pleasant. It is a resort of merchants and is situated between Pārs and Khūzistān.

13. BĀZĀR-I SAMBĪL, a pleasant borough.

14. IDHA [read: *Tustar*], a town with a very flourishing countryside

<sup>1</sup> The sense is clear but the word is incomplete . . . بسودور. After *r* two dots are seen under the line.

(*sawād*), prosperous, very pleasant, and possessing much wealth. It lies on the bank of a river. It produces great quantities of brocades (*dībā*). There also the brocade of the cover for the Mecca (sanctuary) (*parda-yi Makka*) is made.

15. V.NDŪSHĀVUR, a prosperous and very pleasant town. The tomb of Ya'qūb (ibn) Layth is situated there.

16. SHŪSH, a wealthy town, which is a resort of merchants and the emporium of Khūzistān. It produces textiles and turbans of precious silk stuff (*jāma va 'amāma-yi khaṣ*), and fragrant citrons (*turunj-i dastanbūy*). The coffin (*tābūt*) of the prophet Daniel was discovered here.

17. MANŪB (Manūf, read: *Mattūth*), BIRDŪN, two agricultural boroughs . . . , prosperous and very pleasant.

18. BAŞUNNAY (*Ba-Sunnā, Ba-Şunnē*), a flourishing wealthy town. It produces good curtains (*parda*), exported everywhere.

19. TĪB, a flourishing and prosperous town producing very good trouser-cords, just like the Armenian.

20. SHAHR-I QURQŪB, a small and prosperous town. It produces *sūzangird* textiles.

### § 31. Discourse on the Jibāl Province and its Towns

East of this province are some borders of Pārs, of the desert of Kargas-kūh, and of Khorāsān; south of it, the borders of Khūzistān; west of it, some parts of 'Irāq and of Ādharbādhagān; north of it, the mountains of Daylamān. This | province has much cultivation and is <sup>29 a</sup> prosperous. It is the place of clerks and litterati (*dabīrān va adībān*). It is very pleasant and produces cotton stuffs (*karbās*), textiles of (silk ?) . . . ,<sup>1</sup> and saffron.

1. SIPĀHĀN, a great town consisting of two parts: the one is called Jahūdhān and the other Shahrīstān. In both there are *minbars*. Between them there is a distance of \*half a farsang [read *nīm* "half" instead of *nuh* "nine"]. It is a flourishing town, much favoured by nature. . . . in Jibāl. It has a river called Zarīn-rūdh which is utilized in its fields. It produces . . . silk textiles of different kinds, such as *hulla* ("cloaks" ?), "tabby" (*attābī*, coarse watered silk), and "siglaton" (*siqlātūn*).

2. KHĀN LANJĀN, a flourishing and very pleasant borough . . .

3. JŪYGĀN, a flourishing but sparsely inhabited borough.

4. BARV (read: *Burj* ?), it was a flourishing borough with much cultivation, but now lies in ruins.

<sup>1</sup> The end of the lines on f. 29 a and the beginning of the lines on f. 29 b are torn (1-2 words per line wanting).

5. [KARAJ ?] is large but most of it lies in ruins. There stood the army camp of Abū Dulaf of Karaj (spelt: *Karkhī*).

6. BURŪGIRD, a flourishing and pleasant borough . . . , producing saffron and good fruit.

7. RĀMIN, a sparsely populated borough with much cultivation, situated on the slope of a mountain.

8. [KARAJ-I RŪDHRĀVAR ?], a large town, prosperous, pleasant, and very populous. It is a resort of merchants. It produces much saffron and cheese (?) . . . , exported everywhere.

9. RŪDHRĀVAR, a borough, thickly populated (*anbūh*), and lying on the slope of a mountain.

10. NIHĀVAND, a town . . . with two cathedral mosques in it (*andar vay*). It is a very pleasant place. It produces saffron and fruit which owing to (their) excellency . . .

11. LĪSH TAR, a borough with a good climate and many fields. From it hazel-nuts (*bunduq*) are exported.

12. SHĀBURKHĀST (spelt: *Sārjst*), a place . . .

13. ASĀBĀD (*Asadābād* ?), KIRMĀNSHĀHĀN, MARJ, boroughs on the road of the pilgrims (*hujjāi*), densely populated (*anbūh*), prosperous, . . . and pleasant.

14. ŞAYMARA, SĪRVĀN, two prosperous and flourishing boroughs, producing dates.

15. DĪNĀVAR, SHAHRA-ZHŪR, [SUHRAVA]RD, densely populated towns, much favoured by nature, and having a sociable (*āmīzanda*) population.

16. ZANGĀN, a town much favoured by nature. The people . . .

17. AUHAR, a borough situated on the slope of a mountain (*ba-bar-i kūh*, [sic]), and possessing numerous waters (?) and fields. The inhabitants are slow (*āhasta*).

18. QAZVĪN . . . , round it there is a wall. It possesses a rill (*jūy-i āb*) which flows through the cathedral mosque and which is only sufficient for drinking purposes (*chandān-ast kī bikhurand*), and the people . . . Good fruit is found there.

19. TĀLAQĀN, a borough of Rayy, lying close to Daylam.

20. KHUVĀR (*Khwār*), a borough of Rayy, prosperous . . .

21. RAYY, a great town, prosperous, having many riches, inhabitants, and merchants. It is the seat of the king of Jibāl (*pādshāh-i ʿJ*). . . . The water is from underground canals. It produces cotton stuffs (*karbās*), cloaks (*burd*), cotton, china (*ghadāra*), oil (*raughan*), and wine (*nabīdh*). From its districts come good woollen *ṭaylasān* (scarfs worn on the head). Muḥammad Zakariyyā the Doctor (*bijishk*) is (buried) there. The tombs (*turbat*) of Muḥammad ibn

al-Ḥasan the Lawyer (*al-faqīh*), Kisā'ī the Reader (*al-muqrī*), and Fazārī the Astronomer are also there.

22. SĀVA, ĀVA, BŪSANANA (*Būsana*?), RŪDHA, boroughs densely populated, prosperous, very pleasant, flourishing, and enjoying an equable climate. (They are) on the road of the pilgrims of Khorāsān.

23. QUM, a large town, (now) lying in ruins, with many fields. The inhabitants are Shi'ites, and Bul-Faql | ibn 'Amīd the Minister 29b (*dabir*) was from there. From it comes saffron.

24. KĀSHĀN, a very pleasant town. [Among its inhabitants?] are numerous Arabs. From it come many clerks and litterati. In it scorpions (*kazdum*) abound.

### § 32. Discourse on Daylamān and its Towns

This is an extensive region possessing many different dialects and types (?), which is called the Daylamite country (*nāhiyātī bisyār-ast bā zabān-hā va šūrat-hā-yi mukhtalif ki ba-nāhiyat-i Dayālīm bāz khwānand*).

East of this province is Khorāsān; south of it, the Jibāl lands; west of it, the limits of Ādharbādhagān; north of it, the Khazar sea.

This province has running waters and numerous rivers, is prosperous, [. . . and is a resort] of merchants. The inhabitants are warlike and fight with shields and javelins (*sūpin*). They are pleasant . . . . This province produces silk textiles (*jāma-yi abrishum*), of one colour or of (several) colours (*yak-rang va bā rang*) e.g., *mubram*, *ḥarīr*, and the like, as well as great quantities of linen cloths and of wooden [utensils].

1. GURGĀN, a town with a large province and flourishing countryside (*sawād*), very well cultivated and abounding in amenities. It forms the frontier between Daylamān and Khorāsān. The people have regular features (*durust-šūrat*), are warlike, cleanly clad, chivalrous (*bā muruvvat*), and hospitable. The town consists of two halves: Shahrīstān and Bakrābād. The river Hirand coming from Tūs passes between these two quarters. Gurgān is the seat of the king of Ṭabarīstān [read: *King of Gurgān*].<sup>1</sup> It produces black silk textiles, *viqāya* (long veils), brocade (*dibā*), and raw silk textiles (*qazīn*).

2. DIHISTĀN, a district possessing a *ribāṭ* with a *minbar*. It is very well cultivated place with extensive countryside (*sawādī bisyār*). This is a frontier post (*thaghr*) against (*bar rūy*) the Ghūz. The tomb of 'Alī b. Sukkarī (Sagzī?) lies there.

3. FARĀV, a *ribāṭ*, situated on the frontier between Khorāsān and Dihistān, on the edge of the desert. It is a frontier post against the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. under 13. Āmol.

Ghūz. Within the *ribāṭ* there is a spring of water sufficient for drinking purposes (*chandānk khurd rā ba-kār shavadh*). The inhabitants have no fields, and bring grain from Nasā and Dihistān.

4. ASTARĀBĀDH, a town at the foot of a mountain, pleasant and flourishing. It has running waters, and an equable climate. The people speak two languages: the one is the *lwtrā* (?) of Astarābādh, and the other is the Persian of Gurgān. From it come many silk textiles, such as *mubram* and *za'fūrī* of different kinds.

5. ĀBASKUN, a prosperous town on the sea-coast and a haunt of merchants from the whole world trading on the Khazar sea. From it come shagreen, woollen cloth (*kīmukhta* [*va*] *pashmīn*?), and various fish.

6. ṬABARISTĀN is a large (division) of this country of Daylamān. Its frontier (*ḥadd*) is from Chālūs to Tamīsha. It is a prosperous (district . . .), with great wealth and numerous merchants. Their food is mostly rice-bread and fish. The roofs of their houses are of red tiles (*sufāl*) on account of the frequency of rain both in summer and in winter.

7. TAMĪSHA, a small borough round which there is a wall. It is a very pleasant place, lying (*nihāda-ast*) between the mountains and the sea. It possesses a strong fortress. In (all parts of) the town mosquitoes are plentiful, except in the cathedral mosque where they do not enter.

8. LIMRĀSK, a flourishing borough at the foot of the mountains.  
30a Within a distance of 1 farsang from it | there is a salt-mine (*namaki-stān*) which supplies salt to Gurgān and Ṭabaristān.

9. SĀRĪ, a prosperous and pleasant town with many inhabitants and merchants. It produces silk tissues (*jāma-yi ḥarīr va parniyān*), *khāvkhir* (?), as well as saffron-water (*mā* [sic] *za'farān*), sandal-wood water (*mā ṣandal*), and perfumed water (*mā khalūq*), which are exported everywhere.

10. MĀMATĪR, a borough with running waters. It produces thick mats (*ḥaṣīrī siṭabr*) of very good quality, which they use (*ba-kār dārand*) in summer.

11. TURJĪ, a prosperous borough, the most ancient in Ṭabaristān.

12. MĪLA, a small borough producing much sugar-cane.

13. ĀMOL, a great town and the capital of Ṭabaristān. The city (*shahristān*) has a moat but no walls. Round the city lies the suburb. (Āmol) is the seat of the kings of Ṭabaristān (*mulūk-i Ṭ*), and a haunt of merchants. It possesses great wealth, and in it live numerous scholars in every science. It has very numerous running waters. It produces linen-cloth, kerchiefs of linen-and-cotton (*dastār-i khīsh*),



*ṭabarī*-rugs (*farsh*), *ṭabarī*-mats, and box-wood (*chūb-i shimshād*) which is found nowhere else. It also produces citrons (*turunj*) and sour oranges (*nāranj*), white Kūmish-*gilims*<sup>1</sup> with gold thread (*zar-bāft*), various kerchiefs shot with gold thread (*dastārcha-yi zarbāft*), shagreen (*kīmukhta*), and wooden implements (*ālat-hā-yi chūbi*), like ladles (*kafcha*), combs, handles for the plough (*shāna-yi niyām?*), scales (*tarāzū-khāna*), bowls, platters (*ṭabaq*), deep plates (*ṭayfūrī*), and the like.

14. ALHUM, a borough on the sea-coast which is a haunt of seamen and merchants.

15. NĀTIL, CHĀLŪS [sic], RŪDHĀN, KALĀR, boroughs lying among mountains and broken country. (These towns form) a district of Ṭabaristān, but the kingdom is separate and the king is called Ustundār. Its limits stretch from Rayy down to the sea. Kalār and Chālūs are on the frontier between Daylamān proper (*khāṣṣa*) and Ṭabaristān. This Chālūs is on the sea-coast, while Kalār is in the mountains. From Rūdhān comes the red woollen cloth, from which rain-cloaks (*bārāni*) are made, which are exported everywhere, as well as blue *gilims* which they use in Ṭabaristān itself (*kī ham der Ṭ. ba-kār dārand*).

16. KŪMISH, a province between Rayy and Khorāsān on the pilgrims' road. It lies amidst mountains and is a prosperous and pleasant province, with warlike people. It produces *k.nīs* (?) -textiles, and fruit, of which there is no like in the world; they are exported to Gurgān and Ṭabaristān.

17. DAMGHĀN, a town having little water, and situated at the foot of the mountain. Its inhabitants are warlike. It produces dessert napkins with fine borders (*dastār-hā-yi sharāb bā 'alam-hā-yi nīkū*).

18. BISTĀM, a town at the foot of a mountain. It adjoins the limits of Gurgān and is a pleasant place.

19. SIMNĀN, a flourishing and prosperous borough producing better fruit than any other place.

20. VĪMA, SHALANBA, two towns in the territory (*hudūd*) of the mountain Dunbāvand (spelt: *Dnyāvand*). Both in summer and winter it is very cold there. From this mountain iron is extracted (*uftadh*).

21. KŪH-I QĀRIN, a district in which there are more than ten thousand villages. Its king is called Sipahbadh-i Shahriyār-kūh. This district is prosperous and most of its people are Zoroastrians (*gabra-kān*). From the (beginning of) Muslim times (*rūzgār*) the kings of this district have been from the descendants (*farzandān*) of Bāv.

22. PIRRĪM is the chief place of this district, while the seat of the

<sup>1</sup> Indistinct: *gilim-i safid-i Kūmish*, or *gilim-i safid-gūsh?*

sipahbadhs is at the military camp (*lashkargāh*) situated half a farsang from the town. In (Pirrīm ?) live Muslims, mostly strangers, [namely], artisans (*pishavar*) and merchants, because (*zīrāk*) the inhabitants of  
**30 b** this district are exclusively soldiers (*lashkar*) | and husbandmen. Every fifteen days a market day is held there, and from all the region men, girls, and young men come there dressed up (*ārāsta*),<sup>1</sup> frolic (*mizāh kunand*), organize games (*bāzī kunand*), play on string instruments (*rūdh zanand*), and make friends (*dūstī girand*). The custom of this province is such that each man who loves (*dūst dāradh*) a girl, beguiles her (*bifiribadh*), carries her away, and for three days does with her as he likes (*bidāradh har chūn ki khwāhad*). Then he sends some one to the father (*ba bar-i pidhar*) of the girl that he should give the girl in marriage. In the districts of Kūh-i Qārīn there are springs of water to which several times in the year most of the people of the district repair, dressed up,<sup>1</sup> with wine (*nabīdh*), music, songs, and dances (*pāy kūftan*). There they pray God for their needs (*hājat-hā khwāhand*), considering this as a sort of worship (*ta'abbud*); they pray for rain when they need it<sup>2</sup> and the rain comes (down).

23. SĀMĀR (? *Shāhmār*), a small borough of the same province (*nāhiyat*), producing much iron, antimony, and lead (*surb*).

24. DAYLAMĀN, the district of the Daylam proper (*Daylam-i khāṣṣa*) who come from it. It is situated between Ṭabaristān, the Jibāl, Gīlān, and the Khazar sea. These people are of two classes (*gurūh*): one class lives on the sea-coast and the other amidst mountains and broken country. A (third) class lives between these two. Those who live on the sea-coast occupy ten small districts: L. TRĀ, VĀRPUVĀ, LANGĀ, M. RD, CHĀLKRŪDH, GURGRŪDH (?), DĪNĀRRŪDH, JŪDĀHANJĀN, ملان روزبار, HAUSAM. Behind the mountains three big districts correspond to these ten districts: VASTĀN, SHĪR, P. ZHM. Each of these districts has numerous sub-divisions and villages. All these lie within an area of 20 farsangs by 20 farsangs. This district of Daylam is prosperous and rich. Its people are all soldiers (*lashkari*) or agriculturists. Their women, too, till the soil (*barzigari kunand*). They have no towns with *minbars*; their towns are Kalār and Chālūs.

25. GĪLĀN, a separate district between Daylamān, the Jibāl, Ādharbādhagān, and the Khazar sea. This district lies in the open land (*bar sahrā nihādha*), between the sea and the mountains of the Jibāl. Gīlān has many running waters; one of them is a great river

<sup>1</sup> Read: آراسته instead of the incomprehensible اب آسته. The expression *ārāsta* is indeed found a few lines higher up. A marginal note is

found here on a source in Dāmghān. See Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> بوقتی کشان باید *ba vaqti-ki-shān bibāyadh*. Cf. p. 120, n. 1.

called Sapīdh-rūdh, which crosses Gīlān and flows out into the Khazar sea. There are two classes (*gurūh*) of these Gīl-s (*Gīlān*): one class lives between the sea and the river, and is called: “those-of-this-side-of-the-river” (*in-sūy-i-rūdhī*), and the other between the river and the mountains, and is called: “those-of-that-side-of-the-river”. The first occupies seven large districts: LĀFJĀN, MYĀLFJĀN (?), KUSH-KAJĀN (?), BARFJĀN, DĀKHIL, TIJIN, CH.MA. That of the other side of the river occupies eleven large districts: NANAK, حانكجال, KŪTUM, SARĀVĀN, PAYLAMĀN-SHAHR, RASHT, TŪLĪM, DŪLĀB, KUHAN-RŪDH, ASTARĀB, KHĀN-BALĪ (?), and each of these has very numerous villages. This province of Gīlān is prosperous, favoured by nature, and wealthy (*tuwāngar*). All the agricultural work is done by the women. The men have no other business but warfare, and on all the frontier<sup>1</sup> (*hadd*) of Gīlān and Daylamān, once or twice a day in each village, there is a fight with another village, and there are days | when many people are killed through (that) clan animosity (*‘aṣabīyat*). <sup>31a</sup> And the animosity and fighting persist until [the men] have left those places on military service (*ba-lashkarī kardan*), or have died, or have grown old. And when they grow old they become censors of public manners (*muhtasib*) and are called law-abiding muhtasibs (*muhtasib-i ma'rūfgar*), and if in any district (*andar hama nāhiyat*) of Gīlān one man calls another names or drinks wine (*nabīdh*), or commits other offences, they give him forty or eighty strokes of the stick (*chihil chūb bizanand*). The (Gīl-s) possess boroughs with *minbars*, such as GĪLĀBĀDH, SHĀL, DŪLĀB, PAYLAMĀN-SHAHR (?), which are small places with markets, but the merchants are strangers. Take them all round the (inhabitants) are law-abiding people (*va dīgar hama ma'rūfgar-and*).<sup>2</sup> The food in all this province is *lit.r* (?), rice, and fish. From Gīlān come brooms, mats, prayer-carpets, and *māha*-fish (*māhi-yi māha*?), which are exported everywhere.

### § 33. Discourse on the Country of 'Irāq and its Towns

East of this country lie some confines (*hudūd*) of Khūzistān and of the Jibāl; south of it, some parts of the 'Irāq Gulf (*khalīj-i 'Irāq*) and of the steppe (*bādiya*) of Baṣra; west of it, the deserts of Baṣra and Kūfa; north of it, some parts of the Jazīra and of Ādhārbādhagān. This country is situated near to the centre of the world, and is the most prosperous (*ābādhāntarīn*) country in Islam. It has running waters and a flourishing countryside (*sawād*). It is a haunt of merchants, and a place of great riches, many people, and numerous

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps “territory”?

colloquial sense: “anyhow, at all

<sup>2</sup> *Dīgar* seems to stand here in the events”, &c.

scholars. It is the seat of the great kings (*pādhshāhān-i buzurg*).<sup>1</sup> It belongs to the hot zone, and from it come dates which are exported everywhere (*kī ba-hama jihān bi-barand*), as well as various textiles (*jāma*), and most of the implements (*bishtar-i ālāt*) becoming kings (*mulūk rā shāyadh*).

1. BAGHDĀD, a great town, which is the capital (*qaṣaba*) of 'Irāq and the seat of the caliphs.<sup>2</sup> It is the most prosperous town in (*andar miyān*) the world, and a place of scholars and of great riches. Manṣūr built it (*karda-ast*) in the times of Islām. The river Tigris flows through it (*andar miyān ba-vay? biguzaradh*); on it there is a bridge (*pulli-st* [sic]) made of boats. Baghdād produces cotton stuffs, silk textiles (*jāma-yi pamba va abrishum*), crystals turned on a lathe (*ābgīna-yi makhrūt*), glaze-ware (*ālāt-hā-yi mad-hūn*), as well as [various] oils (unguents?), potions (? *sharāb*), and electuaries (*ma'jūn*), exported everywhere.

2. MADĀ'IN, a borough lying east of the Tigris. It was the seat of the Sasanian kings of yore (*ān khusravān*). There stands an edifice called Ayyān-i Kisrā, of which it is said that there is no higher portico (*ayvān*) in the world. It had been a large and very prosperous town, but its prosperity has been transferred to Baghdād.

3. NU'MĀNIYA lies west of the Tigris, and DAYR 'ĀQŪL east of it. These two towns are prosperous.

4. JABBUL (spelt: *Hbl*) is not a populous borough (*kam-ābādhānī*). Most of its inhabitants are Kurds.

5. JARJARĀYĀ (spelt: *Jrjrāy*), east of the Tigris, FAM AL-ŠILĤ, east of the Tigris, SĀBUS (spelt: *Sābas*), west of the Tigris—these are prosperous and pleasant boroughs.

6. WĀSIṬ, a large town consisting of two parts. The Tigris flows through it (*ba-miyān-i vay hamī ravadh*), and upon it there is a bridge. In each of the two parts (of the town) there is a *minbar* built by Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. The town has an equable (*durust*) climate and is the most pleasant town in 'Irāq. From it come *gilims*, trouser-cords, and dyed wool (*pashm-hā-yi rangīn*).

7. 'ABDASĪ, NĪM-RŪDHĪ, two populous boroughs. In them (*andar vay*) dates are found in great quantities.

8. MAFTAḤ, a populous borough east of the Tigris; the canal Ma'qil starts from there (*az vay bar-gīradh*).

31 b 9. UBULLA, a strong town | surrounded by water, and lying west of the Tigris. From it come the *bullī* kerchiefs and turbans (*dastār va 'amāma-yi bullī*).

10. BAŠRA, a great town possessing twelve wards; each one of

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the Būyids.

<sup>2</sup> So much only about the caliphs!

these is of the size of a town (*chand shahrī*) and they are separated (*gusista*) from each other. Baṣra is said to possess 124,000 canals. It was founded by 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him. Baṣra is the only country of tithes (*'ushrī*) in 'Irāq. The 'Alawī Burqa'ī rose from there. There lie the tombs of Ṭalḥa, Anas ibn Mālīk, Shaykh Ḥasan Baṣrī, and the Son of Sīrīn. It produces good shoes (*na'layn*) and aprons (*fūṭa*), as well as linen-and-cotton stuffs of high quality (*jāma-hā-yi katān-va-khīsh-i murtafi'*).

11. BAYĀN, a borough to the east of the Tigris, prosperous and flourishing.

12. SALMĀNĀN, a borough to the east of the Tigris, prosperous and flourishing.

13. 'ABBĀDĀN, a flourishing and prosperous borough on the sea-coast. All the "'Abbādān mats" and "Sāmānī mats" come from there, and therefrom comes the salt for Baṣra and Wāsiṭ.

14. MĀDARĀYĀ, a prosperous and flourishing town, with much cultivation.

15. USKĀF BANĪ JUNAYD, a place on the fields of which the remainder of the Nahravān canal is used up.

16. NAHRĀWĀN, a town with some prosperity (*bā ābādhānī andak*). In it some palm-trees (*khurmā andak*) are found, as well as some places built by the Sasanian kings (*khusravān*).

17. JĀLŪLĀ, KHĀNIQĪN, two flourishing boroughs. Through Khāniqīn flows a large river.

18. QAṢR-I SHĪRĪN, a large village with a stone wall. In it there is a portico coated with marble stones (*yakī ayvān az sang-i marmar gustarda*).<sup>1</sup>

19. ḤULWĀN, a very pleasant town, traversed by a river. It produces figs which are dried and exported everywhere.

20. KŪTHAY-RABBĀ, a town in the neighbourhood of which there are mounds of ashes, and they are said to be (the remnants) of the fire which Nimrūd had kindled in order to burn the prophet Abraham, on him be God's blessings and protection.

21. BĀBIL, the most ancient borough in 'Irāq, which was the seat of the kings of the Canaanites (*Kan'āniyān* [sic]).

22. ṢARṢAR, a prosperous and very pleasant borough through which flows the river Ṣarṣar.

23. NAHR AL-MALIK, a prosperous and pleasant borough.

24. QAṢR IBN HUBAYRA, the largest (*mīhtarīn*, *bihtarīn*?) town between Baghdād and Kūfa, prosperous, pleasant, and populous (*bisyār-mardum*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 38, 23.

25. JĀMĪ'AYN, a borough situated between the principal course of the Euphrates ('*amūd va Furāt*, read: '*amūd-i F.*') and the canal Surā. From all sides the access to it is only by water.

26. KŪFA, a borough on the bank of the Euphrates, founded by Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās, and there lies the sepulchre (*rauḍa*) of the Prince of the Faithful 'Alī ibn Abi Ṭālib, may God exalt his face.

27. HĪRA (spelt: *ḥīra*), a borough on the edge of the steppe, possessing a better climate than Kūfa.

28. QĀDISIYA, a borough on the pilgrims' road, on the edge of the steppe.

29. BARADĀN, 'UKBARĀ, two boroughs to the north of Baghdād and to the east of the Tigris. It is a prosperous locality.

30. SĀMARA [sic], a town situated to the east of the Tigris, while its countryside and fields are to the west of the Tigris.

31. KARKH, DŪR (spelt: *Dūr*), two boroughs founded by Mu'taṣim and finished by Ma'mūn [sic],<sup>1</sup> prosperous and pleasant.

32. TAKRĪT, a town lying on the frontier between the Jazīra and 'Irāq, prosperous, flourishing, and populous.

#### § 34. Discourse on the Jazīra Province and its Towns

32 a This province on its four sides is surrounded by the waters of two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, and on this account it is called the Jazīra ("island"). This is | a province prosperous, pleasant, very populous, with an equable climate and running waters. It has mountains, numerous towns, flourishing countryside, gardens and orchards known for their flourishing state (*khurramī*). In it there are many people belonging to the Rabi'a tribe, and many Khārījites.

1. MAUṢIL, a large town, with an equable climate and with some amenity (*nī'mat-i andak*).

2. BALAD, a town on the bank of the Tigris, having some running waters besides (*ba-juz az*) the Tigris.

3. BAR-QA'ID, ADRAMA (read: *Adhrama*), two flourishing and populous boroughs.

4. NIṢĪBĪN, the most flourishing town in Jazīra. It is a prosperous and pleasant place. In it monasteries (*dayr*) are found belonging to the Christians (*tarsā'ān* [sic]). In it deadly scorpions (*kazdum*) are found. In it a strong fortress stands, inside which snakes are numerous. From it comes glass-stone (*sang-i ābgīna*) of good quality.

5. DĀRĀ, a borough at the foot of a mountain with numerous running waters.

<sup>1</sup> Evident clerical error, *v.s.*, p. 40. 218-27 A.H. Cf. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 167: "completed by Mutawakkil" (232-47 A.H.).  
Ma'mūn: 198-218 A.H., Mu'taṣim:

6. KAFARTŪTHĀ, a flourishing and prosperous town with running waters.

7. RA'S AL-'AYN, a flourishing town with many springs which form five rivers; the latter unite (*ba-yak jāy*) and, under the name of Khābūr, flow into the Euphrates.

8. DIYĀR-RABĪ'A (spelt: *Diyyār Ra'nay*), a very pleasant land (*shahr*).

9. RAQQA,<sup>1</sup> RĀFIQA (spelt: *Rā'iqā*), two large and flourishing towns joined with one another and situated on the bank of the Euphrates. The battle of Šifīn took place in their neighbourhood (*andar ḥadd-i ū*) on the other side of the river.

10. QARQĪSIYĀ, a flourishing and pleasant borough; all its countryside is always green.

11. RAḤBA, a flourishing town with abundant water and trees.

12. DĀLIYA (spelt: *Wāliya*), a small town, densely populated (*anbūh*) and pleasant.

13. 'ĀNA, a flourishing borough situated amidst the waters of the Euphrates.

14. HĪT, a prosperous and pleasant town within a solid wall. 'Abd-allāh ibn al-Mubārak's tomb (*turbat*) is there.

15. ANBĀR, a flourishing, prosperous, pleasant town with a numerous population. The seat of the Prince of the Faithful Abul 'Abbās was there.

All these towns, from Raqqa to Anbār, are situated on the bank of the Euphrates.

16. BĀLIS (spelt: *Tālis*), JISR-MANBIJ (spelt: *جسر عنج*), SUMAYSĀṬ (spelt: *Shumaishāt*), boroughs situated on the bank of the Euphrates and adjacent to Syria.<sup>2</sup>

17. ḤARRĀN, a town with little water (*ābashān andak*). In it live numerous Šābians (*Šābiyān*).

18. SARŪJ, a prosperous borough.

19. RUHĀ (spelt: *Rahā*), a flourishing town. Most of its inhabitants are Christians. In it stands a church (*kanisa*); in the whole world there is none larger, better attended (*ābādhāntar*), and more wonderful. To it belongs a flourishing countryside, and in it live numerous monks (*ruhbānān*).

20. JAZĪRA IBN 'OMAR, a flourishing borough, with trees and running waters, situated on the bank of the Tigris.

21. ḤADĪTHA, a town with very good orchards.

22. SINN, a borough on the bank of the Tigris, very pleasant and lying close to the mountains.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. under Syria, § 38, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. under Syria, § 38, 16. and 3.

§ 35. Discourse on the Provinces of Ādharbādhagān,  
Armīniya, and Arrān, and their Towns

These three provinces are adjacent to each other. Their countryside enter into each other (*ba yak-dīgar andar shudha*). East of this region (*nāhiyat*) are the borders of Gilān; south of it, the borders of 'Irāq and the Jazīra; west of it, the borders of Rūm and the Sarīr [sic]; north of it, the borders of the Sarīr and the Khazars (spelt: *Ghazarān*). These places are the most pleasant (*bis-yār-ni<sup>c</sup> mattarīn*) among the Islamic lands. The region is very prosperous and pleasant, with running waters and good fruit. It is the abode (*jāyghāh*) of merchants, fighters for the faith (*ghāziyān*), and strangers coming from all parts. It produces crimson (*qirmiz* > "kermes"), trouser-cords (*shalvār-band*),<sup>1</sup> woollen stuffs, madder (? *rūdīna*), cotton, fish, honey, and wax. There (too) Greek, Armenian, Pecheneg, Khazar, and Slav (*ṣaqlābī*) slaves are brought.

1. ARDAVĪL, the capital (*qaṣaba*) of Ādharbādhagān, and a great town within a wall. It was a strong (*sakht*) and very pleasant town, but now is less so (*aknūn kamtar-ast*). It is the seat of the kings of Ādharbādhagān. It produces striped stuffs (? *jāma-yi burd*), and stuffs of various colours (*jāma-yi rangīn*).

2. ASNA (اسنه) \**Ushnah* > *Ushnū*), SARĀV, MIYĀNA, KHŪNA, JĀBRŪQĀN, small but pleasant, prosperous and populous boroughs.

3. TABRĪZ, a small borough, pleasant and prosperous, within a wall constructed by 'Alā ibn Aḥmad.

4. MARĀGHA, a large town, flourishing and pleasant, with running waters and flourishing gardens. It had a strong wall, but the son of Bū Sāj destroyed it.

5. BARZAND, a flourishing and prosperous town with running waters and many fields. It produces *qaṭīfa*-textiles.<sup>2</sup>

6. MŪQĀN, a town with a district (*nāhiyat*) lying on the sea-shore. In the district of Mūqān there are two other boroughs also called Mūqān. From (Mūqān) come: madder (*rūdīna*), grain for food (*dāngū-hā-yi khurdanī*), sacks (*juvāl*), and *palās*-rugs in great numbers.

7. VARTĀN, a very prosperous town from which come *zīlū* and prayer-carpets.

All these towns which we have enumerated belong to Ādharbādhagān.

[§ 36. Armīniya and Arrān]

8. DUVIN (*Dwn*), a great town and the capital of Armenia, encircled by a wall. In it live numerous Christians. It is a very

<sup>1</sup> Arab. *tikak*. <sup>2</sup> Stuffs with long pile; actually bath-towels are called *qaṭīfa*.



pleasant town with great riches, men, and merchants. To it belongs a vast countryside (*sawād-i bisyār*) stretching down to the limits of the Jazīra and even (*khud*) adjoining Rūm. It produces worms from which the crimson-dye is made, and good trouser-cords.

9. DĀKHARRAQĀN (spelt: *Dākhartāb*), a flourishing borough, with running waters, near the lake Kabūdihān.

10. URMIYA (spelt: *Armana*), a large town, very prosperous and very pleasant.

11. SALAMĀS (now: *Salmās*), a flourishing and populous borough producing good trouser-cords.

12. KHOY, BARGRĪ, ARJĪJ, AKHLĀṬ, NAKHCHUVĀN, BIDLĪS (spelt: *Budlais*)—these are all boroughs, small or large, flourishing, pleasant, populous, having riches and merchants. They produce large quantities of *zīlū*-carpets (? *zīlū-hā-yi qālī*), trouser-cords, and wood (?).<sup>1</sup>

13. MALĀZGIRD, a frontier post (*thaghr*) against the people of Rūm (*Rūmiyān*). The people are warlike and the place pleasant.

14. QĀLĪQALA (usually *Qālīqalā*, Erzerum), a town inside which there is a strong fortress where there are always fighters for the faith, by turn from each place. Merchants too are numerous in it.

15. MAYYĀFĀRIQĪN (spelt: *Miyafāriqīn*), a town inside [sic] a fortress (*hiṣār*), on the frontier between Armenia, the Jazīra, (and) Rūm.

16. MARAND, a small borough, prosperous, pleasant, and populous. It produces various woollen stuffs.

17. MĪMADH, a well-known (*shuhra*) district, prosperous, very pleasant, and populous.

18. AHAR, the chief place of Mīmadh, belonging to the kingdom of the son of Rawwād, who is | of the family of Julandā bul K.rk.r, the 33 a one who "omnes naves vi capiebat" [*Qur'ān*, xviii, 78].<sup>2</sup>

19. S.ŒĀN (*Sungān*?), a town with a large district, belonging to the kingdom of Sunbāt.

All these boroughs which we have enumerated belong to Armenia.

20. QABĀN, a flourishing town, producing much cotton of good quality.

21. BARDA', a large town, very pleasant. It is the capital of Arrān and the seat of the king of that province. To it belongs a countryside, flourishing, with many fields and much fruit, densely populated. In it grow numerous mulberry-trees of which the fruit belongs to everybody (*tūdih-i sabīl*). The town produces much silk, good mules, madder (*rūnās*), chestnuts (*shāh-balūt*), and caraway (*karaviyā*).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps: "good (*khūb*) trouser-cords", instead of *chūb* "wood".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 140. [See my note. V. M.]

22. BAYLAQĀN, a very pleasant borough, producing striped textiles (*burd-hā*) in great numbers, horse-rugs (*jul*), veils (*burqa'*), and *nāṭif*-sweets.

23. BĀZHĠĀH ("Toll-house"), a borough on the bank of the river Aras (Araxes), producing fish.

24. GANJA, SHAMKŪR, two towns with extensive fields, prosperous, pleasant, and producing woollen stuffs of all kinds.

25. KHUNĀN, a district on the banks of the river Kur, forming the frontier between Armenia and Arrān.

26. VARDŪQIYA (*Bardūj*?), a small and sparsely populated town in Khunān.

27. QAL'A, a great fortress and a *minbar* on the frontier between Armenia and Arrān.

28. TIFLIS, a large town, flourishing, strong, prosperous, and very pleasant, within a double wall. It is a frontier post (*thaghr*) against the infidels (*bar rŭy-i kāfirān*). The river Kur passes through it (*andar miyān-i vay*). Tiflis possesses a spring of water, extremely hot; above it hot baths (*garmāba*) have been built which are always hot without any fire (to heat them).

29. SHAKKĪ, a district of Armenia, prosperous and pleasant. Its length is some 70 farsangs. The inhabitants are Muslims and infidels (*kāfirān*).

30. MUBĀRAKĪ, a large village at the gate of Barda'. There the camp of the Russians (*Rūsiyān*) stood when they came and seized (*bisitadand*) Barda'. This Mubārakī is at the head of the frontier (*avval-i ḥadd*) of Shakkī.

31. SŪQ AL-JABAL, a town of Shakkī, close to Barda'.

32. SUNBĀṬMĀN (?), a town at the farther end of Shakkī (*ākhir-i ḥadd-i Sh.*), with a strong fortress (*ḥiṣār*). These two (last-named) towns are prosperous.

33. ṢANĀR, a region 20 farsangs long and situated between Shakkī and Tiflis. The inhabitants are all infidels.

34. QABALA, a town between Shakkī, Barda', and Shirvān, prosperous and pleasant. From it come many beaver-furs (*qunduz*).

35. BARDĪJ (?), a small town, prosperous and pleasant.

36. SHIRVĀN (شران), KHURSĀN, LĪZĀN (*Laysān*?), three provinces under one king. He is called Shirvān-shāh, Khursān-shāh, and Līzān-shāh. He lives at the army camp (*ba lashkargāhī*, spelt: *lashkarhāhī*) at a farsang's distance from SHAMĀKHĪ. In the region (*hudūd*) of KURDIVĀN he possesses a mountain with a high summit, which is broad and smooth (*pahn va hāmūn*). Its area (*chahār-sū*) is 4 farsangs by 4 farsangs. It is accessible only from one side by a made road

which is very difficult. Within that area there are four villages. All the treasures and wealth of that king are kept there and all his clients (*maulāyān*), men and women, are there. They both sow and eat (their produce) there (*ānjā kārand va ānjā khurand*). This fortress is called NIYĀL-QAL'A, and near it there is another very strong fortress at a distance of 1 farsang; (the king's) prison is there.

37. \*KHURSĀN, a district (lying between?) Darband and Shīrvān, adjacent to the mountain Qabk (Caucasus). | It produces woollen 33b stuffs, and all the different kinds of *mahfūrī* which are found in the world are from the said three districts.

38. KURDIVĀN, a prosperous and pleasant borough.

39. SHĀVARĀN, the capital of Shīrvān [sic], is situated near the sea and is a very pleasant (spot). From it touch-stones (*sang-i miḥakk*) are exported everywhere.

40. DARBAND-I KHAZARĀN, a town on the sea-coast. Between the town and the sea a huge chain has been stretched so that no ship can enter there without permission (*dastūrī*). This chain is solidly attached to the walls made of stone and lead (*arzīz*). The town produces linen-cloths and saffron. Slaves (*bandagān*) are brought there of every kind of infidel living close to it.

41. BĀKŪ, a borough lying on the sea-coast near the mountains. All naphtha used in the Daylamān country comes from there.

### § 37. Discourse on the Arab Country and its Towns

East of this country is the 'Omān Sea, which is a part of the Great Sea; south of it, the Abyssinian Sea, also a part of the Great Sea; west of it, the Qulzum Sea, also a part of the Great Sea; north of it, the steppe (*bādiya*) of Kūfa and Syria. This is a vast country belonging to the hot zone. In it there are mountains separated one from another, as we have explained (*padīdh*) in our notice (*yādhkird*) on mountains. And in all this country there is (only) one river, which comes out of the mountains of Tihāma and skirts the region of Khaulān (spelt: *ḥaulān*) and the province of Ḥaḍramūt, to empty itself into the Great Sea. Nor is this river large either. In this country there are numerous districts. Most of the country is a desert. Here is the original home (*jāy-i aṣlī*) of the Arabs, and all those who have gone to other places are originally from here. Most of them live in the desert, except those (*magar ānk*) who live in the towns of this country. This country produces dates of different kinds, skins (*adām*), Mekkan sand (*rig-i makkī*), whet-stones, pilgrim shoes (*na'lain-i mash'ar*), and parti-coloured (*mulamma'*) shoes. In it live various strange animals.

The districts of this region are as follows: YEMEN, HĪJĀZ, TĪHĀMA, YAMĀMA, NIZWAIN (\**Bahrayn* ?)<sup>1</sup>—where the tents are found of the tribes, such as Tamīm (*Tamīmiyān*), Muḍar (spelt: *Miṣriyān*), Asad, Jassān (?), Kalb, Fazāra (*Fazāriyān*), and the like. We have marked (*padīdh*) them all on the Map that they should be clearer (*paydhātar*).

1. MEKKA, a large town, prosperous (*ābādihān*), populous, and situated at the foot of the mountains. All round it (*girdāgird*) are mountains. This is the most honourable (*sharīftarīn*) town in the world because there was born our Prophet, on Him (added: *and on His family*) be God's blessings and protection, and because it is the House of God, may He be exalted. The length of the mosque of the House of God is 370 cubits (*arash* = Arab. *dhīrā'*) and its width 315 cubits. The House of Mekka (*i.e.*, the Ka'ba itself) is 24½ by 23½ cubits. The height (*samk*) of the Ka'ba is 27 cubits and the circuit around the stone<sup>2</sup> (? *va as gird-i sang ṭawāf*) is 50 cubits; while the length [of the *ṭawāf*, *i.e.*, circumambulation?] is 150 cubits. Mekka was built (*binā'*) by Adam, on him be God's peace, and finished by Abraham, on him be God's peace. And since the times of Adam, God has made this house sacred (*'azīz kardāst*).

2. MADĪNA, an agreeable (*khush*) town, with a numerous population. The sepulchre (*rauḍa*) of the Prophet, on Him and His family be God's blessings, as well as of many of his companions are there. From the districts of Madīna come whet-stones which are exported everywhere.

3. ṬĀ'IF, a small borough lying at the foot of the mountains. It produces skins (*adīm*).

34a 4. NAJRĀN is a | prosperous borough in which lives the tribe Hamdān. From it come brigands (*duzd*) who rifle the region of Yemen (*ba-hudūd-i Yaman rāh burand*).

5. JURASH, a flourishing and populous borough of Yemen.

6. ṢĀ'DA, a prosperous and populous town. Merchants from Baṣra are found in it. In the days of old it was the seat of the kings of Yemen. It produces great quantities of skins (*adīm*) and the *yemeni*-shoes for pilgrims (*na'lāin-i yamāni-yi mash'ar*).

7. ṢAMDĀN (*Hamdān* ?), a district in Yemen, between Ṣa'da and Ṣan'ā. It possesses three boroughs in which live the sons of Hīmīyar (*farzandān-i Hīmīyar*) who have fields, pasture grounds (*marā'ī*), and vines (*raṣ*).

8. ṢAN'Ā, the capital of Yemen. It is a flourishing and prosperous town. Whatever (goods) come from the majority of the districts of Yemen are also produced in this town. It is the most pleasant place in all Yemen. In all the Arab country there is no larger and more

<sup>1</sup> نيزون may be a misspelling for بحرین *v.i.* 26.

<sup>2</sup> Read: \*Hijr. See note.

flourishing town than this. On account of the perfectly moderate climate of this land (*shahr*), wheat and other crops (*kisht*) yield harvests twice a year, and barley (even) three or four times. (The town) has a stone wall, and it is said that the first building which was built after the Flood was this.

9. DHIMĀR (spelt: *Dimār*), a populous town with markets belonging to the district (*'amal*) of Ṣan'ā. It is a very pleasant place. Their current money (*bāzurganī*)<sup>1</sup> is something (*chīzi*) similar to the *qanda-hārī*-coins; eight of (their coins) weigh a dirham.

10. SHIBĀM (spelt: *Siyām*), a mountain above a fortress in which a market and a numerous population are found.

11. ZABĪD, a town of Yemen. With the exception of Ṣan'ā there is no larger town in Yemen than Zabīd. At a distance of three days from there is the frontier of Abyssinia. Their current money is silver and gold, but their 12 dirhams weigh only 1 dirham's weight (*yak dirham-sang sanjadh*).

12. MANKATH, a small borough with stone walls. Huge mountains surround it and its districts (*rustā*), and in whatever direction one travels in it, it is necessary to cross mountains (*va az har sūy ki dar vay ravī kūh bibāyadh burīdan*). The frontier of this place marches with that of Ḥaḍramūt.

13. ṢUHAYB (spelt: *Ṣahīb*), a flourishing and prosperous borough.

All these places are in Yemen. Among the latter's mountains and plains there is a place of monkeys (*kapiyān*). All the baboons (*ham-dūnagān*) are from there.

14. 'ADEN, a borough on the sea-coast. Many pearls come from it. It is adjacent to the limits (*hudūd*) of Abyssinia.

15. ḤAḌRAMŪT, a flourishing and prosperous province possessing (several) towns. They have a custom that to any stranger who enters their town and makes a public prayer (*namāz*) in their mosque, they bring food thrice a day and pay him great attention (*navākht*), unless he opposes them in religious matters (*mukhālafatī kunadh ba-madhhab bā ishān*).

16. MIKHLĀF 'AKK (spelt: *'Alī*), a large and pleasant village.

17. 'ATHTHAR, a prosperous and pleasant village.

18. MAHJARA (spelt: *Mahjar*), a large town within a wall and a moat. The (inhabitants') clothes consist of *izār* and *chādhur*.

19. SIRRAYN (spelt: *Sarīr*), a flourishing and prosperous town. The inhabitants sow sorghum<sup>2</sup> and barley. Their current money is silver washed over with quicksilver (*muzabbaq*). They all wear *izār* and *ridā*. (This place?) belongs to the province (*'amal*) of Yemen.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 153, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *gāvars*, v.s., p. 124.

20. JIDDA (spelt: *Judda*), a town belonging to Mekka and situated on the sea-coast, prosperous and flourishing.

21. SABA' (spelt: *Sabā*), 'UQĀB (?), وفاق, WĀDĪ \*BAYḤĀN (? spelt: وادي محان), pleasant and populous boroughs.

22. SHIḤR, a town on the sea-coast. It produces good camels, and from here frankincense (*lubbān*) is exported everywhere.

23. 'OMĀN (spelt: *'Ommān*), a large town on the sea-coast. Merchants are numerous in it. It is the emporium (*bārkaḍha*) of the whole world. There is no town in the world where the merchants are wealthier (*tuwangartar*) than here, and all the commodities 34 b (*jihāz*) of East, West, South, and North | are brought to this town and from there carried to different places.

24. SHARJA, عن, two prosperous and flourishing boroughs.

25. HAJAR, a very populous town on the sea-coast.

26. BAḤRAYN, a very populous region with towns, villages, and prosperous places.

27. FAYD, a flourishing and prosperous borough.

28. JABALA, a fortress with a *minbar* in it.

29. FUR' (spelt: *F.rgh*), a small borough.

30. TABŪK, WĀDĪ AL-QURĀ, TAYMĀ' (spelt: *Fymā*), very prosperous boroughs situated in the desert.

31. JĀR, a borough on the sea-coast which is the emporium of Madīna.

32. MADYAN (spelt: *Midyan*), a flourishing town on the sea-coast. There lies the well from which Moses, on him be peace, drew water for the sheep of Shu'ayb, on him be peace [*Qor'ān*, xxviii, 24].

### § 38. Discourse on the Country of Syria and its Towns

East of this country is the Syrian steppe (*bādiya*) belonging to the Arab country, and the limits of Jazīra (*hudūd-i Jazīra*); south of it, the Sea of Qulzum; west of it, the limits of Egypt and some parts of the Rūm sea; north of it, the limits of Rūm. This country is flourishing, prosperous, with many people, great riches, and numerous towns. Whatever is produced in Maghrib, Egypt, Byzantium (*Rūm*), and Spain (*Andalus*) is brought there.

THE FORTIFIED LINE (*thaghr-hā*) OF JAZĪRA. These are the boroughs (forming) the military frontier (*thaghr*) against the Byzantines (*Rūmiyān*), and belonging to Syria, though called after Jazīra:

1. SUMAISĀṬ, a flourishing borough lying on the bank of the river (Euphrates).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. under Jazīra, § 34, 16.

2. SANJA, a flourishing borough near which there is a bridge; in the whole world there is no better and more marvellous bridge.

3. MANBIJ, a strong borough in the desert.<sup>1</sup>

4. MANŞŪR, QŪRUS, two prosperous but sparsely populated boroughs.

5. MALAṬYA (spelt: *Malaṭiya*), the largest frontier post (*thaghr*) on this side of the mountain Lukkām. Its fruit is all given free (*mubāh*) and has no owners.

6. MAR'ASH, ḤADATH (spelt: *ḥadhab*), two flourishing and prosperous boroughs, small, but having many fields and running waters.

7. HĀRŪNĪ, a borough built by Hārūn al-Rashīd and lying on a mountain.

8. BAYĀS (Payas), a flourishing and very pleasant borough in which dates abound.

9. KANĪS, a small borough at the foot of the mountain.

10. KAFARBAYYĀ (spelt: *Kamarinā*), MAŞIŞA, two flourishing and prosperous boroughs divided by the river Jayḥūn. If one mounts (*chūn . . . bar ravī*) on the bridge spanning that river the sea is visible, though the distance between them is 4 farsangs (*va miyānashān chahār farsang-ast*). (Their) population is numerous.

11. 'AYN-ZARBA, a town with fruit and well cultivated fields (*kisht-hā-yi ārāsta*).

12. ADHANA, a town with a flourishing market, situated on the bank of the river Sayḥūn.

13. ṬARSŪS, a large, prosperous, and pleasant town within a double stone wall. The inhabitants are warlike and courageous.

14. AULĀS (Eleusa), the last town of Islām on the coast of the Rūm Sea. In it are two places which the Byzantines (*Rūmiyān*) venerate and to which they go on pilgrimage.

These are all the frontier posts called *Thughūr-al-ḥazira*.

15. ISKANDARŪNA, ŞUHBA, LĀDHĪQIYA, ANṬARTŪS, AṬRĀBULUS, BAY-RŪT, ŞAYDĀ (Sidon), ŞŪR (Tyre), 'AKKA, QAYSĀRIYA, YĀFĀ (spelt: *لُي*),<sup>2</sup> 'ASQALĀN, towns of Syria on the coast of the Rūm Sea, inhabited by Muslims. They are very pleasant towns, with extensive fields and great riches.

16. BĀLIS, a town of Syria situated on the bank of the Euphrates.

17. KHUNĀŞIRA, TADMUR, SALAMIYA, MU'ĀN (spelt: *Maghān*, now: *Ma'ān*), boroughs | on the edge of the Syrian steppe. The people of 35a Salamiya are all Hāshimites, and those of Mu'ān, Omayyads.

18. AYLĀ (spelt: *Īla*), a borough on the coast of the Qulzum Sea, on the frontier between the steppe of Egypt and Syria.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. under Jazīra, § 34, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Sic.

19. ALEPPO, a large town, flourishing, prosperous, populous, and having great riches. It has a wall on which a horseman can make a tour round the town.

20. BAGHRĀS, a town amidst the mountains. In it stands a palace built by Zubayda, who gave it numerous endowments (*waqf*), in order that anybody reaching that town should be put up and entertained (*mihmānī*) in the said building.

21. MA'ARRA MAṢRĪN, a flourishing borough with rain-water.

22. QINNASRĪN, a flourishing and prosperous town.

23. HIMS (spelt: *Himis*), a large, flourishing, and populous town, with all the roads paved with stones (*ba-sang gustarda*). The inhabitants are cleanly clad, chivalrous (*bā muruvvat*), and handsome (*nīkūrūy*). Snakes and scorpions abound in it.

24. KAḤR-ṬĀB (spelt: *Bqr-Ṭāb*), SHAYZAR, ḤAMĀT, prosperous, pleasant, and very flourishing towns.

25. BA'ALBAKK, a very pleasant town lying on the slope of the mountain (*bar bar-i kūh*).

26. DAMASCUS, a prosperous and flourishing town, possessing many fields, a nice countryside (*sawādī khush*), and running waters. (It lies) close to the mountains. This is the most flourishing town in the Arab lands (*dar 'Arab*). It produces yellow citrons (*turanj*) [or yellow rice, *birinj*?].

27. RAQQA, a flourishing borough with few inhabitants.<sup>1</sup>

28. RUWĀT (spelt: *Ruwāb*), a borough lying close to the mountains. It is the chief place of the Jibāl (*Kūhistān*) district.

29. ADHRUH (spelt: *Adhrukh*), a flourishing and pleasant borough, inhabited by the Khārijites.<sup>2</sup>

30. URDUNN, a very flourishing, prosperous, and pleasant region.

31. ṬABARIYA, the chief place of Urdunn. The town is flourishing, prosperous, and pleasant, and has running waters.

32. PALESTINE (*Filasṭīn*), a province with many fields and fruits, great riches, and many inhabitants.

33. RAMLA (spelt: *Zamla*), the capital of Palestine. The locality is pleasant and the town large.

34. GHAZZA (spelt: *'Arra*), a borough on the frontier between Syria and Egypt.

35. BETHLEHEM (*Bayt al-laḥm*), a borough where the Prophet Jesus, on Him be God's blessings and protection, was born (*maulūd*).

36. MASJID IBRĀHĪM, a borough on the frontier between Egypt and Syria. The sepulchre (*rauḍa*) of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, on them be God's blessings, is there.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in Jazīra, § 34, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Iṣṭ., 58: *al-shurāt*.



37. NĀBULUS, RĪḤĀ (Jericho, spelt: *Rīkhā*), two small boroughs, little favoured by nature (*kam-nī mat*).

38. JERUSALEM (*Bayt al-muqaddas*), a town lying on the slope of the mountain. It has no running water. In it stands a mosque which is visited by Muslims coming from everywhere.

These are all the towns of Palestine.

39. THE HOME OF LOT'S PEOPLE (*jāy-i qaum-i Lūt*), a desolate district, sparsely populated, and without amenity.

40. ZUGHAR (spelt: *Z'r*), a town of the Home (*diyār*) of Lot's people. A little prosperity is still left there.

41. Within the limits of this (!) mountain of BALQĀ there are many villages and small districts (*rustā*), and it is inhabited by the Khārijites (*va andar vay hama mardumān-i khawārij-and*).

### § 39. Discourse on the Country of Egypt and its Towns

East of this country are some borders of Syria and some parts of the Egyptian desert; south of it, the borders of Nubia; west of it, some parts of Maghrib and of the desert called Wāḥāt (oases); north of it, the Sea of Rūm. This is the wealthiest (*tuwangartarin*) country of Islām and in it lie numerous towns, all prosperous, flourishing, wealthy, and extremely favoured by nature in many respects (*bā nī mat-hā-yi bisyār-i gūnāgūn*). It produces textiles (*jāma*), handkerchiefs (*dastār*), and robes (*ridā*) of various kinds, than which there are none more precious in the whole world—such as Egyptian woollen goods and textiles, and handkerchiefs made of *dabiqī* [and ?] *khazz*.<sup>1</sup> And in this country | good asses are found of great price (*kharān-i* **35b** *nīk uftadh bā-qīmat*).

1. FUSṬĀṬ (spelt: *Faṣṭāṭ*), the capital of Egypt. It is the wealthiest city in the world, extremely prosperous and very pleasant. It lies to the east of the river Nile. The tomb of Shāfi'i, God's mercy on him, is there.

2. DHAMĪRA, DANQARĀ (*Dabqū*?), two towns to the east of the Nile, prosperous and pleasant, producing excellent (*murtafi*) and precious linen-cloths.

3. FARAMĀ, a town on the shore of the lake Tinnīs, amidst the sands of Jifār. The tomb of Galen (*ḡālīnūs*) is there.

4. TINNĪS, DIMYĀṬ, two towns situated on two islands in the lake of Tinnīs. The inhabitants have no fields. They produce woollen and linen stuffs of very high price.

5. ISKANDARIYA (Alexandria), a town, of the two sides of which the one is adjacent to the Sea of Rūm and the other to the lake of

<sup>1</sup> چون صوف مصری و جامها و دستارها دبیقی خن

Tinnīs. In it stands a lighthouse (*mināra*) which is said to be 200 cubits (*arash*) high. It is situated in the midst of the water (*andar miyān-i āb*), upon a rock, and when the wind blows it moves (*bijunbadh*) so that one cannot see it.

6. HARAMAYN (Pyramids), two structures on the summit of a mountain near Fustāt; their mortar (*milāt*) is of a substance (*jauhar*) on which nothing has effect. Each of them is 400 cubits long by 400 cubits broad and 400 cubits high. Inside (them) rooms have been made (*khāna-hā*). (Each) has a narrow door. Hermes built these buildings before the Flood, as he knew that the Flood would take place (*khvāhad būd*), and he built them in order that the water might not do him harm (*ziyān*, spelt: *zabān*). He has written on them in Arabic: "We have built this by a (supernatural) power; if some one wants to know how we have built it, let him destroy it."<sup>1</sup> And on these two pyramids much science has been engraved (*kanda-ast*) of medicine, astronomy, geometry, and philosophy.

7. FAYYŪM, a borough to the west of the Nile. It has other running waters, too, besides the Nile.

8. BŪṢĪR (spelt: *Tūṣīr*), a town lying to the east of the Nile. The magicians (*musha'bidhān*) who were with Pharaoh and who worked sorceries (*jādhū'i*), were from there. In the river Nile crocodiles abound everywhere; they snatch men and quadrupeds from the banks of the river, but when they reach this town [the situation becomes different]. (Here) a talisman has been put up (*karda-and*) that they should be impotent and do no harm (*ziyān natavānadh kardan*), and it may happen that children catch a crocodile in the water and sit upon it and guide it (*hamī-gardānand*) and it cannot do any harm. And wherever the crocodiles are upstream and downstream of this town they are harm-doers.

9. ASHMŪNAYN (spelt: *Ash'ūnayn*), AKHMĪM, BULAINĀ, three towns on the bank of the Nile, to the west of it. They are prosperous, flourishing, and very pleasant. In (this locality) grow numerous ebony trees.

10. SUWĀN (Assuan), the last town of Egypt and a frontier post (*thaghr*) against the Nubians. It is situated west of the Nile and is a town with great riches (*māl*). The people are warlike. In the mountains which are near Suwān and belong to al-Wāḥāt (oases region), mines of emeralds and chrysolites (*zumurrud va zabarjad*) are found, and in all the world they are found nowhere else. In the mountains of al-Wāḥāt there are wild sheep. Beyond Suwān, in the frontier region between Egypt and Nubia, there are great numbers

<sup>1</sup> The text in Arabic and in Persian. In Persian: "say (to him): Destroy this."

of wild asses, striped (*mulamma'*) (with) black and yellow, small, of the size of a sheep (*khurd chand guspandī*). If taken out of that country, they die.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 40. Discourse on the Country of Maghrib and its Towns

East of this country | is the country of Egypt; south of it, a desert of <sup>36a</sup> which the farther end adjoins the country of the Sūdān (*ba-nāḥiyat-i S. bāz dāradh*); west of it, the Western Ocean; north of it, the Sea of Rūm. In this country deserts are many and mountains very few. The inhabitants are black and swarthy. The country has many regions, towns, and districts (*rustā*). In their desert live numberless Berbers. This place (belongs to) the hot zone. Gold is found there in large quantities. In the sands of this region are gold-mines. Their transactions (*bāzurgānī*)<sup>2</sup> are mostly in gold (*ba-zarr*).<sup>3</sup>

1. AṬRĀBULUS, the first town of Ifrīqiya. It is a large and prosperous town lying on the shore of the Rūm Sea. It is populous and is the resort of the Byzantine and Spanish merchants. Whatever the Rūm sea produces comes there.

2. MAHDIYA, a large town on the coast of the Rūm Sea and adjacent to the limits of Qayruwān. It is a pleasant place. Merchants from (different) lands (*az jāyhā*) are numerous in it.

3. BARQA, a large town to which belongs a province adjoining Egypt. It is a place with great wealth and with (many) merchants. In it numerous troops are always stationed.

4. QAYRUWĀN, a great town. In Maghrib there is no town larger, more prosperous, and richer than this. It is the capital of Maghrib.

5. ZAWĪLA, a great town on the edge of the desert of Sūdān. In its neighbourhood and in its district live many Berbers. In the deserts (*biyābān-hā*) of Maghrib these Berbers are what the Arabs are in (their) steppe (*bādiya*). They own cattle (*khudāvandān-i chahār-pāy*) and much gold (*zar*), but the Arabs are wealthier (*tuwangartar*) in cattle, and the Berbers in gold.

6. TŪNIS (spelt: *Tūnas*), a town of Maghrib on the sea-coast. This is the first town opposite Spain (Andalus).

7. FARSĀNA (Qalshāna?), a flourishing town, very pleasant. The people are sociable (*āmizanda*) and possess great wealth. The town lies near Qayruwān.

8. SAṬĪF (spelt: *Sazīf*), a large town, with many inhabitants and much gold (*zar*), but little favoured by nature.

9. ṬABARQA, a town on the coast of the Rūm Sea. Near it, in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 5, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Present-day pronunciation.

<sup>3</sup> Or: "their current money is gold".

sea, lie extremely numerous coral-banks; in the world there is no other place (like it). There are large and deadly scorpions (in Ṭabarqa).

10. TANAS, a large town on the sea-coast, prosperous, pleasant, and having many inhabitants and great wealth.

11. JAZĪRA BANĪ ZAGHANNĀ (spelt: *Ra'nā*), a town surrounded on its three sides (*si karān*) by the sea. In its region (*hawālī*) live many Berbers.

12. NĀKŪR, a town like Tanas.

13. TĀHART, a great town with a special district (*nāhiyati judhā*) belonging to the province ('*amal*') of Ifrīqiya. It possesses great wealth.

14. SIJILMĀSA (spelt: *Slhmāsa*), a town situated on the edge of the desert of Sūdān amid sands which are auriferous. This town is separated (*gusista*) from all the districts; it is little favoured by nature (*kam-ni'mat*) but has much gold.

15. BUṢAYRA (?), a town on the sea-coast opposite Gibraltar (*ḡabal Tāriq*). It is a very prosperous place.

16. AZAYLA (spelt: *Uzila*), a large town within an extremely solid wall. It is the very last (*bāzpas-tarīn*) town (of Africa) from which (travellers) go to Spain.

17. FĀS, a great town which is the capital of Tangiers (*Tanja*), and the seat of the kings. It is a place of great wealth. |

36 b 18. SŪS AL-AQSĀ, a land (*shahr*) situated on the coast of the Western Ocean which is the last land of the oecumene (*ābādhāni-yi 'ālam*) towards the west. It is a great land and its people have extraordinary (*bī-andāza*) quantities of gold. The people are somewhat far (*dūrtar*) from the characteristics of humanity (*ṭab'-i mardī*). Strangers rarely happen to visit it (*kamtar uftadh*). (The articles) mostly coming from the country of the Berbers are panther-skins (*palang*). The Berbers hunt (panthers) and bring their skins (*pūst*) to Muslim towns.

#### § 41. Discourse on the Country of Spain (*Andalus*) and its Towns

East of this country are the borders of Rūm; south of it, the straits of the Rūm Sea; west of it, the Western Ocean; north of it, also the borders of Rūm. This country is prosperous and flourishing, and possesses many mountains, running waters, and great riches. In it mines of every kind (*ma'dan-i hama-yi jauhar-hā*) are found: gold, copper, lead (*arziz*), and the like. Their houses are of stone. The people are white-skinned and blue-eyed.

1. CORDOBA (spelt: *Qrtna*), the capital of Spain, prosperous,

populous, with great amenities and riches. By the nearest road there is a three days' journey from it to the sea. Cordoba lies near a mountain and is the seat of the government. The kingdom belongs to the Omayyads (*pādishāh-i* [sic] *vay Amaviyān-rā-st*). The houses (of the town) are of stone.

2. TOLEDO (*Tulayṭula*), a town on a mountain (*bar kūh*), situated on the slope of the mountain and (the bank of a) river (*bar bar-i kūh va rūdh*),<sup>1</sup> and the river Tagus (*Tājh*, read: *Tāju*) encircles it.

3. TUDELA (*Tuṭayla*, spelt: *B.ṭila*), a town situated near the mountains. In it an extraordinary (*bī andāza*) number of sable-martens (*samūr*) is found; (their skins) are exported to different places (*ba-jāy-hā*).

4. LERIDA (*Lārīda*), SARAGOSSA (*Sarguṣ*, usually: *Saraqusta*), SHANTARIYA, \* REGIO (? ٢٤)\* *Rayyu*, ÉCIJA (*Isinja*, spelt: *Istinja*), JAEN (*Jayyān*, spelt: *Khyān*), MORÓN (*Maurūr*, spelt: *Maurūd*), CARMONA (*Qarmūna*), NIEBLA (*Labla*), GHĀFIQ, towns of Spain possessing great amenities, and (frequented by) merchants from Rūm, Maghrib, and Egypt. These towns possess great wealth and have a moderate climate.

5. BEJA (*Bāja*) is an old, wealthy town in Spain.

6. CORIA (*Qūriya*), a small town. In it people are few but there is much wealth.

7. MÉRIDA (*Mārīda*), the largest town in Spain. It has a fortress, a wall, and a moat, all strong.

8. TRUJILLO (*Turjāla*), GUADALAJARA (*Wādī al-Ḥijāra*), two towns belonging to the cold zone of Spain. This is the oldest place (*jā*) in this region (*nāhiyat*).

9. TORTOSA (*Turtūsha*), a prosperous town on the coast of the Rūm Sea, adjacent to the limits of GH.L.J.SK.S (the people of Jacá?) and IFRANJA (Franks), which are two provinces of Rūm.

10. VALENCIA (*Balansiya*), MURCIA (*Mursiya*), PECHINA (*Bajjāna*), pleasant towns in the maritime zone (*bar karāna*) of the straits (*khalij*) of the Rūm Sea.

11. MÁLAGA (*Mālaqa*), a town on the coast (*karān*) of the Rūm Sea. From it come very great numbers of lizard-skins (*pūst-i sūsmār*) used for the hilts of swords (*qabḍa-yi shamshūr*).

12. ALGECIRAS (*ʿazīra*), a borough on the coast of the straits. At the beginning of the Islamization (*musalmānī*) Spain was conquered from this town (*az in shahr bigushādhand*).

13. MEDINA SIDONIA (*Sadūna*), SEVILLA (*Ishbiliya*), OCSONABA (*Ukhshunaba*), boroughs in the maritime region (*bar karān*) of the

<sup>1</sup> The phrase is awkward: \**va* [lab-*i*] *rūdh*?

Western Ocean. They are places with few amenities and sparsely populated.

14. SANTAREM (*Shantarīn*?), the farthest town of Spain in the maritime zone of the Ocean. From it comes extremely good ambergris (*'anbar-i ashhab*) in great quantities.

Within the limits of Maghrib [sic] there is no other place.

## § 42. Discourse on the Country of Rūm, its Provinces and Towns

East of this country lie Armenia, the Sarīr, and the Alān (*al-Lān*); south of it, some parts of Syria, of the Rūm Sea, and of Spain; west of it, the Western Ocean; north of it, some Uninhabited Lands  
37 a (*virānī*) of the North, some parts | of the countries of the Ṣaqlāb and Burjā(n) (*ba'dī hudūd-i Ṣaqlāb va ba'dī nāhiyat-i Barjā-st* [sic]), and some parts of the Khazar Sea (*daryā-yi Khazarān*). This country is extremely vast; it abounds in amenities beyond description (*bī andāza*), and is extremely prosperous. It has many towns, villages, and great provinces, all with extensive fields, running waters, wealth, and troops. In it small lakes (*daryāyak-hā*), mountains, and very numerous fortresses (*hiṣār*) and castles (*qal'a*) are found. It produces in great quantities brocades (*jāma-yi dībā*), *sundus*-textiles (of silk), *maysānī*-(textiles?), carpets (*tanfasa*), stockings, and valuable trouser-cords.

The provinces of Rūm are fourteen; three lie behind (*aṣ pas*) the straits of Constantinople on their western side; and eleven provinces lie east of the straits.

Those that lie westwards are as follows:

1. The first is ṬABLĀN in which Constantinople is situated. The latter is the seat of the kings of Rūm and a place of great wealth.

2. The other is MACEDONIA (*Maqadūniya*). Alexander of Rūm was a native of it. It lies by the Rūm Sea.

3. The third is Thrace (*Thrāqīya*, spelt: *Brāqīya*) which lies by the Georgian Sea (*daryā-yi Gurz*).

As regards the other eleven provinces which lie eastwards of the straits of Constantinople, they bear the following names: 4. THRACE-SION (spelt: *Brqsīs*); 5. OPSIKION (spelt: *Absyq*); 6. OPTIMATON (spelt: *Aftmāt*); 7. SELEUCIA (*Salūqīya*); 8. ANATOLICON (*Nāṭliq*); 9. BUCCELLARION (spelt: *Bqlār*); 10. PAPHLAGONIA (*Aflakhūniya*); 11. CAPPADOCIA (*Qabādhaq*, spelt: *Fyādq*); 12. CHARSIANON (*Khar-shana*?); 13. ARMENIACON (*Armīnyāq*); 14. CHALDIA (*Khāldīya*).

Each of these provinces (themes) is vast and has numerous towns,

villages, castles, fortresses, mountains, running waters, and amenities. In each of these provinces lives a commander-in-chief (*sipāhsallār*) on behalf of the king of Rūm (*az ān-i malik al-Rūm*), with numerous troops numbering from 3,000 men to 6,000 horse [sic] and (destined) to guard the province (*mar nigāh dāshtan-i nāhiyat rā*).

In the days of old cities were numerous in Rūm (*andar Rūm shahr-i qadīm andar bisyār būdh*, read: *andar qadīm*?), but now they have become few. Most of the districts (*rustā-hā*) are prosperous and pleasant, and have (each) an extremely strong fortress (*bā ḥiṣārī sakht bisyār ustuwār*), on account of the frequency of the raids (*tākhtan*) which the fighters for the faith (*ghāziyān*) direct upon them. To each village appertains a castle (*qal'a*) where in time of flight [they may take shelter].<sup>1</sup>

And these provinces, with large villages, and whatever there is (in them) of towns,<sup>2</sup> are such as we have represented them and shown on the Map (*sūrat*).

15. GURZ (Georgia?) is also a province of Rūm; most of its (population) live on small islands. By (?) the sea of Gurz they have a land (*shahr*) called Gurz which lies in Rūm on the coast of the said sea.<sup>3</sup> All the customs (*akhlāq*) of these people resemble exactly and in every respect (*rāst ba-hama rūy*) those of the people of Rūm (*Rūmiyān*).

16. BURJĀN, a province with a district (*shahr*) called Thrace (spelt: *Brqiya*); it is a flourishing place, much favoured by nature but having little wealth (*khurram va bisyār-ni'mat va kam-khwāsta*). Taking it altogether it is steppe and cultivated lands (*va ḍigar hama shahrā-st va kisht-u-barz*). It is a prosperous place and has running waters. It is a part of Rūm and (its people) pay land-taxes (*kharāj*) to the king of Rūm.

17. CHRISTIANIZED SLAVS (*al-Ṣaqālība al-mutanaṣṣira*), a province of Rūm, in which live the Slavs who have become Christians (*Ṣaqlābi-yi tarsā gashta*). They pay land-taxes (*kharāj*) to the king of Rūm. They are wealthy (*tuwāngar*) people and their country is pleasant and safe.

18. BULGHARĪ, is the name of a people living on the mountain Bulgharī (*qaumī-st bar kūh-i Bulgharī nishinand*) to the north-west of Rūm. They are infidels (*kāfir*). They too are Rūmī, but are

<sup>1</sup> *Ki andar gurikhtan*. . . . Something omitted by the scribe: \**ba-ānjā panā-hand*.

<sup>2</sup> The text is awkward: the words “villages” and “towns” ought to come in inverted order.

<sup>3</sup> *Va bishtar az vay andar jazīra-hā-and khurā. Va andar* [sic] *daryā-yi \*Gurz īshān-ra shahrī-st ki \*Gurz khwānand va andar Rūm-ast bar karān-i in daryā.*

perpetually at war with the other Rūmīs. These Bulgharī are mountaineers, possessing fields and great numbers of cattle.

This country of Rūm stretches westwards (*ba maghrib bikashad*) down to the Western Ocean, and its southern side (*sūy*) marches  
 37b with Spain. Towards | the north it marches with the Uninhabited Lands of the North, and includes some (*pāra-i*) deserts. In all the other places of Rūm there are no deserts; on the contrary (*illā*) cultivated lands (*ābādihānī*) are everywhere.

19. IFRANJA, a province of Rūm adjoining the Rūm Sea.

20. RŪMIYA (Rome), a town on the coast of this sea, belonging to Iفرانجا. In the days of old the seat of the kings of Rūm was in this Rūmiya.

21. \*B.S.KŪN.S (Vascones, Basques), \*GH.LJ.SK.S (the people of Jacā?), are two provinces between Iفرانجا and Spain. The (people) are Christians.

22. BRITANNIA (*Bariḡīniya*), the last land (*shahr*) of Rūm on the coast of the Ocean. It is an emporium (*bārgāh*) of Rūm and Spain.

From the limit of the straits (of Constantinople) down to Spain whatever is on the shore of the Sea of Rūm is called "the coast of Athens" (*sāhil-i Athinās*).

23. YŪNĀN (Greece) was in the days of old a town of this Athens<sup>1</sup> and all the sages and philosophers arose (*khāsta*) from this region of Athens (*nāḥiyat-i A.*).

#### § 43. Discourse on the Slav Country (*Ṣaqlāb*).

East of this country are the Inner Bulghārs (*Bulghār-i andarūnī*) and some of the Rūs; south of it, some parts of the Gurz sea and some parts of Rūm; west and north of it everywhere are the deserts of the Uninhabited Lands of the North. This is a vast country with extremely numerous trees growing close together (*payvasta*). The people live among the trees and sow (*kisht*) nothing except millet (*arzan*). They have no grapes but possess plenty of honey from which they prepare wine and the like. Their vessels (casks) for wine (*khunb-i nabīdh*) are made of wood, and there are people (*mard buvadh kī*) who annually prepare a hundred of such vessels of wine. They possess herds of swine (*ramma-hā-yi khūg*) which are just like (*ham chinānk*) herds of sheep. They burn the dead. When a man dies, his wife, if she loves him, kills herself. They all wear shirts and shoes over the ankles (*pirāhan va mūza tā ba ka'b*). All of them are fire-worshippers. They possess string instruments (*ālāt-hā-yi rūdh*) unknown in the Islamic

<sup>1</sup> *Shahrī būd az īn Athinās*. Perhaps: \**Shahr būd* "was the country (belonging) to this (town) of Athens."



countries (*andar musalmānī*), on which they play. Their arms are shields, javelins (*zūpīn*), and lances. The Ṣaqlāb king is called S.mūt-swyt (or *Bsmūt-swyt*, بسموت سويت خوانند). The food of their kings is milk. They spend the winter in huts and underground dwellings (*kāz-hā va zīr-zamīn-hā*). They possess numerous castles and fortresses. They dress mostly in linen stuffs. They think it their religious duty (*vājīb andar dīn*) to serve the king. They possess two towns.

1. VĀBNĪT is the first town on the east of the Ṣaqlāb and some (of its inhabitants) resemble the Rūs.

2. KHURDĀB, a large town and the seat of the king.

#### § 44. Discourse on the Rūs Country and its Towns

East of this country are the mountains of the Pechenegs; south of it, the river Rūtā (روتا, ?); west of it, the Ṣaqlābs; north of it, the Uninhabited Lands of the North. This is a vast country, and the inhabitants are evil-tempered (*badh ṭab'*), intractable (*badh-rag va nā-sāzanda*), arrogant-looking (*shūkh-rūy*), quarrelsome (*sitīza-kār*), and warlike (*ḥarb-kun*). They war with all the infidels (*kāfir*) who live round them, and come out victorious (*bihtar āyand*). The king is called Rūs-khāqān. It is a country extremely favoured by nature with regard to all the necessities (of life). One group (*gurūh*) of them practise chivalry (*muruvvat*). They hold the physicians in respect (*ṭabībān rā buzurg dārand*). They annually pay the tithe on their booty and commercial profits (*ghanīmat va bāzurgānī*) to the government (*sulṭān*). Among them lives a group of Slavs who serve them. Out of 100 cubits (*gaz*) of cotton fabric (*karbās*), more or less, they sew trousers which they put on (*andar pūshand*), tucking them up above the knee (*bar sar-i zānū gird karda dārand*). They wear woollen bonnets (*ba sar bar nihādha dārand*) with tails let down behind their necks (*dum az pas-i qafā furū hishta*). They bury the dead with all their belongings (*bā har chi bā khwishtan dāradh*), | clothes, and 38a ornaments (*pīrāya*). They (also) place in the grave, with the dead, food and drinks (*ṭa'ām va sharāb*).

1. KŪYĀBA (? Kūbāba, &c.) is the town [land?] of the Rūs lying nearest to the Islamic lands. It is a pleasant place and is the seat of the king. It produces various furs (*mūy*) and valuable swords.

2. ṢĪLĀBA (? صلاه), a pleasant town from which, whenever peace reigns, they go for trade (? *bā bāzurgānī āyand*) to the districts of Bulghār.

3. URTĀB (? ارتاب), a town where strangers are killed whenever they visit it. It produces very valuable blades and swords which can be bent in two (*ū rā du tāh tavān kardan*), but as soon as the hand is removed they return to their former state.

### § 45. Discourse on the Country of the Inner Bulghārs<sup>1</sup>

East of it (live) the Mirvāt [so spelt]; south of it, is the Gurz Sea; west of it, the Ṣaqlābs; north of it, the Rūs mountain. It is a country without towns. The people are courageous, warlike, and terror-inspiring (*bā haybat*). Their nature resembles that of the Turks living near the Khazar country. The Inner Bulghārs are at war with all the Rūs, but carry on commerce (*bāzurgānī*<sup>2</sup> *kunand*) with all those who live around them (*aṣ gird-i vay*). They possess sheep, arms, and implements of war (*ālāt-i ḥarb*).

### § 46. Discourse on the Country of Mirvāt

East of it are some mountains, and some of the Khazarian Pechenegs (*Bachanāk-i Khazar*); south of it, some of the Khazarian Pechenegs and the Gurz Sea; west of it, some parts of the latter (*ba'ḍi daryā-yi Gurz*), and the Inner Bulghārs; north of it, some of the latter and the V.n.nd.r mountains. They are Christians and speak two languages: Arabic (*tāzī*!) and Rūmī (Byzantine Greek?). They dress like the Arabs. They are on friendly terms (*yārī kunand*) with the Turks and the Rūm. They own tents and felt-huts (*khudāvandān-i qubba va khargāh*).

### § 47. Discourse on the Country of the Khazarian Pechenegs

East of it is the mountain of the Khazars; south of it, are the Alāns; west of it, is the Gurz Sea; north of it, are the Mirvāt. These people were formerly a group of the Pecheneg Turks (*Turkān-i Bachanāki*); they came here, took the country by conquest (*ba ghalaba in nāhiyat bisitadand*), and settled down in it. They own felt-huts and tents (*khargāh va qubba*), cattle, and sheep. They wander within the same territory on the grazing grounds situated in the Khazar mountains. The Khazar slaves brought (*uftadh*) to the Islamic lands (*musalmānī*) are mostly from here.

These three (last) named countries are little favoured by nature (*kam-nī'mat*).

### § 48. Discourse on the Country of the Alāns (*al-Lān*) and its Towns

East and south of it is the Sarīr; west of it, Rūm; north of it, the Gurz Sea and the Khazarian Pechenegs. All this country is broken and mountainous (*andar shikastagī-hā va kūh-hā*) and is favoured by

<sup>1</sup> *Bulghār-i andarūni*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 159, l. 37.

nature. Their king is a Christian. They possess 1,000 large villages. Among them there are both Christians and idol-worshippers (*but-parast*). Some of the people are mountaineers and some plain-dwellers.

1. KĀSAK, a land (*shahr*) of the Alān on the coast of the Gurz Sea. It is a pleasant place and there are merchants in it.
2. KHAYLĀN (?), the town where the king's army is stationed.
3. DAR-I ALĀN ("the Alān gate"), a town situated like a fort on the summit of a mountain. Every day 1,000 men by turn mount guard on its wall.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 49. Discourse on the Sarīr Country and its Towns

East and south of it are the borders of Armenia; west of it, the Rūm limits; north of it, the Alān country. This is an extremely pleasant country consisting of mountains and plains. It is reported that in its mountains live flies, each as big as a partridge (*chand kabkī*). Every now and then (*har chand gāhī*) this king sends to the place where the flies dwell large quantities of carrion of slaughtered or dead cattle and of game (*shikāri-hā*) to be thrown there for their nourishment, for if they grow hungry, they come and devour every man (*mardum*) and animal | whom they may meet.

38 b

1. THE KING'S CASTLE (*Qal'a-yi malik*) is an extremely huge (*sakht 'aẓīm*) castle on the summit of a mountain. The seat (*nishast*) of the King is in that fort, and he is said to possess an extremely grand throne (*takhtī sakht 'aẓīm*) of red gold.
  2. KHANDĀN (Khaydān?) is the town serving as a residence (*nishast*) for the generals (*sipāh-sālārān*) of that king.
  3. R.BKH.S (*R.nj.s?*), M.SQ.Ṭ, two very prosperous towns.
- From both these countries (*nāhiyat*)<sup>2</sup> numerous slaves are brought to the Islamic countries.

#### § 50. Discourse on the Country of the Khazars<sup>3</sup>

East of it is a wall stretching between the mountains and the sea, and for the rest (*digar*) the sea and some parts of the river Ātil [sic]; south of it, the Sarīr; west of it, mountains; north of it, the B.rādhas and N.nd.r (\*V.n.nd.r). This is a very pleasant and prosperous country with great riches. From it come cows, sheep, and innumerable slaves.

1. ĀTIL, a town divided by the river Ātil. It is the capital of the Khazars and the seat of the king, who is called Ṭarkhān Khāqān and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 5, 18 c.<sup>2</sup> i.e., the Alān and the Sarīr.<sup>3</sup> *Nāhiyat-i Khazarān*.

is one of the descendants of Ansā (?). He lives with all his troops in the western half of the town which possesses a wall. In the other half live Muslims and idol-worshippers. This king has in this town seven governors (*hākīm*) belonging to seven different creeds. At any hour (*ba har sā'atī*) when a more important litigation arises (*chūn dāvarī buzurgtar uftadh*), they ask the king for instructions (*dastūrī*), or inform him of the decision (taken) on that litigation.

2. SAMANDAR, a town on the sea-coast. It is a pleasant place, with markets and merchants.

3. \*KHAMLĪKH (خمليخ?), \*BALANJAR (بلنجر), BAYDĀ, SĀVGHAR (?), KH.TL.GH, LKN, SWR, MS..Ṭ (*M.sq.ṭ?*), towns of the Khazars, all with strong walls. The well-being (*ni'mat*) and wealth of the king (*mlk*, \**malik* or \**mulk?*) of the Khazars are mostly from the maritime customs (*bāz-i daryā*).

4. ṬŪLĀS, LŪGH.R (?), two regions of (*aṣ*) the Khazar (country). The people are warlike and have great numbers of arms.

#### § 51. Discourse on the Country of Burtās [read: *Bulghār*!]

East and south of it are the Ghūz; west of it, the river Ātil; north of it, the Pecheneg country. The people are Muslims and have a particular (*khāṣṣa*) language. The king is called Mus (?). They own tents and felt-tents and are divided into three hordes (*gurūh*): \*BARCHŪLA (spelt: *B.hḍwla*), ISHKIL (Ashgil? &c.), and B.LKĀR. They are all at war with each other but if an enemy appears they become reconciled (*yār*).<sup>1</sup>

#### § 52. Discourse on the Country of B.rādhās

East of it is the river Ātil; south of it, the Khazars; west of it, the V.n.nd.r [sic]; north of it, the Turkish Pechenegs (*Bachanāk-i Turk*). They are a people professing the creed of the Ghūz. They own felt-huts, and burn their dead. They obey the Khazars (*andar ṭā'at-i Khazariyān*). Their wealth is in weasel-furs (*pūst-i dala*). They have two kings who keep separate from each other (*nayāmizand*).

#### § 53. Discourse on the Country of V.n.nd.r

East of it are the B.rādhās; south of it, the Khazars; west of it, mountains; north of it, the Majgharī. They are cowards (*badh-dīl*), weak, poor (*darvīsh*), and possess few goods (*khwāsta*).

<sup>1</sup> Immediately after this must follow wrongly placed between §§ 53 and 54. the paragraph on the Bulghār towns,

All these [countries] which we have enumerated are all countries, both of Islamic and Infidel dominions (*Musalmānī va Kāfirī*), situated in the northern part of the oecumene (*nāḥiyat-i shimāl az ābādhānī-yi jihān*).

{1. BULGHĀR, a town to which belongs a small province (*nāḥiyat*) on the bank of the river Ātil. The inhabitants are all Muslims. From (Bulghār) some 20,000 horsemen (*mard-i savār*) come out who fight against any number (*bā har chand kī buvad*) of infidel troops and have the upper hand. The place is extremely (*sakht va bisyār*) pleasant.

2. SUVĀR, a town near Bulghār. In it live fighters for the faith similar to (the people of) Bulghār.}†

#### § 54. Discourse on Southern Countries

| As regards southern countries, all their inhabitants are black 39 a (*ammā nāḥiyat-hā-yi junūb-rā mardumān-ash siyāh-and*) on account of the heat of their climate. Most of them (go) naked. In all their lands (*zamīn*) and provinces (*nawāḥī*) gold is found. They are people distant from the standards of humanity (*az i'tidāl-i mardī dūr*).

#### § 55. Discourse on the Country of Zangistān and its Towns

It is the largest (*mihtarīn*) country in the south. Some of its eastern regions adjoin Zābaj; its north adjoins the Great Sea; some of its western parts adjoin Abyssinia; on its south are mountains. Their soil is (full of) gold-mines. The country is situated opposite Pārs, Kirmān, and Sind. The people are full-faced (*tanām-šūrat*), with large bones, and curly hair (*ja'd-mū*). Their nature is that of wild animals (*dadhagān va bahā'im*). They are extremely black. Enmity reigns between them and the Abyssinians and Zābaj.

1. M.LJĀN (M.ljmān?), a town of the Zang on the sea-coast (*bar karāna-yi daryā*). It is the haunt of the merchants visiting those parts.

2. SUFĀLA, the seat of the Zang king.

3. ḤWFL (حوقل), the town which in this country is by far the richest in goods (*bisyār-khwāstatarīn*).

#### § 56. Discourse on the Country of Zābaj and its Towns

West and partly south of it is the country of Zangistān; north of it, the sea; for the rest<sup>2</sup> (it is contiguous with) the Southern

<sup>1</sup> The passage in { } belongs to § 51. a part) of the Southern Uninhabited

<sup>2</sup> Or: "and altogether (this country is Lands".

Uninhabited Lands (*va dīgar hama biyābān-i junūb-ast*). This country and its inhabitants are all like the Zang, but they are somewhat (*lakhtī*) nearer to humanity (*mardumī*). Their king is called M.nḥ.b (?). They constantly war with Zangistān. In the mountains of Zābaj grow camphor-trees, and snakes are found which are said to swallow at a gulp (*ba yak bār*) men, buffaloes, and elephants. A few Muslims and (some) merchants are found in it.

1. M.NJ.RĪ, a town on the sea-coast, possessing much gold.
2. M.LḤ.MĀN (?), the king's residence. (But) these Zābaj possess on the sea a great island and in summer their king resides there.

### § 57. Discourse on the Country of Abyssinia and its Towns

East of it live some Zang; south and west of it is a desert; north of it lie the sea and some parts of the Barbarī Gulf. (The inhabitants of) this (country) have faces of the average size (*bā i'tidāl-i šūrat*).<sup>1</sup> The people are black and lazy, but with high aspirations (*bā himmat-i buzurg-and*), and obedient (*farmān bardār*) to their king. The merchants of 'Omān, Ḥijāz, and Baḥrayn come here.

1. RĀSUN (\**Ḥaramī*), a town on the sea-coast and the king's residence.
2. S.WĀR, the town where the army of the Abyssinian king is stationed.
3. RYN (\**Zayla'*), the town where the commander-in-chief resides with (his) army. In this province gold is abundant.

### § 58. Discourse on the Country of Buja

East, south, and west of it is the desert . . . and north of it is that desert which lies between Abyssinia, Buja, Nubia, and the sea.<sup>2</sup> . . . He does not mix with his people except by necessity. And in their soil . . . huge, and the residence of the king of Buja is there. . . .

### [§ 59. Discourse on the Country of Nubia]

39 b . . . is the south, and north of it is the country . . . sociable and moderate . . . called Kābīl<sup>3</sup> and they . . . | a place of Raml al-Ma'dan is 20 farsangs.

TARĪ (Ṭahī?), a small province lying in the desert between the limits of Nubia and the Sūdān<sup>4</sup>; in it lie two remote [?] monasteries belonging to the Christians (*du ṣauma'a-st b'd* [*\*ba'id*?]<sup>5</sup> *az ān-i tarsāyān*). It is reported that in them (*andar vay*) live 12,000 monks

<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the Sudanese, cf. § 60.

<sup>2</sup> The edge of the fol. 39 is torn and the remaining words of the lines 20-3 make no complete sense.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 6, 63.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Appendix B.

<sup>5</sup> Neither *bu'd* nor *ba'd* nor *bi-'add* make any good sense.

(*mard-i rāhib*), and whenever one of them disappears (*kam shavadh*) from Nubia, one of the Christians of Upper Egypt (*Ṣa'id*) goes there.

### § 60. Discourse on Sūdān and its Towns

Its east and south are contiguous with the Southern Uninhabited Lands (*ba biyābān-i junūb bāz dāradh*); west of it is the Western Ocean; north of it is the desert separating the Sudanese (*ishān*) from Maghrib. This is an extremely vast country and (its area) is said to be 700 farsangs by 700 farsangs. It is the country from which eunuchs (*khādīmān*) mostly come. Their soil is entirely auriferous (*hama ma'dan-i zar*). Their king is the best man from among these negroes and they call the king Rā'ī b. Rā'ī (?)<sup>1</sup> and he pretends during each three days to drink only three cups of wine (*va chinān numāyadh ki man ba-har si rūz si qadah nabīdh khuram, va bas*). From Sūdān to Egypt is a camel ride of 80 days. On that road there is only one place with water and grass, that is all (*va dīgar hich nīst*). The people are cowards (*badh-dīl*), and covetous in business. The upper part of their body is short, and the lower part long. They are slender (*bārīk-tan*), thick-lipped (*siṭabr-lab*), long-fingered, and large-faced (*buzurg-šūrat*). Most of them go about naked. Egyptian merchants carry there salt, glass (*ābgīna*), and lead (*arzīz*), and sell them for the same weight in gold (*ba hamsang-i zar*). A group of them wanders in this region of theirs, camping at the places where they find more gold ore (*rag-i zar*). In the southern parts there is no more populous (*bisṣār-mardumtar*) country than this. The merchants steal their children and bring them (with them). Then they castrate (*khiṣṭ*) them, import them into Egypt, and sell them. Among themselves there are people who steal each other's children and sell them to the merchants when the latter arrive.

1. Ḥ.RĀN, a large town and the residence of the kings. In it men and women go dressed, but children remain naked until they have got beards (*rīsh bar-ārānd*). They are the most sociable people in this country.

2. KH.FĀN, RYN, two boroughs near the frontier of Maghrib, and (their inhabitants) possess much gold (*va īn mardumānī bisṣār-zar-and*).

3. M.QYS (?), a large town and the residence of the commander-in-chief of that king.

4. LĀBA, a country (*shahr*) in the neighbourhood (*nazdīktar*) of the limits of Nubia. The people are thieves (*duzd*), poor (*darvīsh*), naked, and the most despicable (*madhmūm*) of all this country.

<sup>1</sup> راعی خوانند \*malik [rā] rā'ī bin (?) rā'ī? khwānand?

§ 61. Epilogue<sup>1</sup> of the book

The inhabited (*ābādhān*) countries of the world are those [which we have enumerated] . . . in the Islamic and Infidel countries . . . in eastern, western, northern, and southern regions. After having looked up in all the books . . . we have included (*bāz āvardīm*) in this book, but we have rejected its (their?) superfluities (*hashwiyat*?). As regards the inhabited part of the world . . . which (has been the subject of) astronomical observations (*raṣad*) . . . and it was not very much. Therefore each town [which Ptolemy??] . . . and other astronomers who were after him. . . .

[*Colophon*] . . . the poor ʿAbd al-Qayyūm ibn al-Ḥusain ibn ʿAlī al-Fārisī . . . in the year 656, and praises be to God, Lord of the Worlds.

<sup>1</sup> *Andar khatmat* (?).



PART III

COMMENTARY ON THE  
TRANSLATION OF THE  
*ḤUDŪD AL-‘ĀLAM*

*By* V. MINORSKY

## DATES OF THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES

I. Khurdādhbih	first draft		232/846
	second „		272/885
Sulaymān	written down		237/851
	completed by Abū Zayd		304/916
Ya'qūbī, <i>Geography</i>			278/891
Jayhānī	became vazīr		302/914
I. Faqīh	[used Jayhānī]	circa(?)	290/903
I. Rusta		circa or after	300/912
Balkhī	wrote	circa	308/920
Battānī	died		317/929
Qudāma, <i>Kitāb al-kharāj</i>		after	316/928
Iṣṭakhrī, <i>Kitāb al-masālik</i>	written	circa	318-21/930-3
	published	circa	340/951
Mas'ūdī, <i>Murūj al-dhahab</i>			332/943
„ <i>al-Tanbīh</i>			345/956
Hamdānī	died		334/945
I. Ḥauqal		circa	367/977
Ḥudūd al-'Ālam	begun		372/982
Maqdisī, <i>Aḥsan al-taqāsīm</i>	text		375/985
	additions		387/997
Bīrūnī, <i>Chronology</i>			390/1000
„ <i>India</i>		circa	421/1030
„ <i>Canon</i>		circa	421/1030
„ <i>al-Tafhīm</i>		circa	421/1030
Gardīzī, <i>Zayn al-akhbār</i>			442/1050
Bakrī	died		487/1094
Kāshgharī, <i>Dīwān-l-al-Turk</i>			466/1074
		[or	470/1077]
Idrīsī, <i>Nuḥat al-mushtāq</i>			548/1154
'Aufī, <i>Ḥawāmī' al-ḥikāyāt</i>		before	633/1236
I. Sa'id	lived		610-85/1214-86
Abul-Fidā, <i>Taqwīm al-buldān</i>			721/1321

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following list of abbreviations comprises only the main works quoted throughout the commentary. Some of the books specially consulted for particular subjects will be referred to under the respective chapters, though even such indications must certainly not be taken for an exhaustive "bibliography" of the given subject. A tentative list of authorities on eastern Europe is prefixed to § 43.

- Abul-Fidā**—*Taqwīm al-buldān*, Arabic text ed. by Reinaud and de Slane, Paris, 1840. Cf. also Reinaud, *Introduction*.
- Bakrī**—al-Bakrī in Baron Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bakrī*, &c., SPb., 1878 [the quotation from Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb reprinted as annex to F. Westberg, *Kommentariy na zapisku Ibrahima*, SPb., 1903]. See notes §§ 40, 43-53.
- Barthold, Christentum**—Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien*, Leipzig, 1901 [Russian original in *ZVO*, viii (1893), 1-39].
- Barthold, Ibn-Sa'id**—Barthold, *Geografiya Ibn Sa'ida*, in *Festschrift zu Ehren D. Chwolson*, Berlin, 1898.
- Barthold, Irrigation**—Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, SPb., 1914 ("History of Irrigation in Turkestan").
- Barthold, Obzor**—Barthold, *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana*, SPb., 1903 [Persian translation by Sardādvār, Tehrān, 1308/1930].
- Barthold, Preface**—Barthold's *Preface* to the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, v.s., pp. 1-44.
- Barthold, Report**—Barthold, *Otchot o poyezdke v Sredn'uyu Aziyu*, 1893-4, SPb., 1897 ("Report on a Scientific Mission to Central Asia in 1893-4"), in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, VIII<sup>e</sup> série, tome i, No. 4.
- Barthold, Semirechye**—Barthold, *Ocherk istorii Semirechya*, in *Pam'atnaya knizhka oblastnogo statisticheskogo Komiteta Semirech. oblasti na 1898*, tome ii, Verniy, 1898.
- Barthold, Turkestan**—Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, GMS, 1928 [Russian original: *Turkestan v epokhu Mongolskago nashestviya*, SPb., 1900, consists of 2 volumes: I (selection of illustrative texts in Oriental languages) and II (Russian text); English edition gives the translation only of II with cross-references to the pages of the original].
- Barthold, Vorlesungen**—Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* [original in Turkish], deutsche Bearbeitung von Th. Menzel, published in *Die Welt des Islams* (1932-5) and separately 1935.
- Battānī**—*Al-Battānī sive Albatēnī Opus Astronomicum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, in *Pubblicazioni del real osservatorio di Brera in Milano*, N. xl, Pars I (versio capitum), 1903; Pars II (versio tabularum), 1907; Pars III (textus arab.), 1899.
- Bayhaqī**—Abul-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusain Bayhaqī, *History of Sulṭān Mas'ūd*, ed. Morley, Calcutta, 1862 [a better lithographed edition, Tehrān, 1295 A.H.].

- BGA—*Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje.
- Birūnī, Canon—al-Bayrūnī, *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 1997, ff. 97-103 (see also Sprenger). [Cf. Appendix B.]
- Birūnī, Taffhim—al-Bayrūnī, *Kitāb al-taffhim li-awwāl šinā'at al-tanjīm* [written in 470/1029], reproduced from Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8349, the translation . . . by R. Ramsay Wright, London, 1934.
- Chavannes, Documents—E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, SPb., 1903 (published as vol. vi of *Sbornik trudov Orkhonskoy ekspeditsii*).
- Cœdès—G. Cœdès, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême Orient depuis le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J. C. jusqu'au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1910.
- Dietrich—K. Dietrich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde* (5-15. Jhd.), published as vol. v of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Erd- und Kulturkunde*, Leipzig, 1912 (2 vols.).
- EI—*Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1913 (in progress).
- Elliot-Dowson—Elliot-Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, i-viii, 1867-77.
- Fārs-nāma—*The Fārs-nāma of Ibnu'l Balkhī*, ed. by Le Strange and Nicholson, GMS, 1921.
- Ferrand, Relations—Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême Orient du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1913-14, 2 vols.
- Gardīzī—Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār* (geographical chapters) in Barthold, *Report*, pp. 78-103 (Persian text), pp. 103-47 (translation).
- Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāzīm—Gardīzī, *Kitāb Zaynu'l-Akhbār* composed by Abū Sa'īd 'Abdu'l-Hayy b. aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk [\*Zuhāk?] b. Maḥmūd Gardīzī, about 440 A.H., edited by Muḥammad Nāzīm, Berlin (İrānschāhr), 1928.
- GMS—Gibb Memorial Series.
- H.-'Ā.—*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*.
- Honigmann, Ostgrenze—E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Bruxelles, 1935 (published as vol. iii of A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*), Maps.
- Hsüan-Tsang, Life (Beal)—*The Life of Hsüen-Tsang*, by S. Beal, London, 1911.
- Hsüan-Tsang, Life (Julien)—*Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Tsang*, tr. du chinois par S. Julien, Paris, 1863.
- Hsüan-Tsang, Si-yu-ki (Beal)—*Buddhist Records of the Western World* tr. by S. Beal, London, 1884.
- Hsüan-Tsang, Si-yu-ki (Julien)—*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales par Hiouen-Tsang*, traduits par S. Julien, Paris, 1857-8.
- Hsüan-Tsang (Watters)—Th. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629-645 A.D.* Oriental Transl. Fund, N.S., xiv, London, 1904.
- Idrīsī—*Géographie d'Edrisi*, traduite de l'arabe par A. Jaubert, 2 vols., Paris, 1836-40.
- Idrīsī, Tallgren—Idrīsī, *La Finlande et les autres pays baltiques orientaux* (*Géographie*, vii, 4), édition critique par O. J. Tallgren-Tuulio et A. M. Tallgren, Helsingfors, 1930 (Societas Orientalis Fennica, *Studia Orientalia*, iii).
- I.H.—Ibn Hauqal, BGA, ii.
- I.Kh.—Ibn Khurdādhbih, BGA, v.

- I.R.—Ibn Rusta, *BGA*, vii.
- Iṣṭ.—Iṣṭakhri, *BGA*, i.
- Kāshgharī—Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Diwān lughat al-Turk*, Istanbul, 1333-5 (written in 466/1074, or according to A. Zeki Validi in 470/1077). The map re-edited and explained by K. Miller, *Mappae*, V, 1931, pp. 142-8, and A. Herrmann, *Die älteste türkische Weltkarte in Imago mundi* 1935, pp. 21-8.
- Kāshgharī-Brockelmann—Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, Budapest, 1928.
- Khuwārizmī—Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. H. von Mżik, Leipzig, 1926 (Bibliothek arabischer Historiker und Geographen, iii). Cf. Nallino.
- Le Strange, *The Lands*—Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905 (reprinted 1930).
- Maq.—Maqdisī [or Muqaddasī], *BGA*, iii.
- Marquart, *Arktische Länder*—Markwart, *Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen (uralischen) Länder*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, Dec. 1924, IV, 3-4, pp. 261-334.
- Marquart, *Benin*—Marquart, *Die Benin Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden*, Leiden, 1913.
- Marquart, *Catalogue*—Marquart, *A Catalogue of the Principal Capitals of Ērānšahr*, Rome, 1931.
- Marquart, *Ērānšahr*—Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Berlin, 1901.
- Marquart, *Komanen*—Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, Berlin, 1914.
- Marquart, *Streifzüge*—Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903.
- Marquart, *Wehrot*—Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang* (written towards 1903, printed by Brill, Leiden, 1907, but still unpublished).
- Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*—Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861.
- Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*—Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, *BGA*, viii.
- Miller, *Mappae*—Konrad Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, 6 vols., Stuttgart 1926-31.
- Mohīt—[Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs], *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels Mohīt*, übersetzt von Dr. M. Bittner, mit einer Einleitung, sowie mit 30 Tafeln versehen von Dr. W. Tomaschek, Wien, 1897.
- Mżik, *Beiträge*—*Beiträge zur historischen Geographie herausgegeben von H. von Mżik*, Leipzig and Wien, 1929.
- Mżik, *Parageogr. Elemente*—H. von Mżik, *Parageographische Elemente in den Berichten der arabischen Geographen über Südostasien*, in Mżik, *Beiträge*, pp. 172-202.
- Nallino—C. A. Nallino, *Al-Huwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo in Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, serie v, memorie della classe di scienze morali, vol. ii, pp. 4-53.
- Qudāma—Qudāma, *BGA*, vi.
- Ramsay, *Asia Minor*—W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Royal Geogr. Society, Supplementary Papers, iv, 1890.

- Reinaud, Introduction**—Reinaud, G. A., *La Géographie d'Aboufêda*, vol. i, Introduction générale à la géographie des orientaux, Paris, 1848.
- Reinaud, Relation des voyages**. See SULAYMÂN.
- Sarton, Introduction**—G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. 1-3, Baltimore, 1927-31, published for the Carnegie Institution of Washington.
- Schwarz, Iran**—P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach d. arabischen Geographen*, i, Leipzig, 1896-1926, ii—in progress (cf. § 36).
- Sprenger, Postrouten**—Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iii/3, 1864 (with maps utilizing, among other sources, Bîrûnî's *Canon*).
- Sulaymân**—Sulaymân the Merchant, *Silsilat al-tawārîkh* (written down in A.D. 851, completed by Abū Zayd Ḥasan towards A.D. 916), Arabic text ed. by Langlès with commentary by Reinaud, *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et la Chine*, Paris, 1845, new translation by Ferrand, *Voyages du marchand arabe Suleyman*, Paris, 1922. [On Ferrand's translation see notes by Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, xxi, 1922, pp. 399-413.]
- Tomaschek, Nearch**—W. Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung der Küstenfahrt Nearchs*, in *Sitzungsber. d. Akademie in Wien*, cxxi, No. viii, Wien, 1890.
- Toumansky**—A. Toumansky, *Novootkritiy pers. geograf X stoletiya i izvestiya yego o Slav'anakh i Rusakh*, in *Zap.*, x, 1896, pp. 121-37.
- Ya'qūbī**—Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, BGA, vii.
- Ya'qūbī, Historiae**—Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, Leiden, 1883.
- Zap.**—*Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva* (continued as *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov* and *Zapiski instituta vostokovedeniya*).

*Note.* My use of brackets may appear not strictly consistent. In principle, and especially in the translation of the *H.-'Ā.*, simple brackets ( ) are used for additions more or less understood in the text, whereas in square brackets [ ] are given additional explanations not directly belonging to the text. In the notes, square brackets are used for the passages and corrections added after the basic text was printed.

## § 1. Prefatory

THE brevity and simplicity of the style of this Preface are very characteristic. In the whole of the book only one quotation from the Qor'ān is to be found (§ 36, 18.) and only one short phrase in Arabic (§ 39, 6.); apart from the author's patron no other king's name (the caliph's not excepted) is accompanied by any of the usual bombastic epithets.

### *The Farīghūnids*

1. THE AUTHOR'S PATRON. Our book is dedicated to Abul-Hārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, ruler of Gūzgānān (cf. § 23, 26.). The author goes no further in his patron's genealogy and even omits to mention anywhere the name of Farīghūn, usually considered as the eponym of the dynasty to which Abul-Hārith belonged.

2. THE SOURCES ON THE FARĪGHŪNIDS. The dynasty is known only by occasional references, chiefly in 'Utbī, Arabic text edited by Manīnī, Cairo, 1286/1869 [in square brackets Persian translation of 602/1205 by Jurbādhaqānī, ed. Tehrān, 1272/1857]: i, 166-7 [114], 184 [131], 209 [147], 275 [189], 277 [191], 316 [213], 343 [232], ii, 84 [298], 98 [304], 101-5 [305-6], 236 [397], and also in Narshakhī, ed. Schefer, p. 85; Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 148, 265; Ibn Hauqal, pp. 322-3; Muqaddasī, p. 295; Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāzim, pp. 48, 56, 74; Bayhaqī, ed. Morley, p. 125; *Qābūs-nāma*, ch. xxv, ed. Sa'id Nafīsī Tehrān 1312/1933, p. 90; 'Aufī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī, pp. 25, 294; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, p. 69 (383 H.), 103 (389 H.), 159 (401 H.); Rashīd al-dīn, *Ḥāmi' al-tawārīkh* (the passage reproducing almost verbatim Jurbādhaqānī's Persian translation of 'Utbī is given in Touman-sky's article, *v.i.*, pp. 128-9); Münejjim-bashī, *Sahā'if al-akhbār*, ii, p. 210 (translated in Sachau, *v.i.*). On the Farīghūnids cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, index, and especially Barthold, *Preface*, p. 6; Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 80; Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis d. muhamm. Dynastien*, 1923, p. 5 (after Münejjim-bashī); Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, p. 205 (*v.s.*, p. 6); M. Nāzim, *Sultān Maḥmūd*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 177-8, and Sa'id Nafīsī in his edition of the *Qābūs-nāma*, pp. 255-9. [*Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, Tehrān, 1314.]

3. THE NAME FARĪGHŪN. The eponym's name is clearly associated with the lore of the Oxus basin. Nāsir-i Khusrau in his *Dīwān*, Tehrān, 1307, pp. 329<sup>18</sup>, 355<sup>10</sup>, and 474<sup>21</sup> thrice mentions a فریغون (\*Farīghūn) referring to some tyrant who may be identical with the king of Khwārazm Afrīgh quoted in Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 35 (transl. 41). This ruler was supposed to have reigned nine generations before the Prophet Muḥammad (cf. note to § 26, 21.) and "his name was considered a bad omen like that of Yazdagird the Wicked with the Persians". This would suit perfectly the use of the name in N. Khusrau. The correct form of the name seems to be افریغ (Afrīgh, or Ifrīgh) which is only a parallel form of

Farīgh,<sup>1</sup> while the final *-ūn* is probably only a suffix, of which the sense will become clearer when we learn more about the former Iranian language of Khwārazm.<sup>2</sup> In spite of Bīrūnī and Nāṣir-i-Khusrau's characterization of Farīgh/Farīghūn, the name Afrīghūn was popular in Transoxiana: a traditionalist who lived about 438/1046-7 bore the name of *أفریغون بن محمد الجویقی السفنی*.<sup>3</sup> [As another example of a name, repulsive in tradition but used in Eastern Iran, may be mentioned Zahāk, or Zuhāk (Iran. *azdahāk*), in Arabic *garb* ضحاک: the kings of Ghūr considered themselves descendants of the famous tyrant, see *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, Raverty's transl., p. 302, and ضحاک was the name of the historian Gardizi's father, more probably called so in view of local associations than in imitation of the purely Arabic ضحاک Dahhāk, though the latter was known among the Khārijites, § 10, 47.]

4. THE MA'MŪNIDS WRONGLY CALLED FARĪGHŪNIDS. It is noteworthy that Ghaffārī, in his *Jahān-ārā*, written about 972/1564-5 (Br. Mus., Or. 141, f. 86a) under *salāṭīn-i āl-i Farīghūn ki mulaqqab ba Khwārazmshāh būdand* speaks of the short-lived Khwārazmian dynasty founded by the amīr Abul-'Abbās Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad, who in A.D. 996 usurped the power of the ancient Khwārazmshāhs (descendants of Afrīgh). Ghaffārī's blunder passed into Browne's *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii. 230, 237, but was denounced by Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī in his edition of the *Chahār maqāla*, p. 243. The relationship of the Ma'mūnids, enemies of the descendants of Afrīgh, and the Farīghūnids of Gūzgānān is not warranted by any facts, and only the striking likeness of the names *Afrīgh* and *Farīghūn* (v.s.) must have partly accounted for Ghaffārī's mistake.

5. AFRĪDHŪN, AS THE ANCESTOR OF THE FARĪGHŪNIDS. The only indication found in our source concerning the origins of the Farīghūnids is that they were descended from Afrīdhūn, § 23, 46. Toumansky has already made a suggestion for the emendation of *أفریدون* into *أفریغون Afrīghūn*, and in favour of this hypothesis one could perhaps cite § 9, where the name of the emperor of China's ancestor is spelt *Farīdhūn*, not *Afrīdhūn*. However, the fact is that *Afrīdhūn* is clearly written in our text, and as a matter of fact numerous Turanian kings—the emperor of China making no exception—could claim as their eponym Farīdhūn's son Tūr (see I. Kh., 16, cf. Minorsky, *Tūrān* in *EI.*), and Gūzgān lay right on the frontier between Īrān and Tūrān. A more specious consideration would be that if the Farīghūnids (v.s.) were to be connected with the Khwārazmian Afrīgh, they would probably have proclaimed as their ancestor the Kayānid Siyāvush (cf. Bīrūnī, *l.c.*) rather than the Pīshdādian Farīdhūn. However, in the popular opinion the

<sup>1</sup> *أفریغ* figures in Sachau's *Zur Gesch. v. Khwārazm*, 1873. The form *أفریغ*, with the initial long *ā*, admitted into Sachau's edition of the *Chronology*, was most probably given preference in order to suit the editor's personal hypothesis on the etymology of the name ["Shedder of water"?], cf. Sachau in *ZDMG*, 1874,

xxviii, 448-52.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Zaki Validi, "Hwārezmische Sätze in einem arabischen *fiqh*-Werke", in *Islamica*, iii, 1922, pp. 190-213.

<sup>3</sup> See the *History of Samarqand*, Bib. Nat., ms. arabe 6284, f. 18b [I owe the reference to the kindness of Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī].

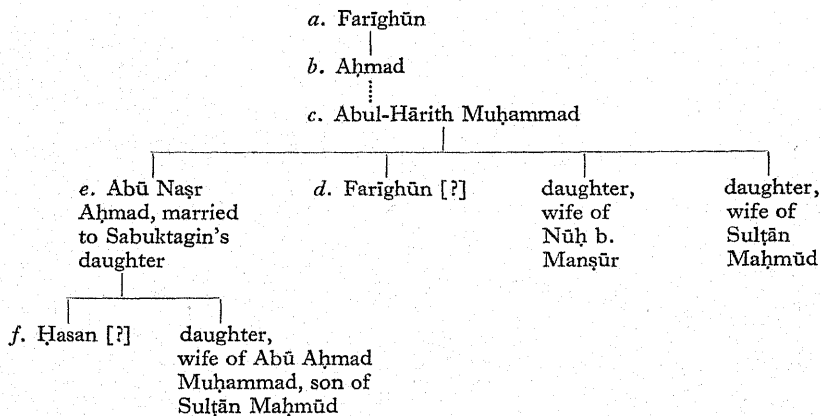


Kayānids were certainly connected with the Pīshdādians; cf. Christensen, *Les Kayānides*, Copenhagen, 1932, p. 70.

6. THE ORIGINS OF THE FARĪGHŪNIDS. As Barthold has noticed, *v.s.*, p. 6, we know nothing on the connexion of our Farīghūnids (4th/10th cent.) with the earlier rulers of Gūzgānān whom I. Kh., p. 40, calls Gūzgān-khudāh and on whom Tabarī, ii, 1206, 1569, 1609-11, 1694, gives some details under the years 90, 119, and 120 A.H. Had such a connexion existed, the 10th-11th-cent. writers would hardly have failed to notice it. But our chief source 'Utbi, very favourably disposed to the Farīghūnids, writes only, ii, 101-2: "The province of Gūzgān belonged to the Farīghūn family in the days of the Sāmānids (*qad kānat wilāyat al-jūzjān li-ālī Farīghūn ayyāma Sāmān*) and they (*i.e.* the Farīghūnids) inherited it from father to son (*kābir 'an kābir*) and bequeathed it from the first to the last (of them)." This text does not suggest the idea that our family had been known previously to the rise of the Sāmānids (3rd/9th cent.).

THE CHART OF THE FARĪGHŪNIDS. The number of the ruling members of the family was certainly very limited. 'Utbi, ii, 101-5, mentions by name only two Farīghūnids, Abul-Hārith and Abū Naṣr, whereas Gardizī, p. 48, gives the genealogy of the former as Abul-Hārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Farīghūn.

The genealogical tree of the family may be reconstructed as follows:



The name of *a. FARĪGHŪN* is known to us only from the patronymic of his son (*v.i.*) whom Narshakhī and Gardizī call Aḥmad ibn Farīghūn, and the *Qābūs-nāma*: Aḥmad-i Farīghūn. It is probable that in this case Farīghūn was a definite person, though in later times, and with regard to other persons, the appellation "ibn Farīghūn" could be used in the general sense of "Farīghūnid" and did not necessarily mean "son of a definite Farīghūn". In view of 'Utbi, ii, 101, this Farīghūn may have lived under the earlier Sāmānids in the 3rd/9th cent. and the Rabāṭ Afrīghūn, *v.s.*, p. 6, may have been associated with his activities.

*b.* The amīr AḤMAD B. FARĪGHŪN is mentioned for the first time towards

287/900 as a prince of some importance. During the struggle of the Sāmānid Ismā'il with the Šaffārid 'Amr b. Layth, he was unwilling to help Ismā'il, and was treated by 'Amr on terms of equality not only with the ruler of Balkh but even with Ismā'il, see Narshakhī, p. 85, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 224 [differently in *T.-Sistān*, p. 251]. In a story of the *Qābūs-nāma*, ch. xxv, p. 90, Aḥmad-i Farīghūn appears as the owner of a large herd of mares (who foaled to him 1,000 blue-eyed colts in one day).

c. ABUL-ḤĀRITH MUḤAMMAD b. AḤMAD is the name transmitted to us in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* and Gardīzī. However, 'Utbī, i, 166 (Persian translation p. 114 incomplete) and ii, 101 (Persian translation pp. 305-6) speaks of Abul-Ḥārith Aḥmad [sic] b. Muḥammad who was father of Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [sic]. And the latter form: Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Farīghūnī, also occurs *l.c.* ii, 84. There is therefore no doubt that Marquart and Barthold are right in accepting the name of Abul-Ḥārith as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad and of his son as Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, whereas Muḥammad Nāẓim is wrong in interpolating an "Abul-Ḥārith Aḥmad" between our c. Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad and d. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad, for such a person is non-existent. 'Utbī's confusion may be accounted for by the fact that two names follow each other closely in his text i, 166-7: the above-mentioned "Abul-Ḥārith Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Farīghūnī" and Abul-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. Their names were so similar that the Persian translator wrongly added to the latter the qualification "al-Farīghūnī" which is an evident mistake (*v.i.*). In any case the confusion must have existed in the early manuscripts of 'Utbī's work, for the same *quid pro quo* is found in Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 69 and 159, who followed 'Utbī.

Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad's reign marks the heyday of the Farīghūnid power. The earliest mention of Abul-Ḥārith "b. Farīghūn" (*v.s.*) is found in Iṣṭī, 142, whose work, or its revision, dates probably from 340/951; cf. Barthold, *Preface*, pp. 6 and 19. Some time after 365/976 Abul-Ḥārith gave his daughter to the youthful Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr, Gardīzī, 48. In 372/982-4 the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* was dedicated to him. After 380/990, 'Utbī, i, 165-6, he was requested by Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr to march against the rebellious amīr Fā'iḳ, but was defeated by the latter; cf. Ibn al-Athīr under 383 H. In 383/993 Nūḥ on his way to Khorāsān arrived at Gūzgān and was joined by Abul-Ḥārith al-Farīghūnī, 'Utbī, i, 184; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 261. In 385/995 during the struggle of Sabuktagin with Fā'iḳ, the former sent for Abul-Ḥārith al-Farīghūnī, 'Utbī, i, 209, Gardīzī, 56; cf. Barthold, *ibid.* 262. Probably about that time of *rapprochement* with Sabuktagin Abul-Ḥārith gave his daughter to Maḥmūd b. Sabuktagin and took a daughter of Sabuktagin's for his son Abū Naṣr, 'Utbī, ii, 101. When Sabuktagin died (387/997) Abul-Ḥārith first mediated between Maḥmūd and his brother Ismā'il, 'Utbī, i, 275, and then communicated with Maḥmūd when the latter marched on Ghazna, *ibid.* i, 277. Finally, about 389/999, Maḥmūd entrusted the captive Ismā'il to Abul-Ḥārith's care, *ibid.* i, 316; cf. Barthold, *ibid.* 271. This is the last mention of Abul-Ḥārith.

d. In 394 or 395 (A.D. 1004-5) 'Utbi, i, 343, mentions some FARĪGHŪN B. MUḤAMMAD who with 40 generals (*qā'id*) was dispatched by Maḥmūd from Balkh against the last Sāmānid Muntaṣir. The latter at that time was roaming in the region of Andkhudh (*v.i.*, § 23, 61.) and Pul-i Zāghūl (near Marwarrūdḥ), and it is likely, therefore, that this Farīghūn belonged to the Farīghūnid family and was sent as a person acquainted with the territory of Gūzgānān. We can only suppose that he was a son of Abul-Hārith Muḥammad, but we have no means by which to ascertain whether his appearance towards 1004-5 indicates some sort of interregnum between Abul-Hārith and Abū Naṣr.

e. ABŪ NAṢR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD is mentioned for the first time as "wālī of Gūzgānān" in 398/January 1008 when in the battle near the bridge of Charkhiyān in which the Qara-Khānids were defeated, he, together with Maḥmūd's brother, was in command of the centre of Maḥmūd's army, 'Utbi, ii, 84; cf. Gardīzī, 69 and Barthold, *Turkestan*, 273. In 399/1009 he accompanied Maḥmūd when the latter entered the fortress of Bhīm Nagar in India, 'Utbi, ii, 95. He died in 401/1010-1, *ibid.* ii, 102, and Ibn al-Athīr *sub* 401 H.

f. Bayhaqī, p. 125, describing under 401 the times when the Ghaznavid princes Mas'ūd and Muḥammad, both 14 years old, were living in Zamīn-dāvar while their father Maḥmūd was warring in Ghūr, mentions as their companion "ḤASAN, son of amīr Farīghūn, amīr of Gūzgānān". We know that exactly in 401 A.H. the last known Farīghūnid ruler died, and we may imagine that Ḥasan was the youthful candidate to the throne of Gūzgānān kept, during his minority, with his Ghaznavid cousins. Whose son was this Ḥasan? If we keep literally to Bayhaqī's text: حسن . . . پسر امیر فریغون امیر کوزگانان Ḥasan's father may have been d. Farīghūn b. Muḥammad. But probably "amīr Farīghūn" stands here only for "Farīghūnid ruler", in which case Ḥasan may have been the son of the last Farīghūnid amīr Abū Naṣr Aḥmad. On the other hand, we know that Sulṭān Maḥmūd having married his son Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad to a daughter of the amīr Abū Naṣr al-Farīghūnī gave him Gūzgān as a fief ('*aqada lahu 'ala a'māl al-ḥūzjān*) and appointed Abū Muḥammad [b.] Ḥasan b. Mihrān to act as his adviser. The young prince inaugurated in Gūzgān a new era (*wa baraza ilayhā burūs al-sayf min yad al-ṣāqil*), and displayed much solicitude for the population's welfare, 'Utbi, ii, 230. Muḥammad's marriage with the Farīghūnid princess is also confirmed in the *Lubāb al-albāb*, i, 25 and 294. According to Gardīzī, p. 74, the transformation of Gūzgān into a Ghaznavid fief took place in 408/1017-18 and Nāṣir-i Khusrau in his *Divān*, ed. Tehrān, 1307, refers to the event in the following verse, p. 8<sub>18</sub>:

کجاست آنکه فریغونان ز هیت او  
ز دست خویش بدادند کوزگانانرا

"Where is he [*i.e.* Maḥmūd] for fear of whom the Farīghūnids let slip Gūzgān from their hands?"

We have enumerated all the known members of the Farīghūn family, and it remains to us only to mention the prince of Chaghāniyān (*v.i.*, § 25, 27.) Abul-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who has been wrongly supposed to be a Farīghūnid; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 254, and more decisively Sa'id Nafīsī, *o.c.*, p. 258. The appellation "Farīghūnī" has been only by mistake appended to the name of this Abul-Muẓaffar in the Persian translation of 'Utbi, p. 114, and is absent in the Arabic original, i, 167. This Abul-Muẓaffar was dispossessed by his relative Ṭāhir b. Faḍl, but evidently was reinstated after the latter's death. 'Utbi, i, 165, mentions these events some time after 380/990, but according to the *Lubāb al-albāb*, pp. 27-9, Ṭāhir died in 377/987; cf. Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī's notes in the *Chahār-maqāla*, pp. 163-6.

On the possessions of the Farīghūnids see § 23, 46.-66. and Barthold's *Preface*, pp. 5-6.

WRITERS PATRONIZED BY THE FARĪGHŪNIDS. Among the men of letters patronized by the Farīghūnids 'Utbi, ii, 102-5, names Abul-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Ḥusain Badi' al-zamān Hamadhānī (the poem quoted will be found in the latter's *Dīwān*, Cairo, 1321, p. 33) and the poet Abul-Faṭḥ Bustī. Mūnejjim-bashī adds to their number Khuwārizmī, "author of the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*".<sup>1</sup> Finally our *Hudūd al-'Ālam* is a tangible proof of Abul Ḥārith Muḥammad's literary and scientific tastes.<sup>2</sup>

## § 2. Cosmographic

1. Entirely as in I.R., 8, 12, who quotes Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Farghānī, author of the *Kitāb fil-harakāt al-samāwiya*, who was still alive in A.D. 861; see Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 567.

2. According to I. Kh., 5, the invisible (الذي تحت) "antipodal") part of the world is devoid of inhabitants.

<sup>1</sup> The connexion of the author of the *Mafātīḥ* with the Farīghūnids is probable, as he dedicated his book to the wazīr of the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Manṣūr [976-97] who was son-in-law of the Farīghūnid Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad. However, the name of the author of the *Mafātīḥ* was Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf. Mūnejjim-bashī by an evident slip calls him *Abū Bakr*, which is the *kunya* of a different Khuwārizmī, namely of Muḥammad b. 'Abbās, author of the *Dīwān Rasā'il*, who died in 383/993 in Nishāpūr; cf. Ibn Khallikān, Paris, 1842, i, 736 [transl. iii, 108].

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Browne, *A Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i, 453, mentions among the Farīghūnid clients the poets Daqīqī and Manjik, though he does not quote his authority [Eṭhé?]. No such statement is found in

'Aufī, Daulatshāh, or the *Majma' al-fuṣahā*. According to 'Aufī's *Lubāb al-albāb*, ii, 13-14, Manjik was the panegyrist of the amīr of Chaghāniyān [*v.i.*, § 25, 25.] Abul-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar, and Daqīqī, *ibid.*, ii, 11, that of the amīrs of Chaghāniyān [particularly of Abū Sa'id Muḥammad Muẓaffar Muḥtāj] and of the Sāmānid Manṣūr (b. Nūḥ b.) Naṣr b. Aḥmad. Farrukhī in his famous *qasida* dedicated to Abul-Muẓaffar Chaghānī says: *tā tarāzanday* (sic) *madīḥ-i tu Daqīqī dar gudhasht, z-āfarīn-i tu dilāganda chinān k-az dāna nār*, see *Chahār maqāla*, p. 165. The explanation of the error may be the fact that the said amīr Abul-Muẓaffar Muḥammad had been wrongly taken for a Farīghūnid, *v.s.*, line 3.

3. The inhabited part of the earth is supposed to occupy the whole width of the visible part of it, *i.e.*  $180^\circ$ , while in latitude it occupies  $63^\circ$  in the northern part of it and  $17^\circ$  in its southern part.  $180 \times (63 + 17) = 14,400$ , while the whole area of the earth (both visible and invisible) =  $360 \times 360 = 129,600$ . Of the latter number  $1/9$  is exactly 14,400. I. Kh., 4, says that the earth is inhabited as far as  $24^\circ$  beyond the Equator, *i.e.* southern lat.  $24^\circ$ . Prof. C. A. Nallino kindly writes to me (Rome, 5. xi. 1932): "Je pense que les chiffres  $63^\circ$  et  $17^\circ$  sont tout simplement l'application de l'idée que l'οἰκουμένη (ربع المعمور) est la quatrième partie de la surface [*scil.* visible V.M.] du globe terrestre;  $63^\circ$  étant la limite boréale des habitations humaines, et  $90^\circ$  la largeur de l'habitable (sur  $180^\circ$  de longueur), on a fait  $90 - 63 = 17$ ."

5. See § 4, 13. on the island Nāra (\*Bāra) lying on the Equator.

### § 3. The Seas and the Gulfs

The word *khalīj* stands in the text both for "gulf" and "strait", and *baṭiḥa* both for the real "swamp" and for "lake". Our author uses his own names for the Eastern Seas; cf. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 32.

1. The Eastern Ocean (cf. § 2, 4.) corresponds more or less to Khuwārizmī's, p. 32, "Sea of Darkness" *al-baḥr al-muḥlim*, and to *al-baḥr al-akhḍar* of Ibn Rusta and Mas'ūdī; cf. Mžik, *Parageographische Elemente*, p. 188. The lands bordering upon the Eastern Ocean are enumerated from the extreme south (more to the east than the Zanj, *v.i.*, 3.) towards China and the Khirkhīz, who on the east of China are supposed to reach the maritime region (§ 14).

2. The Western Ocean is the Atlantic. On its islands see § 4, 17 c.

3. The Great Sea, *i.e.* the Indian Ocean, with its dependencies and the waters adjoining eastern Africa and Arabia, corresponds to the seas which Khuwārizmī, p. 74, calls *baḥr al-Qulzum*, *al-baḥr al-akhḍar*, *baḥr al-Sind*, *baḥr al-Hind*, *baḥr al-Šīn*, and *baḥr al-Bašra*. On the African coast, which is supposed to stretch eastwards parallel to the Equator (see notes to § 55), the Great Sea reaches only up to Zanj.

Of the five gulfs of the Great Sea, (a) is the Gulf of 'Aden, on the southern coast of which Barbarā is situated; cf. *al-khalīj al-Barbarā* in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 231-3, and Yāqūt, i, 100 and 966-7. In § 7, 10. the "Gulf of Ayla", mentioned to the south of Arabia, between the Arab [*i.e.* Red] Sea and the Great Sea, is an evident slip for the "*Barbarī* Gulf". Under § 57 some parts of the Barbarī Gulf are placed north of Abyssinia, and as in § 3 a the name Barbarī is given to the gulf off the Sūdān one would imagine that our author, or his source, was somehow influenced by the existence on the Nile of the town of Barbar ("the key of the Sūdān"), which he took for the source of the term *Barbarī*. Under § 7, 12 the confusion of Barbar and Barbarā is still more clear, for the waters east of the Arabian desert (which latter lies between Egypt and the Red Sea) can perhaps be associated with Barbar, but not with Barbarā! (b) the Arab Gulf

(under § 7, 10.: *the Arab Sea*) represents the Red Sea jointly with the Gulfs of Suez and 'Aqaba (Ayla < Roman *Aelana*). Under § 7, 10., the latter is placed on the west [read: *north-west*] of Arabia, while the Arab Sea is mentioned south [read: *south-west*] of Arabia; (c) the Persian Gulf is strangely given the name of the Gulf of 'Irāq. The distance between Kuwait and 'Aqaba is *circa* 1,400 km. and could hardly be travelled over in 16 days even on *mehāris*; (d) is the Gulf of 'Omān with the Arabian Sea, and (e) perhaps that of Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

4. It is unexpected to meet Armenia on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean in the tenth century, but here the term *hadd* may have the more vague sense of coastal region (cf. under Spain, § 41).

5. Here the author says that the Caspian has no gulfs (or straits?).<sup>2</sup> On the supposed communication between the Caspian and the Black Sea see note to § 6, 44. On the term *daryā-yi Khazarān* as applied to the Black Sea see § 49, 17.

6. دریای کوز ( §§ 42 and 45-7: کوز) is here clearly identified with the Pontos (بظس). This double designation of the Black Sea indicates the variety of sources used by our author. The Ptolemaic "Pontos" and "Maeotis" do not appear in the description of separate countries (§ 8 and sqq.). On the strange and abusive use of the term Gurz see notes to § 3, 8. and § 42, 15.

7. The Aral Sea, on which see Barthold, *Nachrichten über den Aral-See*, in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Erd- und Kulturkunde*, Leipzig, 1910 (Russian original, Tashkent, 1902).

[A curious caption is found in Bīrūnī's *Canon* with regard to Balkhān (north of the present-day Krasnovodsk, on the eastern coast of the Caspian sea): بلخان الحره رابقطاع حصون عن محراه الى بحر ارواسان وندر [بلد ؟] حران "Balkhān is a deserted place (*khirba*), on account of the Jayhūn having deflected from its course [and having flowed] towards the *Arvāniyān* (?) sea and the town of Jurjān [read: \**Jurjāniya* = Gurgānj, § 26, 25.]" Bīrūnī's style is uncouth but the meaning is more likely that given in our translation than that "the [former] course of the Jayhūn was towards the \**Arvāniyān* sea". I do not see any explanation of this name as applied to the Caspian, but with regard to the Aral sea the term may be explained by the name of a certain division of the Kimāk or Qifchaq. In a letter dated 578/1182 the Khwārazm-shāh records the submission of Alp-Qara اوران (or اران), with all the Qifchaq tribe, adding that he sent to him his son Fīrān < Pīrān (cf. *infra* p. 295, note 2) with a number of *Yūghūr-zādagān* (v.z. § 18, 3.). Bīrūnī's term ارواسان *Arvāniyān*, *Ūrāniyān*, *Uzāniyān* (?) seems to be a derivation of the family name of these chiefs who apparently ruled in the north of the Aral sea, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 340 and 343, and the accompanying texts, p. 79 (the quotation from Fakhr al-dīn Marvar-rūdī refers to p. 47 of Sir D. Ross's edition.) [See Appendix B.]

8. ماروطس stands undoubtedly for \*Maeotis as the Greeks called the Azov

<sup>1</sup> On the *baḥr al-aghbāb* see under India, § 10, 12.

<sup>2</sup> But see p. 391.

Sea, but the position of our ماوطس is fantastic. Though its junction with the Black Sea, and even the dimensions,<sup>1</sup> are rightly indicated, it is placed north of the Saqlāb and said to communicate with the Western Ocean. This latter detail is confirmed in § 4, 25.-26., with a further indication that some "water" (Baltic Sea?) coming from Ṭuwas (\**Tūliya* = Thule) in the extreme north flows into the Maeotis.<sup>2</sup> This idea of the Maeotis being a connecting link between the Baltic and the Black Sea may reflect the rumours of the usual road of the Normans who utilized Russian lakes and rivers and dragged their boats over the short stretches of dry land intervening between the different basins [Map xii]. Our Maeotis may stand for the northern Russian lakes (Ilmen, Ladoga) near which the Norman Rus (§ 44) had their settlements.<sup>3</sup> A further confusion may have arisen out of the fact that several expanses of water were associated with the Normans and that the latter were designated by two different names, *Rūs* and *Varang*.

The sense of our passage (§ 4, 25.-26.) about some "water" connecting the Western Ocean with the Maeotis becomes much clearer in the light of the description of the Baltic Sea in Bīrūnī's cosmographical work *al-Taḥḥīm*,<sup>4</sup> where it is said that *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīt* (= our Western Ocean), beyond Tangier and Andalus (Spain), "stretches northwards along the land of the Ṣaqlāba, and from it a large gulf separates north of the Ṣaqlāba which stretches up to the neighbourhood of the Muslim Bulgars' land. This (gulf) is known under the name of *Baḥr Warank* (given it) after the name of the people living on its coast. Then it curves in beyond this people towards the east, and between its coast and the furthest limits of the Turkish lands lie lands and mountains, unknown, barren, and untrodden." Cf. Wiedemann in *Sitzungsber. d. physik.-mediz. Societät zu Erlangen*, Band 44 (1912), p. 4, and Abul-Fidā, text, p. 35, transl., p. 42, where it is stated that the said *Baḥr-Warank* is found only in Bīrūnī's works and in Naṣīr al-dīn (Ṭūsī)'s *Tadhkira*. The real Maeotis, i.e. the Azov Sea, was named by the Muslims equally after the Normans. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 15, says that "in the upper reaches of the Khazar river [i.e. the Volga] there is an outflow (*fī a'ālī nahr al-khazar maṣabb*) which joins<sup>5</sup> a gulf of the Pontos, which is the Rūs Sea, for no one except them [i.e. the Rūs] navigates it, and they are established on some of its coasts".<sup>6</sup> Most probably the passage refers to the Azov Sea, and this is confirmed by the later Idrīsī, who makes the *Nahr al-Rūsiya*, as he calls the Tanais (Don), flow into the *Baḥr al-*

<sup>1</sup> Our dimensions correspond to those given by I.R., 86: 'length from west to east 300 miles, width 100 miles' (1 *farsakh* = 3 *mīl*, cf. Maq., 66). Cf. also Mas'ūdī, i, 261 and Bakrī, ed. Rosen, p. 25 (Bakrī literally follows I.R.).

<sup>2</sup> On a similar idea of the Maeotis stretching towards the North Pole cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 66. I.R., p. 85, makes the Tanais [Don] come out of the Maeotis.

<sup>3</sup> And even for the Baltic sea itself!

<sup>4</sup> Ed. R. Wright, p. 121 [the translation made from the Persian is slightly different from ours].

<sup>5</sup> Cf. I.H., 276, quoted in the note to § 6, 44.

<sup>6</sup> Could the latter detail refer to the still mysterious Russian principality of *Tmutarakan* (Const. Porphy., ch. 42, *Ταμταράκα*) on the Taman peninsula?

*Rūsiya*, i.e. the Azov Sea.<sup>1</sup> Still more curious is the fact that on a Syriac map compiled towards A.D. 1150 and described by Dr. A. Mingana in the *Manchester Guardian* of 19 May 1933, the Azov Sea bears the name of the *Warang Sea*! This is then a very probable way in which the connexion or identity of names could lead to the confusion of the facts referring respectively to the Baltic and the Azov Seas.

The real Ptolemaic Maeotis does not play any role in our text and even the Rūs river which might be taken for the Don (but see note to § 6, 44.) is said to flow into the Volga. Consequently the real Azov Sea is merged into the Black Sea,<sup>2</sup> and I am inclined to think that the alternative name of the Pontos: *daryā-yi Gurziyān* (or *Gurz*) was passed on to the latter precisely from the real Azov Sea which our author omitted to describe. As the *Gurz*, i.e. Georgians, see note to § 42, 14., cannot possibly have given their name to the Black Sea, I admit the possibility of the name كرز standing in this case for the original رزك. Graphically such a substitution is quite imaginable, if for instance, the final ك was written somewhat above the line and the top bar of ك happened to be drawn near the initial و.

Consequently the imaginary Maeotis corresponds probably to some northern Russian lake while the name *Gurz* applied to the Black Sea is in reality that of the courageous navigators, the *Warang* = *Rūs*, for whose special association with the Azov Sea we possess several indications in Muslim sources. This confusion was rendered possible by the fact that our compiler merged the Azov Sea into the Black Sea.

[*Additional note.* The alternative explanation of the strange term كرز would be to connect it with كرخ as I.R., 143, calls the Byzantine port where the Magyars (living on the northern coast of the Black Sea) used to take their Slav prisoners for sale. كرخ *K.rkh* can be easily restored as \* كرج *K.rj* of which كرز would be a tentative iranization. Instead of كرخ I. Faqīh, 281, mentions سكموش اليهود read: \* سكمش *S.mk.rsh*.<sup>3</sup> The Khazar king's letter (version B) ed. Kokovtsov, p. 31, mentions on the western frontier of the Khazar kingdom *Sh.rkīl* Σαρκελ, סמכרץ *S.mk.rts* and כרץ *K.rts*, of which the two latter evidently retranscribe the names quoted by I. Faqīh and I.R. For our purpose it is enough to say that our author, who among his sources undoubtedly had the text utilized by I.R., may have derived his Iranian كرز from كرخ read as كرج (cf. Hebrew *K.rts* < *K.rj*). As *K.rj* is most probably Kerch [the alternance in Arabic of *sh/j* is in favour of the original *č*], this explanation, already suggested by Westberg, *v.s.*, p. 32, still merits our consideration. However the following explanation now appears to me as being the simplest. In I.Kh. (cf. § 42, 17.), undoubtedly utilized by our author, the Black Sea (on the authority

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Map ii.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 272, *Tanbih*, 67, Pontos and Maeotis are one sea, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 161.

<sup>3</sup> *S.mk.rsh* may be either the same

name as *K.rj* with the initial element *sam-* (some adjective in a local language), or the name of some neighbouring place only slightly differing from the original *Krj*.



of Muslim al-Jarmī) is called بحر الخزر. The names خزر *Khazar* and جز *Jurz* are constantly confused in Arabic. As in § 3, 5., the Khazar sea is the Caspian sea, I.Kh.'s aberrant term could all the easier be read بحر الجز and as our author everywhere substitutes Iranian *Gurz* for Arabic *Jurz*, the Black Sea could under this name (*Gurz* > *Gurziyān*) become associated with the Georgians.]

9. The fact that the Lake of Urmiya is placed in Armenia explains some peculiarities of the order followed in § 36, see note to § 36, 9.

11. نويطة must be a corruption of فارطة *Perta*, which I. Kh., 113, mentions on the road from Cilicia to Amorion. *Perta* lay immediately south of the great salt lake now called Tuz-chölü, lying north-east of Qoniya.

12. It is tempting to compare سماعى with كاص which in I.Kh.'s itinerary, p. 113, immediately follows *Fāriṭa* (*Perta*). This place evidently lay by a lake, for I. Kh. speaks of عَرَّةُ كَاص "bank of ?". Both names are certainly corrupted, but it is not impossible that they stand for *Savitra*, of which it is only known that it lay in the waterless Lycaonian desert not far from Archelais. W. M. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, p. 340 and Map, places *Savitra* south-west of *Perta*. The respective positions of *Perta* and *Savitra* are not very certain; the latter lay perhaps farther north, and in that case could have given its name to the (salt?) lake which lies immediately south-west of the Tuz-chölü and which is now called *Murād-gölü*. The difficulty in the way of such an identification is that at present the dimensions of this lake are too small (2 × 2 km.), but it may have shrunk since. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, has nothing on this lake.

13. This name (cf. also under § 29, 13.) is very differently spelt. Işṭ., 100, and I.H., 193, give *Bwr*, *Lwr*, *Bwn*, *Bwdh*, *Tws*, *Mws*, but actually the lake is called *Famūr*, which confirms the reading *Mūr* in the older *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, GMS, 154.

14. Işṭ., 122, *Bāsfahūya*, I.H., 123, *Bāshafūya*, &c., is the Lake of *Tasht* now forming the northern part of the Lake *Bakhtagān* (*Bīchagān*), see Schwarz, *Iran*, 11, Le Strange, *The Lands*, 276. Işṭ., 122, praises its utility.

15. Işṭ., 122, also gives *ḡankān* (\**ḡanagān*), while the older *Fārs-nāma*, 153, has *Māhalūya*, nowadays turkicized into *Mahārū*.

16. \**Bijagān*, cf. also § 6, 33., is now called *Bakhtagān* but Ḥasan Fasā'i on his detailed map of *Fārs* (note to § 29) gives the alternative *Bīchagān*. The river of *Dārāgird* (*Rūd-i Shūr* flowing into the Persian Gulf, north of the island *Qishm*) rises from a source situated some 35 Km. south-east of the lake. It was considered as a reappearance on the surface of the *Kur*; cf. Işṭ., 121: "the *Kurr* is said to possess a spring (*manba'*) in some of the districts of *Dārāgird* and to outflow into the sea". Chardin, ed. Langlès, viii, 235, 499, who crossed the *Rūd-i Shūr* on his way from *Lār* to *Bandar-i 'Abbāsī*, took it for a continuation of the *Band-i-mīr* river (i.e. of the *Kur*). *Tomaschek*, *Nearch*, p. 44, calls it *Ab-i Kurr* (without quoting his authority) and identifies it with the *Coros* mentioned by P. Mela and *Kópiros* found in Ptolemy, vi, cap. 8; cf. Schwarz, *Iran*, p. 8.

17. 18. Barthold's hypothesis of the identity of the Issik-kul and Tüz-kul, *v.s.*, p. 28, does not seem very happy. The areas of the two lakes, as well as their location, are different. The Issik-kul stretched between the Chigil and Tughuzghuz and the Ili is wrongly supposed to flow into it. The Tuz-kul lay within the limits of the Khallukh. It is true that the latter occupied the southern (or south-western) bank of the Issik-kul, cf. § 15, 10. and 11., but according to the order of enumeration Tuz-kul must have lain to the west of the Issik-kul near the homonymous places Tüzün-Bulaq and Tüzün-Ārj, § 15, 5-6., of which the former is mentioned on the frontier of the Yaghmā, *i.e.* on the south-western border of the Khallukh. Finally, though Gardīzī calls the Issik-kul *shūr* "salt", it is only slightly brackish and an abundant supply of salt from it is highly improbable. A. Z. Validi kindly draws my attention to the Boro-dabasun lake situated to the east of the Issik-kul, between the headwaters of the Tekes and Kegen (the two southern tributaries of the Ili); Boro-dabasun lies at an altitude of 6,400 feet and is intensely salt; it produces yearly 40,000 *poods* of salt "used by the Qirghiz and the Russian settlements round the Issik-kul; some of it is exported to China", cf. Prince Masalsky, *Turkestanskiy kray*, SPb., 1913, p. 48, and Molchanov, *The Lakes of Central Asia* (in Russian), Tashkent, 1929, p. 49. The suggestion is interesting, but a close consideration of our text makes it very difficult to include the region of Boro-dabasun within the limits of the Khallukh (already at Barskhān, § 15, 11., the Khallukh influence was weak). Therefore I am personally more inclined to identify the Tuz-kul with the Shūr-kul "Salt lake" situated at an altitude of 5,000 feet on the southern slope of the T'ien-shan some 140 Km. to the north-east of Kāshghar, and south of the Taushqan which was within the sphere of the Khallukh influence; cf. § 15, 13.-15. According to Huntington (in R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, Washington, 1905, p. 208) the Shūr-kul "is a sheet of salt rather than of water . . . The salt is collected by the people and is carried as far as Kāshghar; it is used just as it occurs, without cleansing." Dr. Huntington's exploration has shown that the level of the lake stood formerly 350 feet above the present level, which fact would account for the size of the Tuz-kul as indicated in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*.

19. Only the eastern branch of the Nile flows out to the Tinnis lake.

21. On the rivers supposed to reach the Lake of Nicaea see § 6, 60. and

61. I. Kh., 106, gives a different measurement, *viz.*, 12 × 7 farsakhs.

22. ريس *Riyas* is a great puzzle but the starting-point for its identification must be the recognition that our author's source for Asia Minor is I. Kh. The latter, 101, on an alternative road from Cilicia to Amorion, quotes راس بحيرة الباسليون *i.e.* the locality "at the head of the lake of Basilion". In I. Kh.'s passage the word راس could have been misspelt into ريس in which case our author having interpreted it as "Riyas, lake of Bāsiliyūn" may have retained the name and dropped the explanation. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 135, identifies the lake Bāsiliyūn with that of the Forty Martyrs, *i.e.* the Akshehir-gölü, which (at present) measures some 5 × 1 km. As above under 11.

these dimensions are much under our author's estimate, but we must in general mistrust the seeming exactitude of his statistics the origin of which is obscure [cf. the lakes of Fārs, the width of which is constantly indicated though it is not found in Išt.].

23. Išt., 122, *buḥayrat bi-Dasht-Arzan*, situated west of Shīrāz, on the road to Kāzrūn.

24. The usual pronunciation of *Zarah* is *Zirih*, but this name has, of course, nothing to do with the popular etymology "(glowing like a) cuirass", &c. The name is explained by Old Persian *drayah*, Avestic *zrayah*, "sea, lake". Probably of the same origin are the names of a lake in Kurdistan Zaribār, and perhaps of some islands on the Caspian composed with *-zīra* (*Qum-zīra*, *Büyük-zīra*, with a Turkish beginning, but *Khara-zīra* "Ass [Dorn: Pig?] Island" purely Iranian, cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, 82).

24. *Daryāzha* is evidently a local (Soghdian?) form for Persian *daryācha*. Cf. § 5, 9 A, § 6, 23.

26. Bastarāb must be identical with Astarāb, the western headwater of the river of Sar-i pul and Shibarghan. The initial *b* of the name is not clear, but *v.s.* 23.

27. The Lake of Tūs lies in the mountain separating Tūs from Nishāpūr. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 264, calls the lake Sabzarūd and gives various explanations of its situation on a height. In the *Nushat al-qulūb*, GMS, p. 241, it is called *Buḥayra-yi chashma-yi sabz* and identified with the legendary lake from which came out the horse that killed Yezdegird the Sinner. According to the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v, 519-23, the event took place near the Lake Shahd and the source Sau; cf. Minorsky, *Tūs* in *EI*.<sup>1</sup> Following Sir P. Sykes, *A sixth journey*, in *Gf.*, Jan. 1911, p. 3, the Chashma Sabz lies under the Lūk Shīrbād peak (between Nishāpūr and Tūs) and occupies an area of 400 × 100 yards, though formerly it had been much larger.

28. Cf. § 6, 62.

34. This "swamp" is the Qara-kul "Black Lake" in the neighbourhood of which the Samarqand river (Zarafshān) disappears. Its other names, following Narshakhī, were *Sāmjan* [*sām-* according to Marquart, *Wehrot*, 29, means "black"] and *Bārgīn-i farākh*; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 117, and Barthold, *Irrigation*, 124. In our text the word لاج is evidently a common name "lake, swamp". The same word still survives in Avoza-Karti-Damzin (?), a fishery in the Krasnovodsk district on the Caspian Sea, see Geyer, *Turkestan*, Tashkent, 1909, p. 165.<sup>2</sup> The form *āvāza* is metrically attested in the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, vi, 630, 651, 654. In Firdausī, 507, *Āvāza* is the castle which Bahrām Chūbīn takes after a siege during his campaign against the "Turkish" king Shāba and his son Parmūdha.

<sup>1</sup> Marquart, *Wehrot*, p. 7, thinks that شهد in Firdausī is an error for سند \**Sind*, as the lower course of the Herat river was probably called after a village which existed in the neighbourhood of Nasā

and Abīvard (§ 23, 9., 10. and 30.), see Yāqūt, iii, 167.

<sup>2</sup> The maps show an *Avaza* on the western side of the spit covering from the west the bay of Krasnovodsk.

Instead of Āvāza Tha'ālibī, p. 655, mentions the castle of Paykand (cf. § 25, 4), but their identity is clear from the mention in both sources of Siyāvush's girdle deposited there by Arjāsp. On Paykand see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 118-19. In his *Wehrot*, pp. 138-65, Marquart has a long dissertation on Āvāza and Paykand. Cf. also his *Catalogue*, 34-6, where the equation is established of Dizh-i Nāvāzak = Dizh-i rōyīn = Paykand, and Firdausi's *āvāza* is regarded as a corruption of *nāvāzak* "the boatman", but the latter argument is not convincing.

35. Perhaps the Lob-nor considered as a connecting-link between the Tarim and the Huang-ho.

36. Too vague for identification (Baikal?).

#### § 4. The Islands

In spite of the clear definition of what an island is, the author mentions in this chapter peninsulas as well, following the Arabic use of the word *jazīra*.

##### A. THE EASTERN OCEAN

1. The Silver-island. Pomponius Mela, iii, 70, and Pliny, *Natur. Hist.*, vi, 80, mention in the neighbourhood of India two islands Chrysē and Argyrē but describe them too vaguely for location, see Coedès, p. xiii. As the source of the early Muslim geographers is Ptolemy, it is much more probable that the *ʿJazīrat al-fidḍa* (Khuwārizmī) represents Ptolemy's *Ἰαβὰδιον* \**Yāvadvīpa* (Sumatra, or Java) the capital of which was called *Ἀργυρῆ* (Ptolemy, vii, 2, 29). However, the situation is complicated by the fact that Ptolemy mentions in the Transgangetic India (vii, 2, 17) two countries bearing respectively the names of *Ἀργυρᾶ* and *Χρυσῆ* (cf. Coedès, Index). In Khuwārizmī's arrangement of Ptolemy, *ʿJazīrat al-fidḍa* came somehow to connote two different entities: (a) an island, and (b) a peninsula protruding into the sea from a larger peninsula which vaguely corresponds to Indo-China. Mžik, who in his article *Parageographische Elemente*, has traced a map after Khuwārizmī's data, shows the *island* to the west of the *large peninsula* through which flows the river Suwās (not in Ptolemy); to the east, beyond the river protrudes the *small peninsula*. Only the latter could be considered as belonging to the Eastern Ocean and our author's "seven rivers" may somehow reflect Khuwārizmī's record on the Suwās with its three estuaries. On the other hand, the *town* of the Silver-island may refer to Ptolemy's capital of the Yabadiu: *Ἀργυρῆ*.

##### B. THE INDIAN OCEAN AND NEIGHBOURING SEAS

2. The two peninsulas "mentioned in Ptolemy's books" seem to be the Southern Cape (τὸ Νότιον ἄκρον) and the Cape of Satyrs (τὸ Σατύρων ἄκρον), between which, in the country of the Sinai (< dynasty of *Ch'in*), stretches the gulf *Θηριώδης*, see Ptolemy, vii, 3, and Marcianus of Heraclea (5th cent.) § 45, cf. Coedès, *o.c.*, p. 121. In this case our author, in order to be consistent, ought to have mentioned the two peninsulas under the Eastern Ocean (*v.s. A.*).

For the better understanding of 3. and 5.-8. it must be had in view that Muslim authors do not clearly discriminate between Sumatra and Java, and speak of Sumatra under several names relating to different parts of this great island.

3. This Gold-island (= Sumatra) corresponds to *bilād al-Wāqwaq* in I.Kh., 69, as confirmed by the appellation of its inhabitants "Wāqwāqian Zangīs". For a second time the same place is mentioned in § 9, 1., as a dependency of China under the name of Wāq-Wāq. Cf. also §§ 55, 3. and 56.

4. Ṭabarnā is *Ταπροβάνη*, cf. I. Rusta, 94, *طبروانی* who evaluates its periphery at 3,000 miles and mentions 19 islands lying around it [Ptolemy, v, 4, 11] and the corundum found in it. Khuwārizmī, p. 4, places *طبروای* "in the Sarandīb island". Our author distinguishes Ṭabarnā from Sarandīb; see § 9, 23., cf. Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 205, note 2. The name of the town Muvas *موس* is a puzzle unless it stands for *ملي* v.i. 10. and § 10, 13. From Sarandīb Malay lies certainly "towards Hindūstān". From the graphical point of view *موس* < *ملي* has a parallel in *طوس* (v.i. 25) < *تولى*. Less probable would be the supposition that Muvas somehow represents the name of the Suwās river, v.s., note 101. [On the position v.i., p. 235, n.1.]

5. Rāmī < Rāmnī is Sumatra (v.i., 7), Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 25. This paragraph closely follows I.Kh., 64-5. On the products, cf. also Sulaymān, p. 9.

6. *صريح* in spite of its location west of Sarandīb stands evidently for *زاج* for the details (camphor-trees, snakes) correspond to those quoted under § 56.

7. Jāba and Shalāhiṭ are treated as a single island (Sumatra; cf. above, 5). I.Kh., 66, uses the singular for *وهرلج وشلاط* and *جزيرة جابة*; cf. [Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf-shāh] *L'Abregé des Merveilles*, tr. by Carra de Vaux, 1898, p. 58: "the island of Jaba contains the town of Shalāhiṭ". I.Kh., 66, does not mention ambergris and cubeb among the products of Shalāhiṭ, but they are mentioned in I. Rusta, 138.

8. Bālūs is the port lying on the south-western coast of Sumatra. Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 27, note 5, and Ferrand, *Waḡ-Waḡ* in *EI*. "The said Jāba" refers to the preceding 7. I.Kh., 66, places Kala at 2 days' distance from Bālūs (this sentence in our text comes under 9.) and from the latter counts 2 farsakhs to Jāba, Shalāhiṭ, and Harlaj.

9. Our author exactly follows I.Kh., 66. Kala (I. Kh. gives *Kila*) according to de Goeje is probably Keda (Kra) in the Malay peninsula. Instead of "south of Bālūs" Kala ought to be located north (north-east) of it. Sulaymān says that after \*Lanjabālūs the ships call at Kalāh-bār,<sup>1</sup> which is (a part) of the Zābaj. The name of tin in Arabic *al-riṣaṣ al-qal'ī*, or simply *qal'ī* (< *kālī*), is a derivative from Kala. The "Indian (or Brahmanic?) Jāba" (I. Kh., 66), in contradistinction from the other Jāba (I. Kh.,

<sup>1</sup> Sulaymān rightly explains Persian *-bār* as "a country, or coast".

67), whom our author calls "Continental Jāba", see § 5, 9. B and § 10, 45.; cf. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 34, note 3.<sup>1</sup>

10. Bankālūs stands for I.Kh.'s, 66, *Al.n.k.bālūs* "the Nicobar islands". Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 26, takes as the right form \**Lankabālūs*. Our author exactly translates I.Kh.'s: *وإماليهم الحديد ويجالسون التجار*. I.Kh. counts 10-15 days from *Al.n.k.bālūs* to Sarandīb, and, moreover, mentions the distances Malay-B.līn, 2 days, B.līn-\*Bāpattan, 2 days, and B.līn-Sarandīb, 1 day. It is possible that our author, or his source, added all these distances together indiscriminately and obtained the result of 20 (= 15+2+2+1) days for the distance between Bankālūs and Malay.

11. One would perhaps expect, *v.s.*, note to 7., that H.r.nj (هرنج) following the group of islands situated east of India stands for H.rl.j هرج (Idrīsī: هريج) which I.Kh., 66, associates with Sumatra. I.R., 138, says that "Harlaj was only the name of the king's military representative (*qā'id*)", while the island itself (in which camphor was discovered in 220/835) was called T.wārān. However, our author clearly places H.r.nj in proximity to Sindān (§ 10, 14.) and lets 12. Lāft (in the Persian Gulf) follow it in the enumeration. One must perhaps look for the explanation of our هرنج in Sulaymān's (p. 5) name for the sea off the south-western coast of India: هركد. In, and round, this H.rk.nd Sea Sulayman mentions 1,900 islands (*dībājāt* < ssk. *dvīpa* "island") corresponding to the Laccadives, &c.<sup>2</sup> Our H.r.nj island may refer to the latter. The name هركد in our author stands for something entirely different, namely for Harikel = Bengal; see note to § 10, 7. Provisionally, we must have in view three different localities with names equally beginning with هر-: (1) the sea near the Laccadives, (2) Bengal, and (3) some part of Sumatra.

12. Lāft, *v.i.* under 14.

13. The name تاره, Bīrūnī, *India*, 157: تاره must be read تاره meaning in Persian "moenia et munimentum castrī vel urbis", Vullers, i, 170. This legendary island marking the 0° of longitude and latitude has given rise to much discussion and confusion.<sup>3</sup> A mention of the Equinoctial, or Equatorial, Island is found in I.R., 83: *ʔazīrat istiḡā al-layl wal-nahār*, who adds that the Indian Ocean, of which the area between Abyssinia and the furthest end of India is 8,000 × 2,700 miles, extends beyond this island

<sup>1</sup> According to the Chinese annals of the Sung dynasty (960-1279) the kings of San-fo-ts'i, i.e. the Śrīvijaya kings of Palembang in Sumatra, had the title of *chan-pei*. The latter (still unexplained!) according to Ferrand's hypothesis must be the equivalent (in Chinese pronunciation) of the Arabic *ʔāba*. The annals of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) suggest that the name of the kingdom of Jambi (north-west of Palembang) is derived from the same *chan-pei*. See

Ferrand, *Çrīvidjaya*, 16-17, 166.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that Sulaymān's *H.rk.nd* as the name for the sea near the Laccadives requires emendation.

<sup>3</sup> One of the possible sources of confusion could also be the Indian view on the existence of an island called *Malaya-dvīpa* on which lies the town of *Laṅkā* inaccessible to men, while *Laṅkā* is also the name of Ceylon; cf. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Leipzig, 1920, p. 111.

for 1,900 miles. Bīrūnī is the principal authority on Bāra. In his *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* he says:<sup>1</sup>

	long.	lat.
"The island Lank known in the books as the 'Cupola of the Earth' . . . . .	100° 50'	0° 0'
"*Bāra [sine punctis] mentioned by Fazāri and Ya'qūb b. Tāriq . . . . .	190° 50'	0° 0'
"Jamakūt situated at the extreme eastern limit; Persians call it Jamāgird . . . . .	190° 0'	0° 0'
"According to the Indians there is no habitation beyond these two (sic)."		

Opposite Lank, Bāra, and Jamakūt, there is a note stating that these localities are "as if unknown (*k-al-majhūlāt*)". The text of Or. 1997 is faulty and an additional numeration suggests the following order in which the localities should follow: . . . 4. Lank; 5. Sūra island; 6. Jamakūt; 7. Bāra.

In the *Tafhīm*, p. 140, § 239, Bīrūnī says: "A central point of longitude between East and West of the habitable world is called the Cupola of the Earth. Sometimes it is described as lacking latitude because it is on the equator. We do not know whether this is an expression of opinion of the Persians, or others, at least the Greek books do not mention it. The Hindūs however say that it is a high place named Laṅkā, the home of devils."

Finally in his *India*, p. 157, transl. i, 303, Bīrūnī more explicitly says: "Yamakoṭi (يَمَكُوْتِي) is, according to Ya'qūb [b. Tāriq] and al-Fazāri,<sup>2</sup> the country where is the city Tāra [read: *Bāra*!] within the sea. I have not found the slightest trace of this name in Indian literature. As *koṭi* means castle and \*Yama (يَم) is the Angel of Death, the word reminds me of Kangdiz, which, according to the Persians, had been built by Kaykā'ūs, or Jam, in the most remote east, behind the sea. . . . Abū Ma'shar of Balkh has based his geographical canon on Kangdiz, as the 0° of longitude, or first meridian." Reinaud, *o.c.*, ccxxii, ccxxxix, &c., who first commented on this passage, showed how this Yamakoṭi (= Jamshīdgird)

(1) has got confused with the "Cupola of the Earth" (قبة الأرض) which in India was identified with the site of the town of Ujjain, 'Oḷḷai, اُجَين misread in European medieval sources as "medius locus terrae dictus Arin"; cf. note to § 10, 18;

(2) brought into connexion with the Lank (Laṅkā Island, Ceylon) through which the first meridian was also supposed to pass; cf. Bīrūnī, *India*, ch. xxx: "On Laṅkā, or Cupola of the Earth".

However, the irregular character of the Indian first meridian was apparent; therefore "on abandonna l'ancienne base du méridien de Laṅka

<sup>1</sup> Prof. H. von Mžik very kindly drew my attention to this passage which I now quote from the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1997, f. 97r.

<sup>2</sup> Both these astronomers were con-

temporaries of the caliph Manṣūr [A.D. 754-75], see Suter, *Die Mathem. und Astron. d. Araber*, 1900, p. 4, and Sarton, *o.c.*, i, 530.

et on reporta la Coupole d'Arin à l'ouest. Mais ici on se partagea encore: quelques personnes (al-Battānī, Mas'ūdī) . . . paraissaient avoir mis Arin au milieu de la mer, dans une île imaginaire, entre l'Afrique et la presqu'île de l'Inde; pour les personnes qui . . . prolongeaient le continent africain du côté de l'est la coupole d'Arin se trouva dans une petite île située sur la côte de l'Afrique, dans le Zanguebar", Reinaud, *o.c.*, p. ccxlv and the maps of al-Battānī and Mas'ūdī, *ibid.*, ad p. cclxxxii.

Our author places the island at long. 90° and mentions it after H.r.nj and along with the islands of the Persian Gulf, consequently somewhere west, or north-west of India. Some light on current views as to its situation is thrown by Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, i, 171: "Sūbāra [cf. § 10, 14.] . . . est voisine de l'île de Bāra, laquelle est petite et où croissent quelques cocotiers et le costus."

12. 14. and 15. lie in the Persian Gulf. 12. Lāft is mentioned in Iṣṭ., 107, where it is said that the island was also called *ʔazīra banī Kāwān* (or *Barkāwān*). This last name is mentioned only in Sulaymān, p. 16, and in I. Kh., p. 62, according to whom it was inhabited by the Ibādite sectarians. It corresponds to the large island Qishm, on the northern promontory of which there is a village called Lāft; see Tomaschek, *Nearch*, p. 48. Our author seems to be the first to speak of the commercial activity of Lāft. 14. 15. Uwāl is one of the Baḥrayn islands, Yāqūt, i, 395. The pearl-fisheries of 15. Khārak, are mentioned in Iṣṭ., 32.

16. I.R., 87, spells the name \**Suqūtara*, Yāqūt, iii, 101, 543, *Suquṭrā* and *Suqaṭrā*; cf. Tkatsch, *Soḡoṭrā*, in *EI*. I.R., in his description of the Baḥr al-Hind, mentions Socotra immediately after Baḥrayn, 'Omān, and Masqat.

17. Iṣṭ., 13, 30, 31, 33, places Tārān between the gulfs of Suez and 'Aqaba (*bayn al-Qulsum wa Ayla*) and Jubaylāt near Tārān. The locality is famous for its winds and a whirlpool, and is reputed to be the place of Pharaoh's death [*Exodus*, 14, 29]. Maq., 11, spells ٤٤٦. Yaqut, iii, 834, places the islands near Ḥijāz.

#### C. THE WESTERN OCEAN<sup>1</sup>

18. I.R., 85, al-Khālidat corresponds to Ptolemy's "Isles of the Blest". Neither I.Kh., nor Iṣṭ., nor I.H. mention them. *V.s.*, pp. 7-8.

19. Ghadīra, *i.e.* Cadiz, see Qudāma, 231, and I.R. 85; Khuwārizmī, 15 [= Nallino, p. 48], has غادر. The Greek name is Γάδερα, Ptolemy, i, 3, *Punic Gaddir* ("wall"). See Seybold, *Cadiz*, in *EI*.

20. 21. should really appear under D.

20. Rhodes is mentioned in Khuwārizmī, p. 115, and I. Rusta, 98. In fact Ptolemy (Book I) attributes much importance to the parallel of Rhodes (lat. 36°), cf. below 26. In A.D. 130 Hipparchus observed in Rhodes the obliquity of ecliptics. Cf. also Ptolemy, v, 2.

21. Arwādh, small island off Ṭarṭūs in Syria, now Ruwād. The name cannot be directly derived from Ptolemy's, *Ἀραδος* (*Geog.*, v, 14). It is not found in any other ancient Muslim sources, except Ṭabarī, ii, 163.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 7.



22. 23. Khuwārizmī, 89 [= Nallino, 50] mentions the islands امراتوس (?) and امرانوس of which the first is inhabited by the men and the second by the women. Nallino suggests the emendation of امرانوس into \*امرانوس \**Amazons*. The myth of the Amazons found a favourable ground in the confusion of *Kwen-en*, a Finnish tribe north of the Bothnic Gulf, with *kwen* "woman" in Germanic languages. Cf. Idrīsī, ii, 433, Idrīsī-Tallgren, 34, 77, 140: امرنيس. Tallgren says that the island Nargen (off Reval = Tallinn) is called in Finnish *Naissare* "The island of the Woman, or the Women". A story of the Town of Women (*madīnat al-nisā*), situated west of the Rūs, is reported in Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb [*circa* A.D. 965], quoted in al-Bakrī, p. 37, but here the details are entirely different: the women bear children from their slaves and kill the latter. An Island of Women situated west of Fu-lin (Roman Empire) is mentioned in Hsüan-Tsang, *Si-yu-Ki* (Julien), ii, 180 (under Po-la-sse).

24. The form برطانيه (as in Qudāma, 231), hails evidently from a source different from that of برطانيه quoted in § 42, 21. (as in I. Rusta, 85).

25. طرس easily < طوليه\* [v.s. 4. موسى for ملي] looks like a dittograph of 26. تولي on which Khuwārizmī, 87, 151 [= Nallino, 50] mentions a river. I. Kh., 93, spells توليه.

26. Ptolemy, *Geography*, Book I, attributes much importance to the parallel of Thule (according to him lat. 73°); cf. also 20. above. Our author draws the Northern Polar circle ("the limit of the inhabited lands") through Thule. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch d. Alten Geographie*, 1878, p. 533, identifies Thule with the Shetland Islands. On Maeotis, cf. § 3, 7.

#### D. THE MEDITERRANEAN

This list of islands in the Mediterranean does not exactly correspond to any of the lists known. To it must be added the islands 20. and 21.

28. The mountain *jabal al-qilal* (a promontory?) is mentioned in Iṣṭ., 71, and I.H., 136, as a very strong place seized by a party of Muslims and held by them against the Ifranja. According to Iṣṭ. the length of the mountain is 2 day-marches, but I.H. reduces it to only 2 miles. I.H. adds that, like Mallorca, *Jabal al-qilal* is a dependency of Spain [probably on account of the origin of the invaders, as Prof. C. A. Nallino (letter of 5. xi. 1932) kindly suggests to me]. Yāqūt, i, 392, speaking of the Alankaburda (Lombards) says that their country is vast and is situated half-way (*bayn*) between Constantinople and Spain: "it begins from a side of the Mediterranean (*baḥr al-khalīj*, cf. Yāqūt, ii, 465) opposite the *Jabal al-qilal* and stretches opposite the Maghrib coast until it reaches the lands of Calabria (*Qalawriya*)". These data seem to refer to the greatest extension of the Lombard kingdom and at all events to the times before the latter was crushed by Charlemagne in A.D. 776, but we do not know whether the *J. al-qilal* was known under that name in the eighth century, or whether Yāqūt has combined two different sources. The mountain is taken clearly as the western (north-western) limit of the Lombard kingdom which *grosso modo* extended over the whole of Italy, with the exception of Venice, Ravenna,

Rome, Pentapolis, Naples, and the southernmost parts of Calabria and Apulia. Juynboll, the editor of the *Marāsid al-Ittīla'* [an abridgement of Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*], i, 185, thought first that the "island" was to be sought near the Gulf of Genoa "secundum mappam, aliquam insulam cogites, in sinu Genuensi propriorem". But in the meantime he published, v, 25-8, a remarkable letter by Reinaud in which the French orientalist suggested the identification of Jabal al-qīl with Fraxinetum, which the Arabs occupied towards A.D. 889 and kept till about 972. This Fraxinetum was further identified by Reinaud with *La garde Frainet* in the *Forêt des Maures*, which is situated on the French Riviera, in the mountainous region south of Draguignan, between Fréjus and Toulon, and more exactly north of the St. Tropez Gulf. On the Arab invasion of Provence see Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrasins en France*, Paris, 1836, pp. 155-225, Amari, *Bibl. Arabo-Sicula*, 1880, p. 2, Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens*, Paris, 1901, pp. 243-73. Reinaud's identification is still the accepted one. The details of the *H.-'Ā.* regarding the silver mine and the high mountain to the west of the Jabal al-qīl are not found elsewhere. The high mountain could be identified with the Massif des Maures which stretches north and south-west of the Fraxinetum. The mention by our author of the "Roman land", or the "town of Rome" in the neighbourhood of the Jabal al-qīl may be related to the old text on the Lombards reproduced in Yāqūt.<sup>1</sup>

29. Išt and I.H. give no dimensions of Cyprus. In I. Rusta, 85, its periphery is evaluated at 300 miles, but Qudāma and al-Battāni (quoted by de Goeje, *ibid.*, 85 i) reckon its circuit as being 350 miles, as in our author.

30. قریس stands certainly for *قرس*, *Kýpros*, i.e. Corsica, Ptolemy, iii, 2. This usually mis-spelt name is found in I. Rusta, 85 (with a periphery of 200 miles), as well as in Qudāma and al-Battāni (quoted *ibid.*, 85 d). The position of Corsica is confused by our author with that of Crete.

31. بالس corresponds to یابس (var. بانس) in Qudāma, 231, which is Yābis "Εβυσσος, now Ibiza, one of the Balearic islands. [Not to be confused with خالصة (خالطة, جالطة) which I.H., 136, places between Sicily and Crete.]

32. Išt., 70, and I.H., 136, place Sicily very close to the Ifranja (Franks) and give similar dimensions of 7 marḥalas in length (and 4 in width), while I. Rusta, 85, following his system, gives its periphery as being of 500 miles.

33. سرڊانه Sardinia is mentioned in I. Kh., 109 (there lives the patrician governor of all the islands), in Qudāma, 231 (under a different form سرڭانية) and in I. Rusta, 85, who also estimates the length of its periphery as 300 miles. Our author evidently confuses Sardinia with Sicily for he places Sardinia south of Rūmiya, whereas the Imperial treasure is mentioned in Sicily.

34. Crete (usually *Iqritish*, I. Kh., 112, Išt., 70) has the same periphery in I. Rusta, 75 (where the name has the form *Iqrītiya*). The position of this island is confused with that of Cyprus.

Ε. The name 35. Kabūdḥān "the blue one" belongs certainly to the lake itself called in Strabo, xi, 13, 2, λίμνην τὴν Σπαῦταν, read: \*Καπαῦταν, Old

<sup>1</sup> [The best identification for the high mountain would be the Alps. Then J.-Q. could be taken for the island of Elba, cf. Juynboll's suggestion.]

Persian *kapauta*, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 143. [The word is now attested in *kāsaka hya kapauta* "lapis lazuli" in Darius's "charte de fondation" ed. by V. Scheil.] There are several islands in the north-eastern part of the sea but the existence of considerable villages on them is open to doubt, unless the peninsula Shāhū, Ṭabarī, iii, 1171, Shāhī, is understood here. See Minorsky, *Marāgha*, *Marand*, *Tabriz*, and *Urmiya*, in *EI*.

f. The island *ḡazīrat al-Bāb* according to the description is the "Madder island" *ḡazīra-yi Rūynās* which is mentioned in Khāqānī's well-known ode referring to a Russian raid in Shīrvān towards A.D. 1175. Cf. also Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, 147, and *Nuḡḡat al-qulūb*, GMS, 239: جزیره روی. There are no islands in the immediate neighbourhood of Darband. Khanikoff, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, 131, identifies the Madder Island with the Sāra Island off Lankurān, while Westberg, *Four. Min. Narod. Prosv.*, 1908, xiv, 7, thinks that the peninsula of Apsheron (Ābshārān), on which Bākū stands, is meant here.

37. Siyāh-kūh, on the north-eastern coast of the Caspian, is now known under the Turkish name Manghishlaq, on which see Barthold in *EI*. Iṣṭ., 219, says that the Turks "recently" seized Siyāh-kūh.

38. The MS. vocalizes Dihistānān-sur [in which -sur is hardly connected with the name of the local prince حرل \*Chūr]. It is tempting to read the name as \**D.-sar*, in which case it would mean "the promontory of D.", cf. Miyānasar, the headland protecting the Gulf of Astarābād. The promontory must correspond to that of the Bay of Ḥasan-qulī by the estuary of the Atrak, near the district of Dihistān, "the country of the ancient people *Δάαι*, Dahae"; cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, Leipzig, 1880, 277-81, and Minorsky, *Meshhad-i Mestoriyān* in *EI*. On the other hand, Dihistānān-sur (or -sar) very probably is the place where Firdausī, ed. Vullers, i, 115, places the Dizh-i Alānān, cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, 109, Minorsky, *Tūrān*, in *EI*. On the falcons caught on the islands lying opposite the Jurjān coast, see Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 423.

## § 5. The Mountains

This chapter is particularly important as reflecting the author's conception of the surface of the Earth, see Map i.

1. The Arabic name of *al-Ṭā'in fil-baḥr* most probably means only "protruding into the sea"; cf. Bīrūnī, *Canon*, 3rd climate: *al-Mahdiyya 'alā anfin ṭā'inin fil-baḥr*. If eventually *ṭā'in* be taken in the sense of "striking" it may refer to some legend of the Alexandrian (?) lore. So Dimashqī (A.D. 1325), *Cosmographie*, SPb., 1866, p. 170, speaking of the Sea of Darkness (*baḥr al-ḡulumāt*) at the extreme limit of the inhabited world says: "on the coast towards the north, there are three stone statues cut in the rock and looking formidable. With their hands stretched towards the sea they show by their threatening air that there is no passage beyond there". Cf. Mžik, *Para-geographische Elemente*, who similarly explains Khuwārizmī's *al-Qal'at al-muḏī'a* by a story found in the *Abrégé des Merveilles*, tr. by Carra de Vaux, p. 46. As the easternmost mountain of the world Ibn Sa'īd (13th cent.)

names *ḡabal al-sahāb* "Mountain of the clouds", see Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 334. The additional details found in § 7, 1. though very vague, lend more reality to *al-Ṭā'in fil-baḥr* and seem to refer to the locality between Shantung and Corea.

2. Sarandīb = Ceylon is regarded as belonging to China, § 9, 23. Khuwārizmī, 40, calls the mountain of Ceylon (Adam's peak) *Ruhūn* [Ssk. *rōḡana* "ascent" and, as a proper name, "Adam's Peak"]. The mention of the first clime, while as a rule our text does not mention the climes, is curious and points perhaps to Jayhānī. On the products of Ceylon cf. also § 9, 23. and Qazwīnī's list, '*Aḡā'ib al-makhḡlūqāt*, 112.

3. It is difficult to see how the Mānisā<sup>1</sup> range is connected with a "corner" of Ceylon but under § 6, 1. it is again called the Sarandīb mountain. Possibly Ceylon is here confused with Sumatra. The sections of the range are as follows:

a. Between the imaginary "corner" of Ceylon and the boundary of Hindūstān with China. This first part of the Mānisā must represent the longitudinal chains of the Malay peninsula.

b. Eastern frontier of Tibet towards China (the ranges running west of Ssü-chuan?). Rāng-Rong (?), on which see § 11, 1., must accordingly be looked for in the south-east of Tibet.

c. The stretch of the Mānisā where from the south-to-north direction it bends to the north-west, shutting off China from the Tibetan N.zvān (cf. § 11, 3), seems to correspond to the Nan-shan mountains separating Kan-su from the Koko-nor and Tsaidam.

d. The part of the range dividing Tūsmat (*Twsmt*) from China "up to the end of the desert (forming) the extremity of China" must be the Altūn-tagħ and K'un-lun separating northern Tibet from the Taklamakan desert. Possibly instead of "between Tūsmat and China" (spelt جين) we must read "between Tūsmat and Khotan" (خوتن).<sup>2</sup> On a similar confusion in writing of ختن with چين see Barthold's *Preface*, p. 25. On Tūsmat see § 11, 9. On Khotan § 9, 18.

e. Some connecting words must have fallen out in the description of the final portion of the Mānisā which is represented as stretching in the north into Turkestan towards Tarāz and Shilji (on the latter see § 25, 93. and Iṣṭ., 281). This stretch must correspond to the westernmost T'ien-shan and, farther north, to the ranges forming the eastern barrier of the Jaxartes basin, for under § 6, 21. the sources of the Khatlām river (*i.e.* the Narin) are placed on the Mānisā. The mention of Tarāz and Shilji seems to indicate for the last portion of the Mānisā the Alexandrovsky range forming the watershed between the Jaxartes and the rivers Chū, Talās, &c., which finally disappear in the sands. On the other hand, the real continuation of the T'ien-shan,

<sup>1</sup> This is the vocalization indicated in the text. The origin of the name remains obscure. In Tibetan Dr. Unkrig suggests *ḡmaḡ ḡñiḡ sa*, pronounced *mañisa* with the approximate meaning of "the

region of two depressions", or "the range separating two depressions".

<sup>2</sup> The name of China usually appears in our text as *Chīnistān*.

resp. its central and eastern parts, is only mentioned as "joined" to the Mānisā (cf. *infra*, 7. Ighrāj-art and 6. Tafqān).

Consequently the Mānisā range is composed of the mountains skirting Tibet on the east, then looping round the southern and western part of Chinese Turkestan and finally forming, towards the north, the eastern barrier of the Jaxartes basin.

4. These are the ramifications of the Mānisā, such as the mountains separating the basins of the Yang-tze and Huang-ho in China, the mountains of the Central Plateau of Tibet and the off-shoots of the Alexandrovsky range.

5. This statement presupposes the existence in our author's source of some detailed list of the mountains of China.

6. طنفان is perhaps a mis-spelling for طنفان Turfān. The mountains must be the eastern T'ien-shan (Boghdo)—separating Turfān (in the south) from Dzungaria (in the north). The capital of the Toghuzghuz Chīnānj-kath (Khara-Khocho) stood near it, § 12, 1. The length of 4 farsakhs may refer only to the central peak.

7. This range is certainly the central T'ien-shan stretching north of Kuchā, Aq-su, &c. The reading of the name Ighrāj-art, in Turkish "the col of Ighrāj", is not certain but as under § 6, 5. it is vocalized *Irgĥāj* (with metathesis) the form *Ighrāj* has been adopted. The mountain (and the pass) of Ighrāj-art, situated "in the neighbourhood" of the river Khūland-ghūn (§ 6, 3.) is either the Muz-art, or the lower<sup>1</sup> and more western Bedel-pass. More likely the Ighrāj-art is the Muz-art, if we judge by the description under § 12, 17. (cf. note to § 6, 3.) and by the fact that the Ili river is said to rise from it (§ 6, 5). The stage of Ighrāj-art (§ 12, 17.) lay on the Toghuzghuz territory, but the mountain of Ighrāj-art traversed the Yaghmā territory (§ 13, 1.) as well. It is difficult to say whether اغراج (under § 6, 5.: ارغاج) is responsible for the second part of توزون عارج (§ 15, 6.) which probably lay south of the Western T'ien-shan, see note to § 3, 17. Cf. also § 15, 3.

8. This range seems to run to the north-west of the Toghuzghuz territory, north of the Issik-kul, and consequently corresponds to the Kūngey-Ala-tau from the western extremity of which<sup>2</sup> a branch shoots off northwards, i.e. at a right angle. This branch separates the basins of the Ili and Chu, and on it are situated such passes as Kastek (7780 f.) &c.<sup>3</sup> This "Ili-Chu range" seems to be the branch mentioned at the end of 8. as "stretching off towards the Khirkhiz country". Several other passages in our book (see notes to § 14) also point to the presence of the Khirkhiz in the region north of Kastek, but though the meaning of the text is clear, the accuracy of the author's statement cannot yet be controlled by any other contemporary evidence. The name *Tūls* (\**Tūlās*?) given in the text to the range is known

<sup>1</sup> Alt. 14,000 feet.

<sup>2</sup> More exactly, of the "Trans-Ili Alatau" which is a parallel range running to the north of the Kūngey Ala-tau.

<sup>3</sup> Farther north the height rapidly decreases and here the range is crossed now by the "Turksib" railway. See Maps v and vi.

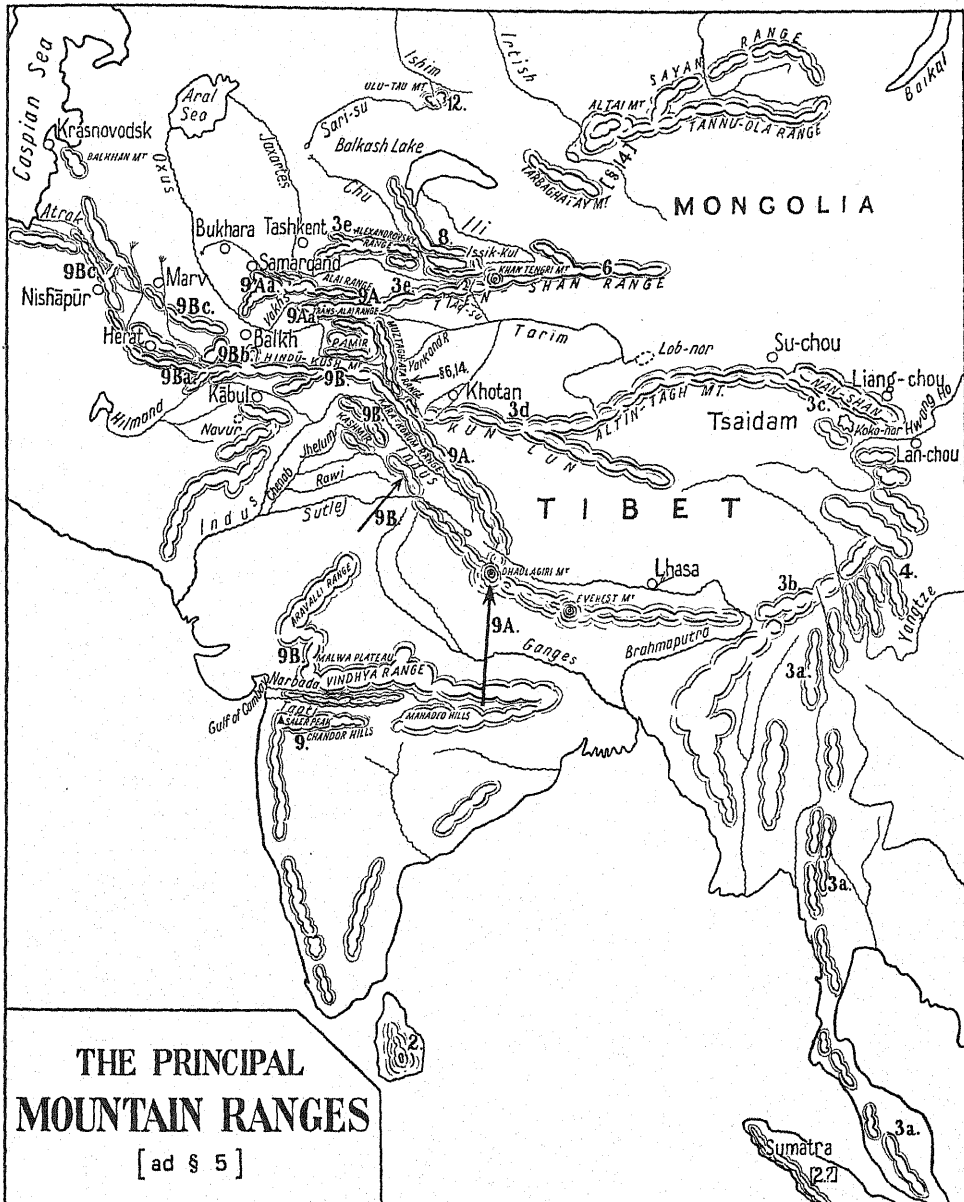
to us only at an entirely different place. According to the *Zafar-nāma*, i, 495, in 792/1390 Tīmūr sent from Tashkent an expedition against the khān Qamar al-dīn. The troops marched north of the Issik-kul and crossed the rivers Ili and Qara-tal. On reaching the Irtysh they learned that Qamar al-dīn had already crossed this latter river and taken the direction of Tūlas "in the woods of which sable-martens (*samūr*) and ermine (*qāqum*) are found". These details point certainly to the wooded Altai mountains and it is curious that the fauna mentioned by our author in his Tūlas resembles that of its namesake of the *Zafar-nāma*. If now we revert to Gardīzī, who certainly utilized much the same sources as our author, we shall find a locality Mānb.klū, abounding in "sable-martens, grey squirrels and musk-deer", on the road leading (in a northerly direction) from the Toghuzghuz territory to that of the Khirkhīz. The distances in Gardīzī are vague (see note to § 14), but the Mānb.klū mountain seems to stand at four days' distance south (or south-west) of the Kūkmān (\**Kökmān*) mentioned also in the Orkhon inscriptions and identified with the mountains of the Upper Yenisei, cf. Barthold, *Report*, p. 110. In this case Mānb.klū (with its peculiar fauna!) must also refer to the Altai region. As the expansion of the Khirkhīz (§ 14) took place westwards it would be natural to find a tribe of theirs in the Altai. [So too I understand *qurba Khirkhīz* in Işī. 281<sub>8</sub>.]

To sum up: geographically our author's description of the range running north of the Issik-kul and its northern offshoot is correct, but he may have transferred to it some characteristics borrowed from a different source and belonging to some range lying farther to the east (Tūlas = Altai?). For an explanation see p. 286, n. 1.

9. In this important paragraph on the "Belt of the Earth" an attempt is made to link up the Central Indian hills with the highest ranges forming the north-eastern border of India; these again are linked up with the mountains north and south of the Oxus and finally with the Elburz. See the map "Orographical features" in *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, vol. xxvi, plate 4, and S. G. Burrard and H. H. Hayden, *A Sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Tibet*, revised edition, Delhi, 1933.

The Central Indian range is represented as starting from the western coast of India, stretching eastwards and then splitting into two so that its outer ramification (9A) comprises the Himalaya, Karakorum, Pamir, and the ranges north of the Oxus, while its inner ramification (9B) comprises the part of the Himalaya immediately north of Kashmir which is then connected with the Hindukush, &c.

The paragraph on the Central Indian hills must be examined in the light of the description of the Lesser Mihrān (§ 6, 16.) which in its lower course is said to flow through the limits of Kūlī. This Kūlī of Kanbāya must be clearly distinguished from the Kūlī estuary of the Indus (§ 6, 13.). It is difficult to decide whether the starting-point of the hills is taken south or north of the Narbadā, but the presumption is for the south, as the hills descend here much nearer to the coast and possess a peak of 5,261 ft. (Saler, south of the Tapti) which is the prominent landmark of the whole of Central



India. Šamūr, or Šawur (indistinctly written), can hardly have anything to do with the coastal Šamūr mentioned in § 10, 14. Geographically it would be tempting to identify our Šamūr (š = č?) with Chandor (Chandor hills west of Ajānta), after which the line of the hills takes in fact a north-eastern direction. Following our text, the range splits into two in, or beyond Hitāl (?). The latter (§ 10, 41.) is certainly a Transgangetic and Sub-Himalayan locality but our author, totally silent on the existence of the Ganges, does not explain how the hills coming from the west cross this great river. In spite of his opinion, the hills split off west of the Ganges. When their line south of the Narbadā and Tapti reaches the sources of the Narbadā, it bifurcates: the eastern branch follows the previous direction and forms the watershed between the Ganges and the rivers flowing more to the south towards the Bay of Bengal, while the other branch bends round the right bank of the Narbadā, following first a western direction (Vindhya range) and then a northern one (Aravalli range). This is presumably the situation which our source originally had in view.

9A. The "northward" line (in reality stretching eastwards) was then supposed to join the Himalaya and skirt Tīthāl and Nītāl, cf. § 10, 41.-3.<sup>1</sup> Here comes a curious detail: the range is continued not by the mountains lying immediately north (*i.e.* north of the Sutlej gorge) but by the ranges lying farther east and forming the real watershed between the Trans-Himalayan part of the Indus basin and the plateau of Tibet. The further continuation of the range is formed by the Pamir mountains (Alay?) and the northern watershed of the Oxus (on Buttamān see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 82).

9A are the ramifications of 9A, filling the extremely mountainous country north of the Upper Oxus; Khuttalān is the region lying between the Panj and the Vaksh (§ 6, 8.-9.) while Buttamān stretches between the Vakhsh and Samarqand (§ 6, 10-11). The two branches of Khuttalān seem to correspond to the Trans-Alay and Alay ranges stretching respectively south and north of the upper Vakhsh (cf. note to § 6, 18.). The range between the *Daryāzha* and Chaghāniyān is that of Hīšār, which forms the southern watershed of the Zarafshān in the basin of which both Samarqand and Bukhārā are situated.

9B. corresponds to the Vindhya-Aravalli range forming the southern barrier of the Ganges basin (which was under the sway of the king of Qinnauj of the Gurjara dynasty, cf. § 10, 46.). On the impossibility of its branching off from Hibtāl (Hitāl) *v.s.* 9A. The continuation of the Aravalli range is the watershed of the Ganges and the Indus, and consequently the dominions of the "continental Jāba" (cf. § 10, 45.)<sup>2</sup> must be looked for in the basin of the Indus, and probably south of Kashmīr. The further extension of 9B must comprise the northern part of the Great Himalaya (*i.e.* the range west of the upper course of the Indus, towering over Kashmīr), the

<sup>1</sup> Our text, *v.s.*, line 5, presupposes the splitting off of the main range in Hitāl and the latter is not mentioned again under 9A.

<sup>2</sup> Bordering on the possessions of \*al-Jurz (§ 10, 46.), evidently identical with the king of Qinnauj.



watershed between the sources of the Indus and the Oxus and the Hindūkush.<sup>1</sup> The latter is then linked up with the ranges of northern Persia, but the Elburz range is not continued beyond Gilān. The Q.s.k (\*Qasak?) mountain belonging to 9B is not mentioned in any other known source. No particular precision is expected from its location in, or near the kingdom of Lhrz (Jurz, § 10, 46.), of which, according to § 10, 57., Kashmir was a dependency. This mountain *grosso modo* stands for the watershed between the sources of the Indus and the Oxus (or more particularly the Khurnāb, see note to § 6, 14.). The name \*Qasak is curious. Ptolemy, vi, 15, mentions a locality called ἡ Κασία χώρα in the Scythia-outside-the-Imaos, i.e. east of the range separating the Pamir plateau from Kāshgharia. In § 6, 14. the Qasak "is also called *Kūh-i yakh* (i.e. Mountain of Ice)", which looks like a Persian translation of the native term.<sup>2</sup> The Turkish equivalent of this would be *Muz-tagh*, which is a common term in the region: Muz-tagh-ata, west of Yarkand, Muz-tagh, south of Khotan, to say nothing of the Muz-art, north-west of Kuchā. The nearest identification would be with the Muz-tagh-ata but the latter lies too much to the north for our purpose (on 9A, not on 9B) and the decisive indication as to the situation of Qasak is the story quoted under § 6, 14.

9B a. Here we are in the region which our author knows very closely, though his description of it is involved. He rightly considers the locality of Sān-va-Chāryak (now *Sangchārak*), lying on the Ābi-Safid upstream from Sar-i Pul, as the point near which the main chain splits off. He first describes the range of Siyāh-kōh following the Herat-river on the south [but commits an error in saying that Aspuzār (Isfizār) lies north of it]; he further connects it with the mountains of southern Khorāsān and follows them up to the region of Nishāpūr and Sabzavār between which towns the line of the hills passes to the north of the great Khorāsān road. [More correctly, this passage takes place between Mashhad and Nishāpūr.] See Map viii.

9B b. Here our author describes the central part of the knot of the Hindūkush and Kōh-i Bābā mountains with their southward ramifications towards the headwaters of the Kābul river and the Hilmand. The valley near Ghūr resembling a finger-ring must be Dasht-i Nāvur (some 50 km. west of Ghaznī) which has no outlet. [*Nāvur* (nor) in Mongolian means "lake".]

9B c describes the northern branch of the mountains (Band-i Turkistān) starting from near Sān-va-Chāryak. On the localities mentioned see notes to § 23, 53. &c.<sup>3</sup> In the west the Band-i Turkistān is linked with the outer

<sup>1</sup> In reality the Hindūkush continues the Kara-korum range, which according to our author belongs to 9A and not 9B.

<sup>2</sup> The language to which the name [as well as *-ghūn*, v.s., 3] belongs remains mysterious. One might recall at this occasion the still puzzling Scythian name of the Caucasian mountains quoted by Pliny, *Natur. hist.*, 6, 50, "CROUCASIS,

nive candidus", cf. Marquart, *Woher stammt der Name Kaukasus?*, in *Caucasica*, fasc. 6, 1. Teil, 1930, p. 31. For the second element of the name cf. also the Greek forms *Kaukaos*, *Kaukaos*.

<sup>3</sup> In this description *miyān* does not seem to mean that the range separates the points mentioned but simply that it stretches along them. Cf. p. 63, line 37.

(northern) range of Khorāsān separating the latter from the Atak ("the skirt of the mountains", i.e. the Transcaspian province, now Turkmenistān). The author skips the valley of the upper Atrak [which he confuses with the Gurgān, § 6, 50.] and passes on to the range stretching south of the Atrak. On the south-western face of this latter range is situated the gorge from which rises the Gurgān river and which was known under the name of Dīnār-zārī. Išt., 217, gives the following itinerary from Jurjān to Khorāsān: from Jurjān to Dīnār-zārī one marḥala; thence to Amlūtū (> Armūt-'Alī?) ditto; thence to Ajugh (?) ditto; thence to Sībdāst ditto; thence to Isfarā' in ditto.<sup>1</sup> In the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī* (Morley), p. 255, Dīnār-zārī is described as a gorge (*sar-darra*) on the way from Nishāpūr to Gurgān; Ṣāḥir al-dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān* (ed. Dorn), p. 19, describes Dīnār-chārī as the eastern frontier of Ṭabaristān. Nowadays the gorge is called Dahana-yi Gurgān. The "mountain on the other side of the valley" is that stretching along the left bank of the Gurgān river and separating Gurgān (in the north) from Isfarāyīn (in the south). Farther to the west it is continued by the Māzandarān mountains. The author still distinguishes the two ranges: his 9B is the range of Māzandarān as seen from the south (from Simnān, Rayy, &c.) while his 9Bc overlooking Āmol is the northern face of the same orographic system. According to his notion the two branches meet in the region of Rayy. Between the two ranges must then lie the Māzandarān highlands. Such a view can be explained by the intricate character of the Māzandarān mountains sloping down towards the Caspian in several gradients. See A. F. Stahl's map of the Caspian mountains (Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, 1927, Heft 7-8), utilized also in the annex to Rabino's *Māzandarān*.

I have not found elsewhere the mention of the Arabic term *Mintāqaṭ al-Arḍ* in the sense in which our author uses it.<sup>2</sup> But a similar conception is found in I.H. who, pp. 109-11, gives an account of the mountain stretching along "the spine of the earth" (*jabal 'alā ṣaḥr al-arḍ*) which "begins in the East in China, (where) it comes out from the Ocean, and (directs itself) to Vakhkhān. It traverses Tibet, in its western parts and not its centre, and the eastern parts of the Kharlukh land, until it penetrates into Farghāna which is within the Islamic limits. The ridge (*ṣadr*) of the mountain stretches over Farghāna towards the mountain of Buttām situated south of Ushrūsana. . . . Then it directs itself towards Samarqand skirting it also on the south, goes towards . . . Kishsh and Nasaf and the region of Zamm. Then it crosses the Jayḥūn and . . . goes westwards to Jūzjān . . . and over Tālaqān to Marw ar-rūdh and Ṭūs . . . leaving Nisābūr to the east [cf. *supra* 9Ba]. Then it stretches to Rayy . . . while the mountains of Jurjān, Ṭabaristān, Gilān and Daylam branch off from it. Then it joins the

<sup>1</sup> Napier, *The northern frontier of Khorāsān*, *GF.*, 1876, shows on his map "Dasht-i Armūt-'Alī" between the northern source of the Gurgān and the pass of Simalghān.

<sup>2</sup> The idea may be of Zoroastrian origin. Cf. *Bundahishn*, tr. by E. W.

West, Oxford, 1880, ch. xii, where the Alburz is represented as stretching "around this earth and connected with the sky" whereas the other mountains, 2244 in number, "have grown out of Alburz".

mountains of Ādharbāyjān." It stretches on the right of the road from Rayy to Hūlwān, then turns north towards Takrīt and Āmid sending off its branches into Armenia and towards the Caucasus (*al-Qabq*). Then it continues towards Mar'ash where it joins the range coming from Syria. Through the latter the principal range is united to the North African mountains which stretch on to the Atlantic.

If the general idea of I.H. and of our author is practically the same, they differ considerably in details. The *H. 'A.* gives much more exact information on Tibet, India, the region of the Hindūkush and the Caucasus. On the other hand, our author is silent on the supposed African extension of the Syrian mountains.

10. The Kūfj mountains, according to our author, occupied an extensive area between Jiruft and the sea, cf. *Iṣṭ.*, 164. They correspond *grosso modo* to the ranges which separate the closed basin of Jaz-Moriyān from the sea, such as Kūh-i Bashākirt (6,800 feet), Kuhrān (7,095 feet), &c. On the Kūfj cf. § 28, 7. The Bārijān (*Iṣṭ.*, 167, Bāriz) separates Jiruft from Bam. The highlands of Abū Ghānim, according to *Iṣṭ.*, 164, lay north of the Kūfj, and according to our § 28, 7. they must be the mountains to the south of Khānū (Kūh-i Dasht-gird?). The silver mountain west of Jiruft towards Khabr is probably the Siyāh Kūh. See 1:2,000,000 Map of Persia.

11. South-east of the Nīrīz lake in Fārs there is a knot of mountains where several chains running north-west to south-east unite. Our author arbitrarily makes the mountain shutting off Fasā from Dārāb the starting-point of a range which, after a sweep to the east towards Kirmān, turns in the opposite direction of south-east to north-west. This range is then brought into connexion with that forming the western border of Isfahān, with that of Northern Luristān, with the Alvand and further with the ranges of Persian Kurdistān and Ādharbāyjān. The evidence for the locality of Rūdhān (on the road from Kirmān to Yazd) has been examined by Le Strange, *o.c.*, 286, where Rūdhān is placed near Gulnābād. *Tās* (?) in our text corresponds to *Unās* which is identified with Bahrāmābād, but the reading of the names اناس *Unās*, تاس *Tās*, &c., is not certain, cf. *Iṣṭ.*, 102 *d.* Abū Dulaf's Karaj lay on the road from Isfahān to Hamadān near the present-day Sulṭānābād, cf. § 31, 5. The Sahand mountain (between Marāgha and Tabriz) is evidently considered as the northern end of the range.

The author's idea was to describe the inner chain of the western mountains of Persia, as opposed to the outer range stretching between the Persian Gulf and the Ararat. The idea is not inaccurate, but some misunderstandings in details were natural. Even *Iṣṭ.*, 97, had to give up the task of describing in detail the mountains of his native Fārs "because there are few towns in Fārs where there is not a mountain, or whence one cannot see some mountain". Our author has translated the first part of this statement word for word. The Kūh-Gilū (\**Gēlōya*) mountains are usually reckoned to Fārs. The present day Kūh-Gilū is reduced to the territory between Bāsht and Behbehān, cf. Minorsky, *Luristān*, in *EI*.

12. The mountain stretching between the Kimäk (cf. § 18) and Khirkhiz (cf. § 14) looks like the Altai near which the Irtysh (§ 6, 42.) rises. The Altai is further supposed to be linked up with the hills standing west of the Irtysh, among which the *K.ndāv.r* mountain must be sought. Barthold reads this name *Kändir* (?) and Marquart *Komanen*, 92, 205: *Känd-ör* (?) and *Kundāvar* (with a reference to Persian *kundāvar* "army-leader, hero"). I now feel inclined to identify *K.ndāv.r* with the mountain described by Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ed. Sachau, 264 (transl. 255): "similar to this little lake (i.e. Sabzarūd, *v.s.* § 3, 27.) is a sweet-water well in the district of the Kimäk in a mountain called مَكُور as large as a great shield. The surface of its water is always on a level with its margin. Frequently a whole army drinks out of this well and still it does not decrease as much as the breadth of a finger. Close to this well there are the traces of the foot, two hands with the fingers, and two knees of a man who had been worshipping here; also the traces of the foot of a child and of the hooves of an ass. The Ghuzzī Turks worship those traces when they see them."

Marquart's restoration, *Komanen*, 101, of *Mnkwr* as \**mīn köl* "thousand lakes" is inadequate from the point of view of Bīrūnī's description. One can assume that in Gardīzī *K.ndāv.r* the *alif* is only a tribute to the Persian popular etymology \**kundāvar* [most suspect with regard to such a remote Turkish territory as ours]. Then كنداور improved into \**كنور* would look very much like مَكُور. But even supposing that the two names are identical it is not easy to decide which form must be given preference. For *M.nkwr* we have the parallel of a Qipchaq clan مَكُور اغلا quoted in al-Warrāq (d. A.D. 1318), Marquart *ibid.* 157, and the name of a Kurdish tribe *Mangur* which is very probably of Turkish or Mongol origin, see Minorsky *Sa'udj-bulaq* in *EI*. The form *K.ndwr* (\**k.ndür*) has in its favour the parallel of a Turkish title on which *v.i.*, note to § 22, and also some resemblance to the present name *Kängir* mentioned in the note to § 18.

As regards the location of the mountain we must consider the possibility of the road to the Kimäk (§ 18) having in the course of time changed its direction. If *K.ndāv.r* was found on the original route of which the starting point was near Tārāz (Talas), Marquart's identification of it with the Ulu-tau is still the best. This mountain has a peak of 631 metres = 2,070 feet and forms the watershed between the Sarī-su and Tārs-aqan, the latter being one of the feeders of the Ishim. If, on the other hand, the route started from the lower course of the Jaxartes (Gardīzī, 83) it would be necessary to look for the *K.ndāv.r* between the sources of the more northern Turghai and the western loop of the Ishim, though the heights in this locality are insignificant. Finally if Gardīzī's route was imagined to run northwards (towards some other, or some later, part of the Kimäk territory) the *K.ndāv.r* could be identified with the Mugojar mountains (see note to § 18). [On the name *v.i.*, p. 308, note 1.]

13. The Savalān, which stands 16,800 feet, can be called small only in the sense that it does not belong to a long chain.

14. See Herzfeld, *Bārimma*, in *EI*. The name Bārimma was applied to

the present-day Ḥamrīn where the Tigris cuts the latter south of the estuary of the Lesser Zāb and north of Takrīt. The Ḥamrīn is a long range of reddish hills following on the west the border range of the Persian plateau. Išt., 75, vaguely says that "in the east" it stretches to the limits of Kirmān; and that "it is (also) the mountain of Māsabadhān". From this it is evident that the Bārimma was confused with the southern part of the western outer range of Persia (on the inner range see above 11.). Our author is entirely wrong when he takes the "Bārimmā" for the starting-point of the northern part of the same outer range of Persia (*i.e.* the present "frontier range" between Persia on the one hand and 'Irāq and Turkey on the other). In the north the connexion of the Ararat with the Qara-bāgh (highlands west of Barda'a) is imaginary.

16. The Jūdī stands in Bohtān, north of the Tigris and north-east of Jazīra-ibn-'Omar. On its association with Noah's ἀποβατήριον see Streck, *Djūdī*, in *EI* and Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 349, 352. The town of Mārdīn is situated on a cliff at an altitude of 1,190 metres and its fortress lies 100 metres higher above it. The range of the Mārdīn mountains was called in antiquity Masius, or Ἰζαλᾶς. See Minorsky, *Mārdīn*, in *EI*.

17. Tihāma is the low coastal region along the Red Sea overlooked by a long range of mountains. Ghazwān is the mountain on which Ṭā'if is situated, Išt., 19. The Shibām mountain is situated at 2 days distance towards the south-west of Ṣan'ā, see Grohmann, *Shibām I*, in *EI*. The mountain "at the end of Tihāma" is Mudhaikhira, see Išt., 24, where both its length of 20 fars. and its conquest by Muḥammad b. Faḍl are mentioned; cf. I. Kh., 106, v.s. 21. The two mountains of the Ṭayy territory, in Central Arabia, have nothing to do with Tihāma. Their names are Aja' and Salmā, see Yāqūt, ii, 20 (Jabalān), i, 122 and iii, 120.

18. This composite range of mountains consists of the Sinai and the Syrian mountains, of the Armenian Taurus, of the Lesser Caucasus (Alagez < Armenian *Aragats*, &c.) and of the Eastern Caucasus. The term "Qabq" covers the principalities of Daghestan. From the Sinai to the Caspian our author's range runs approximately south-west to north-east, but in the neighbourhood of the Caspian it changes its direction sharply running now from SE. to NW., and follows the eastern (outer) line of the Daghestan mountains, *grosso modo* from Darband to the Darial pass. But then instead of continuing straight to the Black Sea, the range, in our author's opinion, takes a northern direction across the eastern part of Russia (stretching, as it seems, west of the Volga). This imaginary longitudinal range explains some of the puzzling statements in our text, cf. §§ 47 and 50, where a "Khazar mountain" separates on the east the Khazarian Pechenegs from the Khazars; § 46, where a mountain is mentioned to the east of the Mirvāt; § 53, where a mountain is mentioned west of the V.n.nd.r. It is possible that this mountain represents the watershed between the Caspian and Black seas and that its extension to the north is due to the fact that our author wrongly moved to the east the peoples Mirvāt and V.n.nd.r who were divided by the Carpathians. This latter

range was then imagined to stand somewhere in Eastern Russia near the Volga!

On the Lukām cf. Išt., 14 and 56, who also mentions the tribes Bahrā and Tanūkh. [*\*al-Ukkām* < Syr. *ukkāmā* "black", Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 347.]

18 A. The Taurus in Asia Minor.

18 B. The central and western part of the Great Caucasian range is represented as starting from Daghestan within the loop which the principal (outer) range is supposed to make here. The real Caucasus, treated here as a branch of that outer range, stretches west to the Georgian (Black) Sea. Lower down (22.) it is called "Georgian mountain". See Map xi.

18 c. This offshoot of the great range (18.) starting from the middle Sarīr in an easterly direction corresponds to the lofty chain (heights reaching 13,656 feet) which separates the basin of the Qoy-su from that of the Terek.

18 D. The last branch following a westerly direction seems to be that of the Qazbek (16,546 feet) overlooking the Darial pass. Of the two castles the first (18 c) is perhaps that mentioned under § 49, 1., while the second (18 D) corresponds to § 48, 3., but the details must have become confused. Like the rest of the data on the western shore of the Caspian, this paragraph contains some information which would be vainly sought elsewhere, even at a much later period.

19. This mountain very probably represents the Urals. Curiously enough neither under § 18, nor under § 44, are the territories of the Kimāk and Rūs represented as contiguous, and § 5, 19. may mean only that the mountain at one end reached the Rūs and at the other the Kimāk. The Kimāk territory is supposed to stretch down to the Volga in the west (§ 18) and the Urals to stand between the basins of the Irtish and Volga, cf. note to § 6, 42. and 43. Under § 44 the Rūs territory is bordered in the east by the PECHENEG MOUNTAINS which may refer exactly to the Urals (on the space separating the Rūs from the Kimāk).

20. Cf. Wensinck, *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* in *EI*. The Seven Sleepers' cave, according to I. Kh., 106, lay in Kharama, a district situated between Amorion and Nicaea, at 4 days' distance from the Cappadocian fortress Qurra. Another Muslim tradition places the cave in Afsūs. This latter name has been interpreted either as the Ephesus of the Christian tradition, or as Arabissos (Arab. *Absus*, Turk. *Yarpuz*) situated at the foot of the Kūrd-daghī. Cf. Yāqūt, i, 91: "Absus, ruined town near Ablastayn [now Albistān]; from it were the Companions of the Cave", Khuwārizmī, 128, calls Ephesus افاسس and Bīrūnī in his *Canon* ابسس.

21. If by the town (province?) of Afrakhūn (cf. § 74, 10.) Paphlagonia is meant, the mountains in question are the Pontic Alps.

22. On the Georgian mountain see above 18 B, but the details on the mountain possessing mines are too vague.

24. ابريق looks like a mis-spelling of ابوط on which see *Buwait* in *EI*. I am obliged to Mr. R. Guest for this suggestion and for a quotation from Ibn Duqmaq, iii, p. 3, who remarks that Abwait is situated رأس الجبل الذي يصعد منه إلى الفيوم, i.e. "on the top of the bank (of the Nile) whence

the road goes up to Fayyūm". [The difficulty is that in our author's two principal sources (I.Kh. and Išt.) *Abwayt* (or *Buwayt*) is not found. I now see that Prince Yousouf Kamal (*v.i.*, § 39), p. 665, restores ماريق as \*تاريخ. The translation must accordingly run: "(this mountain) also starts straight from the Nubian frontier and follows a northerly direction<sup>1</sup> down to the Fayyūm region, until it reaches the Rif" (i.e. the fertile region near the delta). This seems to be a satisfactory reading. On the name ماريق see note to § 6, 49.]

25. If the author means here the Seleucia (now Selefke) situated north-west of the Gulf (*khalīj*) of Iskenderun, this mountain corresponds to the Cilician Taurus.

26. Here the eastern watershed is meant, which separates the basins of the Guadalquivir, Guadiana, and Tagus from the rivers flowing eastwards towards the Mediterranean. *Shantariya* corresponds to *Shantabriya* whence, according to Išt., 42, the Tagus comes, cf. § 41, 4. Then the watershed between the Tagus and the Guadiana is taken for the continuation of the range (in the opposite direction NE. to SW.). This watershed is naturally continued by the Sierra de Toledo.

27. It is quite natural that after the range stretching south of the Tagus the one stretching north of it (Sierra de Gredos-Guadarrama) should be mentioned. Coria is more or less suitable for the southern point of it, but Turjāla (Truxillo) situated south of the Tagus on the slope of the Sierra de Guadalupe (which continues towards the south the line of the mountains of Toledo), is entirely out of place. Morón (Maurūn) would be a suitable point to mark the northern limit of the range starting from Coria.

28. The Balkans, cf. § 42, 17. The name *Balqan* belonging originally to the mountain east of the Krasnovodsk bay, on the eastern shore of the Caspian, was probably transferred to the Balkans by the Turcomans who remembered the toponymy of their ancient country; see Barthold, *Balkhān*, in *EI*. Cf. note to § 3, 5.

29. The reading of القمر جبل *Jabal al-qamar* "Moon Mountain" corresponds exactly to Ptolemy's τὸ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρος ἀφ' οὗ ὑποδέχονται τὰς χιόνας αἱ τοῦ Νείλου λίμναι. However the reading of القمر in the later geographical literature of the Arabs has given rise to some controversy, see Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 330. Ibn Sa'id (circa A.D. 1208-86) warns explicitly against the pronunciation with a *fatḥa* (\**qamar*) to which he prefers a form with *u* (\**Qumr*, *Qumar*?), but this evidently with the intention of justifying his very interesting theory about the inner Asiatic people قمر (Khmer?) who after having been ousted from Central Asia went to Indo-China, then colonized the island \*Qumr (Madagascar) and finally passed over to the continent and occupied the slopes of the Jabal-al-Q.mr, Ferrand, *o.l.*, p. 317.

## § 6. The Rivers

This chapter too (*v.s.* § 5) is very important as facilitating a more exact location of numerous places.

<sup>1</sup> Or: "runs straight in a northerly direction".

1. The river of Khumdān (§ 9, 1.) is evidently the HUANG-HO and not its tributary the Wei-ho on which Ch'ang-an-fu (Hsi-an-fu) really stands. The distances are of course too short. On the Sarandīb mountain (Mānisā) cf. § 5, 3. The Huang-ho comes from the region of lakes on the north-eastern border of Tibet. The swamp on its middle course is imaginary, unless the author thinks that through the Lob-nor the Huang-ho is connected with the Tarim, *v.i.* 3. In this case he describes the same river twice over using under 3. some unknown original source and reproducing under 1. the information known already to Khuwārizmī. The latter, p. 125, mentions the river *مطروس* rising from the mountain of the river *سمن* and then flowing through a swamp (*baṭīḥa*),<sup>1</sup> after which the river crosses the City of China (*madīnat al-Šīn*) and disembogues into the sea.<sup>2</sup> Our author substitutes for this vague "City of China" (= *Σήρα μητρόπολις*, Ptolemy, vi, 16, 8) the name of Khumdān, and for the indication of longitude and latitude his simplified reckoning by day-marches.

2. The name *Kīsau* (کيسو), if emended into \**K.nsw*, might be confronted with Kin-sha-kiang, the principal source of the YANGTZE, rising in the north-eastern part of Tibet, south of the K'un-lun range. The reading \**Ghīyān* (*kiang* "The River", as the Yangtze is usually called) is confirmed by Gardīzī's *Qiyān*. On the names of the provinces see notes to § 9.

3. This river is an imaginary combination of the Tarim and Huang-ho of which the latter is represented as a continuation of the former through the Lob-nor.

The description of the TARIM proper contains several curious details. The sources of the river of Khotan are placed in the localities of \*Wajākh (cf. § 11, 12.), Bariḥa (cf. § 11, 13.) and Kūskān. Of these at least *بريخه* or *بريجه* presents some resemblance to the col of Brinjak (برنجك) in the mountains south of Khotan (evidently understood under the Mānisā, *v.s.* note to § 5, 3*d.*).<sup>3</sup>

The names of the three tributaries of the Khotan (Wajākh) river look Iranian with their terminations in *-and*; the element *-ghūn* stands apparently for "river",<sup>4</sup> but in what language? The obvious course is to identify the three rivers with the principal streams joining the Khotan river, *i.e.* respectively with the rivers of Yārkand, Kāshghar, and Aq-su. One cannot, however, ignore the difficulties raised by the eventual identification of Khūland-ghūn (*v.i.* 5. and 7. and §§ 12, 5. and 13.) with Aq-su.<sup>5</sup> The mountain of Ighrāj-art ("the col of Ighrāj"), located by our author "in the neighbourhood" of Khūland-ghūn, as explained in the note to § 5, 7., looks more like the higher eastern Muz-art, than the lower western Bedel

<sup>1</sup> Khuwārizmī adds that another river rising also from the "mountain of the river *سمن*" falls into the same swamp.

<sup>2</sup> *مطروس* perhaps = *Οιχίρδης*, Ptolemy, vi, 16.

<sup>3</sup> A remote parallel of the name *کوسکان* could be that of the Kashkūl glacier situated above the locality of Nisa [south

of Khotan].

<sup>4</sup> The names of the rivers *Gunt* [\**Ghund*], in the Pamir, and *Tazghun* (?), south of Kāshghar, may be recalled here as parallels. [Or *ghūn* = Pers. *gūn* "colour"?]

<sup>5</sup> On the earlier names of Aq-su see note to § 15, 15.



pass situated above the sources of the Aq-su, *v.i.*, p. 296. On the other hand, the town of Ark (ارک) belonging to the Toghuzghuz (§ 12, 5.) is said to be situated near Khūland-ghūn. In the itinerary quoted by Gardīzī, 91, 13 (probably corresponding to our ارک) is placed to the east of Kuchā, see note to § 12, 5. These considerations suggest for Khūland-ghūn an easterly position in the neighbourhood of the Muz-art pass, though here again we are confronted by some difficulty for neither the Kuchā nor any other river in this region now reaches the Tarim, whatever may have been the case in the past.

If the Khūland-ghūn is to be placed so far east it is possible that the other two rivers should also be moved to the western T'ien-shan and this would entail further uncertainty about the localities of Gh.zā and K.lbānk between which the affluents join the \*Wajākh river. Under § 11, 21., Gh.zā is placed "at the very beginning of Tibet from the Toghuzghuz side, near the river of Kuchā", but we shall presently see that the use of this last term involves us in fresh complications.

The river Tarim is further represented as continued beyond the Lob-nor (*v.s. 1.*) by the Huang-ho. The Chinese themselves were responsible for this belief: "This river [*Sita* = Tarim] on the east enters the sea. Passing through the Salt Lake [*Yen-tse* = Lob-nor] it flows underground and emerging at the Tsih-shi mountains [west of Lan-chou?] it is the origin of our [Yellow] river", Hsüan-Tsang, *Life* (Beal), p. 199, less clearly in Hsüan-Tsang, *Life* (Julien), p. 273, cf. Richthofen, *China*, i, 318 and Chavannes, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1907, p. 168, note 4. Consequently the sentence: "thence [from Lob-nor] it flows (down) to the limits of Kuchchā, then passes through the province of Kūr.sh and the province of F.rāj.klī and empties itself into the Eastern Ocean", ought to come under § 6, 1. which, however, is based on a different source.

Following our text (§ 6, 3.) the "limits of Kuchchā (*sic*)" where the Tarim received the name of "Kuchchā river" lie downstream (*i.e.*, E. or S.) of the swamp of \*Sha-chou<sup>1</sup> by which only the Lob-nor can be meant. In principle it would be embarrassing to surname any reach of the Tarim after the well-known town of Kuchā (§ 9, 10.) which lies on a river of its own<sup>2</sup> rising from the western T'ien-shan and losing itself (at present!) short of the Tarim. Thus we are led to admit that by Kuchchā كچا our author may mean a different locality, namely Kuchān كچان (see note to § 9, 5.)<sup>3</sup> which most likely is to be sought on the real course of the Huang-ho, near Lan-chou-fu. If so "the river of Kuchchā" must refer not to the Tarim, but to the Huang-ho (cf. § 7, 2.),<sup>4</sup> and Ghazā is then to be placed accordingly.

The curious passage on the 'akka-birds nesting on the banks of the Tarim can hardly be connected with what Idrīsī, i, 502, says about the lake

<sup>1</sup> ساجو is certainly \*Sha-chou [§ 9, 15.]. *Sanju*, near Khotan, is out of the question.

<sup>2</sup> It is true that the Huang-ho [*v.s. 1.*] is called "river of Khumdān" though this is geographically inexact.

<sup>3</sup> In this case the *tashād* over the first form may be a simple mis-spelling of the final ن of the second form.

<sup>4</sup> Under § 7, 3. the Lob-Nor is called طحمة رود كچا but it remains a moot point whether the "swamp" is called after the

of کوارث which he places somewhere in the Toghuzghuz country: "on voit voler au dessus de sa surface quantité d'oiseaux d'une espèce particulière qui pond et qui fait ses petits au dessus de l'eau. Cet oiseau ressemble à une huppe (*hud-hud*) et son plumage est de diverses couleurs."

4. The reference to "this" fortress (not mentioned before!) indicates that this paragraph is copied from a description of Tibet. K.rsāng is another name of Lhasa (see notes to § 11). In this case the river in question must be the left affluent of the Brahmaputra on which Lhasa stands. This would agree with the statement that the river comes from the Mānisā, *i.e.* evidently from its western face (cf. note to § 5, 3.). The detail about its being a branch of the Yangtze is an obvious misunderstanding.

5. The ILĀ (*i.e.* ILI) river, emptying itself into the Balkhash (not the Issik-kul!), rises from the corner formed by the T'ien-shan and the southern Dzungarian range. Kāshgharī, i, 85, writes Ilā (*Ilā*) and calls the river "Jayhūn of the Turkish country". On the Ighrāj-art (central T'ien-shan) see § 5, 7. and § 6, 3.

6.-12. The system of the AMŪ-DARYĀ (OXUS). See Barthold, *Turkestan*, ch. i; Le Strange, *The Lands*, ch. xxxi; Barthold, *Irrigation*, pp. 71-102; Barthold, *Amū-daryā*, in *EI.*; *Tājīkistān* (by several authors in Russian) Tashkent, 1925, map. On the source of the Oxus, *v.i.* 14. See Map ix.

6.-7. Our author distinguishes clearly between the Jayhūn and Kharnāb (خرناب) of which the former (flowing immediately north of Bolor) is certainly the Vakhān river (Panj), and the latter must be the Murghāb, which rises to the east of the Vakhān and after a north-eastern sweep crosses the Pamir and joins the Panj near Bārtang. Our writer is right in attaching more importance to the Kharnāb-Murghāb, though for some time this river has been dammed up at Sarez (following the 1911 earthquake). Išt., 296, confuses the two headwaters: "the principal stream (*'amūd*) of the Jayhūn is called Jaryāb (جریاب) and rises in Vakhkhān". See Map iv.

8. The Kulāb river (Kchī Surkhāb) is composed of two branches: Yakh-su (< Iranian *Akhshū*, cf. Išt., 296, *Akhshuvā*) and Qizil-su. The village Pārkhār still exists. Munk = Baljuvān, on the Qizil-su, Hulbuk = Hulbag, south of Kulāb, on the Yakh-su, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 68-9. Our author considers this river quite correctly as forming one drainage area, while Išt., 296, presents Fārghar as a separate stream. On the contrary, our author forgets the following river Andijārāgh, on which see § 26, 3. I.R., 93, speaking of the course of the Vakhshāb and the Vakhkh-āb (=the Vakhān river, Oxus) mentions south of the latter a rustāq of the Upper Tukhārīstān called مارغن. De Goeje restored this name as بارغر *i.e.* Pārgar and this form led astray Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 234, and Barthold, see § 23, 69. Our text very rightly places Pārgar to the north of the river, therefore the name found in I.R. must most probably be restored as آرهن, cf. Išt., 275, 339. Arhan

river forming it, or the river coming out of it. In a route to Tibet, of which the starting-point is Kāshghar, Gardīzī, 88<sub>26</sub>, mentions "the stream of Kujā (جوی کجا)

which flows towards Kujā". The distinction between this *stream* and a *river* (رود) which is mentioned immediately after it is strange. On the route *v.i.*, p. 255.

was the well-known place where the Oxus was crossed and lay undoubtedly on the left bank, upstream from and opposite the estuary of Vakhshāb, Iṣṭ., 296. On Ārhan see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 69, note 7 and cf. note to § 26, 1.

9. Vakhshāb, now Vakhsh (called in the upper course Surkhāb), a powerful river coming from the Alai valley (Vakhsh mountains). In Greek \*Ωξος < *Vakhsh* has become the name for the whole of the Amū-daryā.

10. This river undoubtedly is the Kāfir-Nihān which flows between the Vakhsh and Surkhān, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72; Marquart, *Wehrot*, 89-90. The modern name of the river is due to the village of Kāfir-Nihān<sup>1</sup> lying on its upper course. On the Kumijis see § 26, 10. Nūdiz (*nau-diz* "The New Fort") lay probably on the lower course of the Kāfir-Nihān, see note to § 26, 5.

11. On Chaghāniyān see § 25, 25. The river is now called Surkhān, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72-5. Under § 25, 31., دیکر (\**Regar*?) is placed on the Nihām river, which is also mentioned in I.R., 93 (but wrongly considered as a source of the Kāfir-Nihān). The middle one of the Surkhān's headwaters is still called Dara-yi Nihām. On the easternmost of the Surkhān headwaters lay probably Hamvārān (§ 25, 32.) which Marquart, *Wehrot*, 62, identifies with Qara-tagh, whereas Kasavān (*v.i.* note to § 25, 32.) must have belonged to the Kāfir-Nihān basin.

12. The form درغام confirms that the Arabic spelling ضرغام in I.Kh., 33, and I.R., 93, is based only on a popular etymology ("the Lion river"). Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 230, has shown its identity with Ptolemy's Δάργαδος. Valvālij (§ 23, 73.) has been long identified with Qunduz, which lies between the rivers Dōshī (Surkh-āb), coming from the south-west, and the Ṭalaqān river, coming from the south-east. The latter, according to I.R., 93 and Maq., 303, was composed of two sources حلاب and راب. The names (several variants) may mean "Lower river" (\**jīl-āb*, cf. Persian *sār* "below") and "Upper river" (*bar-āb*), and the rivers correspond respectively to the Varsaj and the Ishkāmish rivers. Of the two large rivers uniting below Qunduz, the Dōshī is by far the more important. It flows precisely between Qunduz and Khulm. Our text leaves no doubt that Le Strange's identification of the ضرغام with the Kokcha is wrong.

13.-16.: Rivers of India, among which the Ganges (Khuwārizmī, 133, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 214: *ḡanjis*) has been entirely overlooked, though I.R., 89, who uses mostly the same sources as the H.-'Ā., mentions the كنگ \**Gang*. The Ganges is disregarded to such an extent that the Vindhya mountains are supposed to join the Himalaya (§ 5, 9.).

13.-15.: System of the INDUS.

13. The Kābul river is considered as the principal course of the Indus. It is represented as being formed by the waters of Lamghān and Dunpūr (§ 10, 54.-55); on Nihār < \**Nagarahār* = Jalālābād see § 10, 50.

<sup>1</sup> *Nihān* may be related to *Nihām*, though the latter is the name of one of the Surkhān's headwaters. However, the upper courses of the Kāfir-Nihān and

Surkhān form one single stretch of highlands, which fact may also explain I.R.'s (p. 93) confusion of the two rivers, Barthold, *l.c.*, and Marquart, *l.c.*

Multān is out of place both here and under 14., as lying on the Chenāb (though our author speaks only of the "confines" of Multān). The locality كولى near which the Indus disembogues into the sea is undoubtedly the Kori creek which is in fact the ancient estuary of the Indus, see map in H. Cousens, *Antiquities of the Sind*, quoted in § 27.

14. This is the principal course of the Indus, here considered as a left affluent of 13. On the Qasak mountain see § 5, 9 B. The story of the fountain springing from its summit (told under 15.) is probably inspired by I.Kh., 173.<sup>1</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 212, denounces the error of those who make the Jayhūn flow into the Mihrān, but himself seems to incorporate a headwater of the Indus (the river of Yasin-Gilgit) into the basin of the Oxus, see Marquart, *Wehrot*, ch. iii: "Oxus und Indus", and especially its §§ 67, 70, 82.

15. No trace of the name Hivān could be discovered, but the mention of Birūza in its neighbourhood is in favour of the identity of this river with the Sutlej, see note to § 10, 51. The Sutlej, as the longest of the affluents of the Indus, could hardly be overlooked. Consequently instead of "the western side" of the Lamghān river one must read "the eastern side".

After the junction of 13., 14., and 15. the Indus was called Mihrān. Khuwārizmī, 131-3, gives an elaborate description of this river which unfortunately remains obscure until the editor's commentary becomes available.

16. Khuwārizmī, 131<sup>12</sup>, mentions a *Mihrān al-thāmi al-kabīr* "The Second Great Mihrān", to which our "Lesser Mihrān" may correspond. The position of the latter is a complicated problem, but the joint evidence of the relevant passages is in favour of its identification with the Narbadā. The town Qandahār, which this river skirts, is certainly that mentioned under § 10, 17., i.e. Ghandhar in the Bay of Cambay. The name of Kūli is very misleading for its form is identical with the كولى just mentioned as the estuary of the Indus (13.). Under § 5, 9., our author distinctly refers to the district of Kūli in Kanbāya, which is also mentioned by I.Kh., 62, as lying 18 farsakhs north of Sindān (§ 10, 14.), evidently at the entrance to the Bay of Cambay. It may correspond to *Kūlinar* of the *Mohīt* and *Qulinar*, *Curinal* shown on the Portuguese maps north-west of Diu, whence the Arab sailors could make straight for Sindān, though the distance between the two points exceeds that indicated in I.Kh. The names of the places mentioned on the Lesser Mihrān are obscure; cf. notes to § 10, 18. 24.

17.-22.: the system of the SĪR-DARYĀ (JAXARTES), on which see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 155-65; Le Strange, *The Lands*, ch. xxxiv; Barthold, *Irrigation*, 129-54. The old name of the river is given in § 25, 47: *Khashart*. It is also to be found in I.Kh., 178, and Bīrūnī's *Canon*, under \**Sutkand*. Marquart in his *Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschr.*, 1898, 5-6, first explained 'Iaḡáprṇs as *yaxša-arta* "wahre edle Perle" (cf. Barthold's criticism in *Irrigation*, 130), then interpreted it as Soghdian *Yaxšart* < *Rxša-arta* (?), *Skizzen z. hist.*

<sup>1</sup> ونهر السند هو شعب نهر جيحون. More detail in the confused additional paragraph *ibid.*, 178.

*Topographie vom Kaukasus*, Vienna, 1928, p. 16, and finally, *Catalogue*, 35, considered as the old form of the name \**Opξάρης*, "i.e. Old Iranian \**Rxarta*, the true Araxes"! The attested Iranian form remains *Khashart*.

17. This is the main stream of the Sir-Daryā (Jaxartes) coming from the south. Ūzgand is situated at the easternmost end of Farghāna. On its two rivers, *T.bāgh.r.* and *Barskhān*, see § 25, 58. and § 15, 11. تاغر must be improved into \**ياغر*, in view of Kāshgharī, iii, 27, who says that "*Yabāghū-suvī* is the river flowing from the Kāshghar mountains past Ūzjand in Farghāna". Yabāghū was a Turkish tribe which according to Kāshgharī, i, 29, lived much more to the east but *yabāghū* means also "felt" and may have been used here as a personal name of the local chief, see the story in Gardīzī, *v.i.*, p. 288. See Map v. [Cf. p. 256, note 2.]

18. The town of Khursāb, cf. I.H., 392, lay east of Ōsh, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 159. By Buttamān the Alay range is meant here.

19. Now called Aq-Bura, Barthold, *o.c.*, 159. 20. *Ibid.*, 159.

21. The north-eastern headwater of Jaxartes now called Narin, rises north of the Western T'ien-shan (= Mānisā, *v.s.* note to § 5, 3e), see Barthold, *o.c.*, 157. On Khatlām (Khaylām?) see § 25, 59.

22. Parak, now Chirchik, Barthold, *o.c.*, 169, flows into the Sir-Daryā, south of Tashkent. The Khallukh mountains mentioned here must be the hills separating the Narin from the basin of the Chirchik, i.e. Chatkal (Arab. *ḥidghīl*) mountains. Banākat lay near the point where the more southern Āhangarān (Angren) joins the Sir-Daryā, *ibid.*, 169. The wall of Qalās on the northern side of the Chirchik was built for protection against the Turks, *ibid.*, 172, and Barthold, *Ibn Sa'īd*, 238.

23. The basin of the SUGHD RIVER (now Zarafshān), Barthold, *Turkestan*, 82., Barthold, *Irrigation*, 103-25. The Middle Buttamān is the Zarafshān range stretching between, and parallel to those of Turkestan and Ḥiṣār. The lake Daryāzha is now called Iskandar-kul and the *āvāza* of Paykand is the Qara-kul, cf. § 3, 34.

24. The river of Balkh was called Dah-ās ("Ten mills"), I.H., 326. The translation: "skirts the confines" is justified by the fact that Madr (§ 23, 80.) does not belong to its system. Foucher, *De Kaboul à Bactres*, in *La Géographie*, July 1924, 155, places Madar between Kāmard and Du-āb-i shāh, evidently still in the basin of the Surkh-āb (western headwater of the Qunduz river, *v.s.* 12.). On Ribāt-i karvān see § 23, 63.

25. Several branches of the HILMAND rise south of the Kūh-i Bābā in the immediate neighbourhood of the sources of the Harāt river. As Iṣṭ., 265, places the latter "in the neighbourhood of Ribāt-i Karvān" (§ 23, 63.), there is no wonder that the sources of the Hilmand were also located in the region of the same *ultima Thule* of the Gūzgān possessions. On Durghush, Til, and Bust see § 24, 12.

26. On the upper course of the Marvarūd (Murghāb) see notes to § 23, 38., 46., &c.

27. See notes to § 23, 46. and § 24, 1.

28. Cf. § 28, 3. and 7. The name of the river is Dīvrūdh.

29.-36.: RIVERS OF FĀRS. Even after the studies of Le Strange, *The Lands*, Schwarz, *Iran*, and Herzfeld, *Pasargadae*, Inaugural Dissertation, 1907, there remain numerous doubtful points regarding their identification.

29. See Minorsky, *Mānd*, in *EI*; now called Qara-aghach. Rüyagān corresponds to Išt., 120, Ruwayjān (read: Rūyayjān). *Kavar*, now *Kavār*.

30. خويژان corresponds to خويژان in Išt., 120; the river bearing this latter name watered the districts of Khūbadhān and Anbūrān of the Sābūr province (Išt., 110) and then that of Jalādajān of the Arrajān province (Išt., 113), consequently it flowed from east to west. The *Fārs-nāma*, 151, identifies نهر خرابدان with the Naubanjān river, flowing into the Nahr-i Shīrīn (*v.i.* 32.). Our author having found Khūbadān among the districts of "Bishāvur" (§ 29, 19.) must have taken its river for one of the headwaters of the Nahr-Sābūr, probably for Išt.'s *Ratīn*. The Nahr-Sābūr, now called Rūd-i Hilla (left out in our text!), flowed past Tavvaj. The error may have resulted from the fact that in Išt., 99 and 120, the rivers Khūbadhān and Ratīn follow one another in the enumeration.

31. According to Išt., 119, Shādhagān rose in Bāzranj (province of Arrajān) and flowed to the sea through Tambūk-i Mūristān (province of Sābūr) and Dasht-i Dastagān (the town of which was صفاره, § 29, 9.). Shādhagān is not mentioned in the *Fārs-nāma*. As suggested by Le Strange, *o.c.*, 274, the river meant here may be one of the streams emptying themselves into the sea south of Ganāwa. In point of fact recent English maps show a considerable river Rūd-i Shūr of which the estuary is located 12 miles north of that of the Rūd-i Hilla (= Shāpūr), and south of Bandar-Rīg. The course of this little known river can be traced for some 60 miles northwards up to the parallel 30°. This must be the Shādhakān.

32. 35. 36. (and 30.). In the mountainous region connecting Fārs with Khūzistān there are only two important basins, *viz.* the rivers of Hindiyān (in the south) and Arrajān (in the north). Both rivers flow parallel to one another, and *grosso modo* from east (Fārs) to west (Khūzistān). Until very lately their lower course in the plain, on the way to the Persian Gulf, was very insufficiently known, and even now the region of their sources remains unsurveyed.

The confusion in our sources with regard to these two rivers will be best presented in the following comparative tables.

## A

	Išt.	<i>Fārs-nāma</i>	<i>H.-'Ā.</i>
name	Shīrīn	Shīrīn	Sīrīn
sources	Mt. Dīnār in Bāzranj	limits of Bāzrang	Mt. Dhanbādh, in Bāzranj
affluents	?	Khawābdān river	?
course	F.r.z.k, Jalādagān	Gunbadh, Mallaghān	between Vāyagān and Lārandān, Arrajān, *Rīshahr
estuary in the sea	towards Jannāba	between Sīnīz and Janābā	between Sīnīz and Ganāfa

## B

	Iṣṭ.	Fārs-nāma	H.-A.
name	Ṭāb	Ṭāb	Ṭāb
sources	Isfahān Mts., near Burj	Sumayram	Kūh-Jilū, on the confines of Isfahān
affluents	Masin river	Masin river	Sardan river
course	Arrajān, Rīshahr	Arrajān, Rīshahr	between Khūzistān and Fārs
estuary in the sea	near the frontier of T.str. [?]	near Sīnīz	near Māhīrūbān

The following questions arise with regard to this table:

a. The estuary of the "Shīrīn" river lies now south of Hindiyān; the river crosses the peninsula protruding into the sea, first north to south and then, beyond Tuwaisha, east to west. Even if the river has changed its course, it could never have flowed near Sīnīz (§ 29, 13.), and still less near Ganāva (§ 29, 10.), which are shut off from it by mountains. Here all the three sources are in error.

b. The river of Arrajān (§ 29, 16.), which is now called Mārān, flows first to the north until it joins the river of Rām-Hurmūz; then their joint stream, called Jarrāhī, flows south-westwards to Fallāhiya and, through the Dauraq canal, comes into connexion with the Khor-Mūsā creek (which is the terminus of the new Trans-Persian railway). It is quite possible that, formerly, at least a branch of the Jarrāhī joined the Kārūn,<sup>1</sup> though the mention of \*Rīshahr (§ 29, 14.) on the course of the river shows that it flowed in a south-westerly direction. In any case it is unimaginable to place the estuary of the Ṭāb between Sīnīz and Ganāva, in which case it would have flowed across the basin of the Hindiyān river.<sup>2</sup> In our text, Māhīrūbān, lying west of Sīnīz, comes nearer to the point, though there are good reasons in favour of the location of Māhīrūbān in the region of Hindiyān, i.e. on the Shīrīn river, cf. § 29, 15.

c. It is quite evident that our author has committed a grave mistake in joining together the upper course of the Shīrīn<sup>3</sup> with the middle course of the Ṭāb; therefore his *Sīrīn* rising near Mt. Dhanbādh<sup>4</sup> flows past Arrajān and Rīshahr!<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> And this might account for the mention of *Tustar* in Iṣṭ's original text, for the Kārūn was rightly called "Tustar [= Shūstar] river", cf. § 6, 37. Then Iṣṭ's text should be read *ثم يقع في البحر عند حد* ["\*مصب نهر] تستر falls into the sea at the frontier (\*of the estuary) of (the) Tustar (river)".

<sup>2</sup> For our author the situation had no difficulty as, according to him, the Sīrīn flowed in a north to south direction.

<sup>3</sup> Vāyagān and Lārandān named near its course are mentioned under § 29, 17.

together with *B.r.z.k.*, which undoubtedly is identical with Iṣṭ's *F.r.z.k.*, see the table p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Iṣṭ. دینار [var. دسان]. The mountain meant is surely the lofty Kūh-i Dīnā [17,000–18,000 ft.] though on the latter's western side rise in fact only the headwaters of the Khirsān, the south-easternmost affluent of the Kārūn, see C. Haussknecht, *Routen im Orient*, iv [map edited by Kiepert] and the English 1 : 2,000,000 map.

<sup>5</sup> [Cf. *infra*, p. 378.]

34. Farvāb, now Pulvār, cf. Le Strange, *o.c.*, 276.

36. This Sardan river is called Masin in Iṣṭ., 119, and *Fārs-nāma*, 152. This headwater of the Tāb rose, according to Iṣṭ., from the limits of Is-fahān and came out (*yaṣḥur*) in Sardan. The *Fārs-nāma* more precisely locates its sources in the mountains of Sumayram and Sīmtakht (\**Sīsakht* of English maps?), which does not seem to contradict our author's mention of the Kūh-Jilū region. However, at least some parts of the Sardan district may have belonged to the Kārūn basin, see note to § 29, 42.

37.-39.: System of the SHŪSHTAR RIVER (Arabic *Dujayl*, now *Kārūn*). The changes in the lower course of the Kārūn in historical times are still very little known; therefore the location of many places of this region is at present impossible. See a detailed study of the texts in Schwarz, *Iran*, 294-312, and Streck, *Kārūn*, in *EI*. [Cf. A. Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i pānsad-sāla-yi Khūzistān*, Tehrān, 1934, pp. 77-88: on the old course of the Kārūn.]

37. The enumeration of localities is probably borrowed from Iṣṭ., 89, 94, and *passim*. The only curious and new detail is "the mouth of Shīr" (*dahana-yi Shīr*) which may refer to the *Bahamshīr* canal running to the east of the 'Abbadān island, parallel to the Tigris. According to Maq., 419, a canal between the Kārūn and Tigris was built only under the Būyid 'Aḍud al-daula (A.D. 949-83), cf. Barthold, *Obzor*, 127, and the canal, now called Bahamshīr (still navigable), was probably the natural outlet of the river into the Persian Gulf. Cf. *The Persian Gulf Pilot*, Admiralty, 1864, p. 225.

38. Masruqān = Āb-i Gargar, *i.e.* the left (eastern) of the two branches into which the Kārūn is divided by the famous weir at Shūstar.

39. Only the latest English maps present a clear picture of the hydro-graphic conditions south of the lower course of the Kārūn. The oasis of Fallāhiya (ancient Dauraq) is watered both by a canal coming from the Jarrahī and by streams evidently coming from the Kārūn, but appearing on the surface only south of Ahwāz. The waters of these latter are used in the western part of the oasis, while the waters of the Jarrahī canal are taken down to the sea by the Dauraq canal. Our author evidently considers the whole of these streams as a branch of the Kārūn, spreading its waters down to Rām-Hurmuz. But in reality the chief source of irrigation of Fallāhiya is the Jarrahī, of which one branch comes from Rām-Hurmuz and the other from Arrajān-Behbehān (note to 35.). Schwarz, *Iran*, 373, identifies Dauraq with Fallāhiya. In a westerly direction Iṣṭ., 95, gives the distances: Dauraq-Khān-Mardawaih (var. مندويه, &c.)-1 marḥala; thence to Bāsiyān (where the river splits off into two)-1 marḥala; thence to Ḥisn-Mahdī-2 marḥalas; thence to Bayān (on the Tigris)-1 marḥala. [Consequently Bāsiyān cannot be Buziya, situated 6-7 Km. east of Fallāhiya.]

40. The river of Susa (Daniel, viii, 2: *Ulai*) is now called Shā'ūr (< Shāvūr). If we are to interpret B.dhūshāvur as Gundē-Shāpur the situation is geographically inexact. Perhaps the text could be improved into: \**miyān-i Shūsh va-Bidh va-Shāvur* (?). Iṣṭ., 89, mentions a place Bidhān belonging to Shūsh, and the existence of a Shāvur could be postulated from the present name of the river.



41.-4.: The rivers supposed to flow into the CASPIAN. See Map vii.

41. The river *رس* corresponds to the *أسس* which Gardīzī, 83, mentions on the road from the Jaxartes to the Kīmāks. Marquart, *Komanen*, 92, 206, noted the likeness of this name to that of the Ishim (\*اشيم), a left affluent of the Irtysh; cf. note to § 5, 12. Though the mountain forming the frontier "between the Kīmāk and Khirkhīz" (cf. § 5, 12.) might be taken for the Altai, &c., whence the real Irtysh comes, the fact that, both according to our author and Gardīzī, the river flows westwards to the Caspian points clearly to some confusion. The Kīmāk (note to § 18) lived probably east of the Irtysh but extended also in a north-westerly direction towards the Urals. If our author thought that the road to the Kīmāk ran from the lower course of the Sir-daryā northwards, we could possibly identify the Asus with the Ilāk<sup>1</sup>, which is a southern tributary of the Yayīq but might have been taken for an independent river flowing to the Caspian.

42. The spelling Artush (or *Ärtüsh*) is corroborated by the popular etymology found in Gardīzī, 82, "ارتش, i.e., come down", referring to the Turkish phrase *är tüsh* "man, come down (from the horse)!", Barthold, *Report*, 106. The mountain from which the real Irtysh rises is the region of the Altai evidently referred to in § 5, 12, where a mountain is described stretching between the Kīmāk and Khirkhīz. In the present paragraph, however, the mountain where the sources of the three rivers (41.-3.) lie is meant to be the Urals (most probably referred to in § 5, 19.). As the text stands, our author's *Artush* represents the Yayīq (Const. Porph. Γεήχ, in Russian "Ural river") which rises from the south of the Ural mountains, flows to the west (down to Uralsk) and then to the south (down to Guryev) and empties itself into the Caspian, east of the Volga estuary. Our author has wrongly taken it for a tributary of the Volga. Ibn Faḍlān, who in 309-10/922 travelled the whole distance between Khwārazm and Bulghār, ought to be our principal authority on the region to the south-west of the Urals. The complete version of his *Risāla* described by A. Z. Validi, (*Meshedskaya rukopis Ibnul-Faqiha*, in *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences de Russie*, 1924, pp. 237-48) mentions a number of large rivers. Beyond جام [A.Z. Validi: *Emba*, cf. p. 312, note 2], in the direction of the Pecheneg territory, were found جاحش, اردن, اذل, جاحش. Of these, جاحش has some (?) resemblance to Gardīzī's اسس, ارتش, and اشل [though Validi takes for the Yayīq the river جنغ mentioned beyond the Pecheneg territory]. Nearer to the tradition represented by our author and Gardīzī is what Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 213, says, rather vaguely, about "the Black<sup>2</sup> and the White Irtysh (Artush? spelt ارشت) on which lies the kingdom of the كيماك [restored by Marquart, *Komanen*, 100, as \*Kīmāk yabghūy],<sup>3</sup> a branch of

<sup>1</sup> The Ilāk rises in the Mugojar hills separating it from the sources of the Irghiz. It is difficult to take *Asus/R.s* for the *Emba*. The latter, though rising from the same mountain and flowing to the Caspian is not on the eventual route from

the Sir-daryā northwards, see notes to § 5, 12. and 18.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the waters of 41. and 42. are called "black" in our text.

<sup>3</sup> [See however note to § 18, 3. where a tribe called \*Yughur (still doubtful!)]

Turks beyond the Balkh river [*i.e.* Oxus]. On these two rivers live the Turkish Ghuzz." Cf. also Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 62, where the estuaries of the two rivers are said to lie at 10 days' distance from one another. Marquart, *o.c.*, 102, has already detected the connexion of these rivers with Gardīzī's (p. 83) ارتش and اسس and thought that what Mas'ūdī had in view were the rivers Yayīq and Emba (*v.s.* note to 41.). Our author clearly uses the same source as Gardīzī but tries to give to the data a more systematic and complete form.

43. The Ātil (Volga) rising from the same mountain as the Irtysh, is an extraordinary slip, but Iṣṭ., 222, also says: the Ithil, "as I have heard, rises from the neighbourhood of the Khirkhīz and flows between the Kimāk and Ghuzz forming the boundary between them; then it takes a western direction behind (*alā ḡahr*) Bulghār, then turns eastwards until it has passed the Rūs, then it flows past Bulghār, then past Burtās until it falls into the sea". In spite of the erroneous start it is clear that the name *Ithil* (\**Ātil* < *Etil*) is given to the Kama rising from the Ural mountains (§ 5, 19.) and joining the Volga below Kazan. Cf. Map ii (after Idrīsī).

44. The Rūs river can be either the upper course of the Volga above its junction with the Kama (as suggested by Toumansky), or the Don. The terminology of I.Kh., 154, who speaks of the Russian merchants navigating "the تنيس (Tanais?), the river of the Ṣaqāliba" does not completely tally with that of our author. On the other hand, the testimony of I.H., invoked by Barthold in favour of the identity of the Rūs river with the Don, is doubtful. According to I.H., 276, the Caspian does not communicate with any other sea "except for what enters it from the river Rūs, known (under the name of) Itil; the latter is joined to a branch (*shu'ba*) which leads from it towards the outlet (*khārīj*) (which leads) from Constantinople towards the Encircling Ocean".<sup>1</sup> Here the Don (or rather its lower course)<sup>2</sup> is considered as a branch of the Volga, but logically the name Rūs is applied to the Volga. In our text, the Rūs river, rising in the Slav territory, flows eastwards (*sic*) and even skirts the confines of the Khifjakh (who are supposed to be one of the northernmost peoples). Though our author knows the Maeotis (§ 3, 8.) and gives its dimensions in accordance with I.R., 85, he does not explicitly say that the Rūs river forms its outlet, whereas I.R. lets the *Ṭānīs* come from the *Māwṭīsh*. Contrary to our author for whom the Rūs river is an affluent of the Volga, I.R. treats the *Ṭānīs* as a separate river flowing to the Black sea (*Bonṭos*). Even the fact that the three Rūs "towns" (§ 44)<sup>3</sup> were "skirted" by the Rūs river seems to suit the upper

is mentioned in the neighbourhood of the Aral sea. This brings us nearer to the Caspian (*Khazar*) sea into which the two rivers flow according to Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 62.]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Mas'ūdī quoted under § 3, 8. The idea of this junction is already found in Ptolemy, v, 5, though according to Marquart *Streifzüge*, 153, the

right reading is ἐπιστροφή (not ἐκβολή).

<sup>2</sup> The Don [above Kalach] is separated from the Volga [near Tsaritsin, now Stalingrad] by a narrow neck of land across which smaller craft could be easily dragged from one river to the other. It is the place through which the projected Volga-Azov sea canal will be built.

<sup>3</sup> *Shahr* may mean "land", *v.i.*, p. 436.

Volga better than the Don. Consequently, even admitting that I.Kh.'s "river of the *Ṣaqālība*" stands for the "river of the *Rūs*" (for I.Kh. does not discriminate between the *Rūs* and Slavs, cf. note to § 43) and knowing that Idrīsī (see Map ii) understands the Don under *nahr al-Rūsīya*, we are obliged to interpret our text in the light of its internal evidence and adhere to Toumansky's conclusion.

45. With the *Rūtā* we are right in the centre of the confusion. The name روتا, in Arabic script looks very much like Gardīzī's روتا, which most probably refers to the Danube (\*روتا), see notes to §§ 22 and 53. However, our description of its course is extremely puzzling. It apparently flows westwards, from the *Rūs* to the *Saqlāb* (the latter living to the west of the *Rūs*, §§ 43 and 44). Its sources are placed on a mysterious mountain standing between the [Turkish] Pechenegs, Majgharī, and *Rūs*. The *Rūs* river, as we have just seen, is the upper Volga, and north of the Volga there are no rivers flowing westwards. We must then admit that the *Rūtā* is one of the rivers to the south-west of the Volga's great bend. The Turkish Pechenegs (§ 20) are said to live north of the \*Bulghār (§ 51) and \*Burṭās (§ 52). The latter, both historically and according to our author, lived on the right (western) bank of the Volga; therefore the Turkish Pechenegs, in order to be found to the north of the \*Burṭās, must have occupied a part of the Volga's right bank. As the southern boundary of the *Rūs* (living along the upper course of the Volga) was the *Rūtā*, and the northern boundary of the Turkish Pechenegs was the *Rūthā* (روتا) it is clear that the river *Rūtā*, or *Rūthā*, divided the *Rūs* from the Pechenegs. To the south-west of the Volga and north of the Burṭās only the Oka could be taken into consideration in this connexion. From the point of view of the script روتا or روتا, greatly resemble \*اوقا *Ūqā* < *Oka*, and it is not excessive to imagine that the Oka was known to the informer originally responsible for the description of the *Rūs* territory [Iṣṭ.'s text suggesting that the observation point was the town of Bulghār on the Volga]. However, the Oka flows to the Volga in a north-easterly direction and no other contemporary source does mention the Oka! That there is a confusion is clear from the fact that our author after having placed the capital of the Slavs *Khurdāb* (see notes to § 43, 1.) on the *Rūtā* does not know what more to do with the *Rūtā*. To sum up, the river in question is an imaginary stream due perhaps to a confusion of two different names looking similar in Arabic script (\*روتا and \*اوقا); as a whole it cannot be located on the map but the elements of its description may refer to several rivers of the central part of Eastern Europe (cf. §§ 20, 22, 43, 1.). [Cf. 'Aufī's spelling روتا, v.i., p. 324.]

Some light on our river is thrown by a passage in Idrīsī (ii, 435) according to which there exists in the Northern Qumānīa a lake غون (*Gh.nūn*) forming the outflow of eight rivers, of which the more important is شروی (*Sh.rwī*). The annexed sketch is based on Idrīsī's map reproduced in K. Miller's *Mappae*, Band 1/2, fol. v, but the names are spelt as in Idrīsī's text. The lake forming a special basin is placed somewhere between the

Volga and *Nahr al-Rūsīya*!<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that Idrīsī's *Sh.rwī* (according to K. Müller *Sh.lwī*) flows westwards similarly to our *Rūtā*. I think that the confused idea about the existence of a river between the Volga and Don is common both to our author and Idrīsī, but that the name *Rūtā* (رُتَا) which our author gives to it is due to some confusion with رُتَا, i.e. the Danube.

46. In this passage the usual (western) course of the Lower TIGRIS during the Middle Ages is described. Madhār is mentioned as lying on the river, though according to I.R., 96, this was only the case before Islam. Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, ch. ii, and Map II; R. Hartmann, *Diḡla*, in *EI*; Marquart, *Südarmanien*, 232-452: an extremely detailed analysis of the descriptions of the Tigris by Kisrawī, Maq., Mas'ūdī, and Ibn Serapion.

48. 'Ukbara, which now lies west of the Tigris, stood first on its eastern bank, Le Strange, *o.c.*, 51, and Map II (Sāmarrā). The *Nahr Sābus*, Iṣṭ., 87, I.H., 168 (where the variant *Shāsh* is also found), seems to correspond to the 'Aḡaim, though the latter rises, not in Armenia but near Kirkūk, in Southern Kurdistān. By the *Nahravān* river the *Diyālā* (Sīrvān) is meant, rising in Persian Kurdistān, cf. I.R., 90.

49. On the EUPHRATES see Le Strange, *o.c.*, 117, &c., R. Hartmann, *Furāt*, in *EI*. Here the western headwater of the Euphrates seems to be regarded as the principal one. The name of the mountain عِلْق is evidently disfigured. I.R., 93, says that the Euphrates rises in the Rūm land from above the locality ابريق Abriq, Greek *Tephrikē* or *Aphrikē*, see *Diwrigi*, in *EI*, but Khuwārizmī, 139, calls the mountain whence the Euphrates comes جبل اودوخس. Cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 1434, where a Byzantine expedition is said to march من ناحية ابريق قرية قرياس.

50. See Barthold's *Preface*, p. 29, on the confusion of the upper course of the Atrak with that of the Gurgān (§ 32, 1.). The H.RAND river bore also the name of Andar-haz, Ṭabarī, ii, 1332, cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 73 (for the second element cf. *Har-haz-pey*, river of Āmul).

51.-3. The RIVERS OF MĀZANDARĀN, now called Tījīn, Bābol, and Harāzpey (Har-haz-pey). See Minorsky, *Māzandarān*, in *EI*.

54. Grave misunderstanding: the SAFĪD-RŪDH rises, not from the Lesser Ararat (*Huwayrith*) but from Persian Kurdistān. I.Kh., 175, and I.R., 89, rightly state that it comes *min bābi Sīsar*, see Minorsky, *Senna and Sīsar*, in *EI*.

56. The author seems to think that the KURR rises from the main Caucasus range, though he knows that it flows past Tiflis (§ 36, 28.). See a correct description of the upper Kurr in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 74. On Bardij see § 36, 35.

57. On the HADRAMŪT river see Schleifer, *Ḥaḍramaut*, and Grohmann, *Shabwa*, in *EI*.

58.-61.: Rivers in BYZANTINE POSSESSIONS, cf. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*.

<sup>1</sup> The latter is evidently the Don and its course is shown as separate from the imaginary "Volga branch" flowing to the Black sea (*v.s.* 43 and note to

§ 3, 8.). However, Idrīsī's views cannot be taken as merely traditional and more likely he combines both the earlier sources and his own information, cf. p. 438.



58. *Nahr al-kurūm*, "river of the vineyards". I.Kh., 108, among the towns of Buqallār, names Anqara and Ṣamāluh (?). This river [which has nothing to do with the place الكرم or الكروم, next station west of Budhandūn = Podandon = Bozanti] is most probably the Halys (Qizil-Irmaq) flowing east of Anqara to the Black Sea. [Ṣamāluh = Σημαλοῦδος κάστρον.]<sup>1</sup>

59. All depends on the name طنابری. It cannot be I.Kh.'s, 101, ستدابری Santabarīs, which Ramsay, *o.c.*, 445, places on a source of the Sangarios. If we restore it as \*كانگری *Kangrī*, now Kiangri or Changri (Greek Gangra), the river could be one of the left affluents of the Halys, *e.g.*, the Devres-chay. [Our author several times gives for the estuary of an affluent that of the principal river, see the Kābul river, § 6, 13.]

60. If 61. is the Sangarios, this river (60.) must be either the Tembris (now Porsuq-su), left affluent of the Sangarios, or some river west of it (cf. Rhyndakos, I.Kh., 103, *Rundhāq*, though this latter flows into the lake Artynias). The solution depends on the phrase بنداقلس ويددون بكدر. The first element of بنداقلس can be Greek βάνδα "banner, district" (in Arabic usually *band*, plur. *bunūd*, I.Kh., 109, 19, but the form *bandā* could survive in *status constructus*) and the sentence would mean "skirts the town of the district قلس". This last element [usual confusion of final س with ه] could then stand for قطة Kotyaeion (now Kütahye), a well-known fortress on the Tembris, I.Kh., 103. As regards ويددون it seems to have been copied from بدندون Budhandūn<sup>2</sup> which is out of place on the Tembris. The most celebrated place on the latter was Dorylaion, in Arabic دروليّة *Darawliya*, now Eski-Shehir, cf. the detailed account of it and its river in I.Kh., 109, and it is most likely that our text refers to Darawliya which in Arabic script has been confused with Badhandūn, better known to the Muslims as the place of death of the caliph Ma'mūn. In I.Kh., 109, *in fine*, the name of the Darawliya stands with the preposition *bi-* and so بدروليّة could be more easily confused in script with بدندون.

61. This river is Sangarios which exactly flows north of Amorion ('Amūriya, placed by I.Kh., 107, in Nātulūs) and west of Anqara (placed by I.Kh., 108, in Buqallār). I.Kh., 110, calls the river Ṣāghari and makes it flow into the Black Sea (*Baḥr al-a'ṣam?*), while our author wrongly makes it empty itself into the lake of Nicaea. The mysterious خاک is *khāk* "earth"; it is a Persian translation of Arabic, غيرة for I.Kh., 102, precisely mentions an "Earthen Fort" حصن الغيرة and adds that it stands opposite Nicaea (رونيّة باره الغيرة). Cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 214.

62. The direct source of this description of the NILE may be Jayhānī. Maq., 20, says: "The Nile comes out from the Nūba country. . . . Jayhānī says that the Nile rises from the Qamar mountain, flows to form two lakes beyond the Equator and turns towards the Nūba land; he also says other things of which the origin is unknown, and no one knows on what authority he puts them forward."<sup>3</sup> Jayhānī himself could have borrowed his account

<sup>1</sup> Vasiliev, *Byz. et les Arabes*, i, 234. *Minor*, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> Podandos, nowadays Bozanti, near <sup>3</sup> Maq. himself, 21, tells fantastic stories about the sources of the Nile.

from Khuwārizmī, 106 (see also plate IV), or from the complete version of I.Kh.'s work, now lost. In the abridged version, I.Kh., 176, says only that the Nile forms two lakes beyond the Equator. Idrīsī's map, reproduced in Reinaud's *Introduction*, strictly follows the same tradition (10 rivers, 2 lakes, then again 6 rivers).<sup>1</sup> As regards Sukar I.H., 103, mentions Askar between Fayyūm and Fuṣṭāṭ; Yāqūt, iii, 107, says: "Sukar . . . to the east of Upper Egypt (Ṣa'id); between it and Cairo (Miṣr) two days' distance."

63. The river is more likely the Blue Nile than the 'Atbara (Ptolemy, iv, 7, Ἀσταβόρας). Kābil is the title of the king of Nubia, see § 59. His capital lay most probably in the province of 'Alwa, near Khartūm (ruins of Sōba). The town of Berber situated at the junction of the Nile with the 'Atbara does not seem to have played a role in Nubian history.

64. The western branch of the Nile, called after the town Tarnūt.

66. The river must be the Maritsa erroneously combined with the aqueduct supplying water to the capital, as suggested by Barthold, *v.s.* p. 41, note 1. I.R., 126, says: "Constantinople possesses a water-conduit which enters it from the town of Bulghar. This water flows for a distance of 20 days and on entering Constantinople is divided into 3 parts." The town Bulghar stands here for the locality *Belgrad* situated only a few miles north of Constantinople. Cf. § 42, 16. and 18.

67. Hār.da, as suggested by Barthold in his Index, is Mārīda (Merida) which lies on the Guadiana, but the name on the original map could easily occupy the space between the Guadiana and the Tagus and so give place to an error. On Shantarīn (Santarem) cf. § 41, 14.

68. Perhaps the Barka flowing northwards in Eritrea, or the Okwa.

## § 7. The Deserts and Sands

The terms *biyābān* and *rīg* correspond respectively to Arabic *ṣaḥrā* and *raml*. The first term does not naturally mean a waterless and uninhabited land. As the text shows, *biyābān*, as opposed to *rīg*, must be often interpreted as "plain, steppe, or depression". *V.i.* 8. and 10. where the two terms are clearly distinguished.

1. This desert (plain?), generally speaking, covers a *terra incognita* in the east, but its situation south of the Huang-Ho may point to the depression between the lower course of the Huang-Ho and the Yang-tze (the province Kiang-su). The author evidently opposes this southern "desert" to the northern one described under 2. According to the *China Year Book* some gold is produced in Shantung.

2. This is the Great Mongolian desert. The "Kuchchā river" must be the Huang-ho, cf. § 6, 3.

3. As the swamp formed by the "Kuchā river" (*sic*) is the Lob-nor, these sands must be those separating Turfan from Kan-su. The distance indicated is too short. Between Qumūl and Sha-chou Gardīzī counts seven days. On the two towns see § 9, 20. and 21.

<sup>1</sup> On the sources of the Nile see in great detail Maqrīzī, ed. Wiet, i, 219-36.

4. The Tarim depression is meant here, but the bearings are evidently displaced, as if the author was facing E. or NE. instead of N.

	<i>Our author</i>	<i>Real bearings</i>
Tibet	E.	S.
Indian lands	S.	SW.
Transoxiana	W.	NW.
Khallukh	N.	N.

5. Here, evidently, the lowlands of the Carnatic are meant, which stretch along the east coast up to the Godaveri beyond which the Eastern Ghats approach the coast.

6. This desert is Makrān.

7. Kargas-kūh "the Vulture mountain" is the name of a mountain near Kāshān, Le Strange, *o.l.*, 208. It is unexpected to see the name applied to the whole of the Central Persian desert (Kavīr, Lūt) but Maq., 487, 490, also describes the Kargas-kūh as the highest point of the desert. On the bearings *v.s.* note to 4.

8. The Transcaspien desert. On the bearings of the Caspian Sea and Volga, *v.s.* 4.

9. Jand and J.vāra (Khwāra?) are situated on the Jaxartes, § 26, 27. The situation of the steppe depends on the identification of the river beyond which lived the Kīmāk (cf. §§ 6, 42. and 18). [Qara-qum? Cf. p. 309.]

10. The description of Arabia is sufficiently exact. On the southern [read: *south-western*] border, the Red Sea (*daryā-yi 'Arab*) must be followed by the Barbarī Gulf (§ 3, 3*a.*) instead of which the Ayla has been named, whereas in the following sentence the latter is rightly mentioned west of Arabia (cf. § 3, 3*b.*). The sands within the *bādiya* are clearly distinguished from the latter. The pilgrims from 'Irāq had to cross these Habīr sands. The term Habīr is not found in Iṣṭ. or Maq., but I.H., 30 and 104, in his detailed account of the deserts mentions *al-raml al-ma'rūf bil-Habīr*. His text is not very clear but seems to indicate that on one side these sands stretch towards Egypt, and on the other extend "from the two Tayy mountains to the Persian Gulf and are adjacent to the sands of Baḥrayn, of Baṣra, and of 'Omān, down to Shiḥr and Mahra . . .". Originally al-Habīr must designate the desert al-Dahnā "the red one", uniting Great Nufūd with al-Rub' al-khālī, see Hogarth, *Penetration of Arabia*, Map. I.H. mentions yellow, red, blue, black, and white sands but does not say anything of the use of the red sand for smithing purposes.

11. The term *aḥqāf* in Southern Arabia is a synonym of the northern *nufūd*; cf. de Goeje, *Arabia*, in *EI*.

12. The [Arabian] desert between the lower course of the Nile and the Red Sea, cf. §§ 53 and 59. The bearings are evidently displaced and the combination of the Gulfs of "Barbar" and Ayla is a result of some confusion (*v.s.* 10. and note to § 3, 3*a.*).

13. The Nubian desert following 12. immediately to the south. According



to 12. its name appears to be "the Buja Desert", while the "country of Buja" lay south of it. Under *Ḥabasha* seems to be understood the coastal line (Eritrea, &c.) considerably to the north of the present-day Abyssinia.

15. The Ṣaḥārā. Sijilmāsa in Southern Morocco is usually mentioned as the limit of the cultivated zone, cf. Iṣṭ., 37.

### § 8. On the countries

For the commentary on the order of enumeration see Barthold's *Preface*, p. 34. This second part of the book (§§ 8-60) can be divided into the following groups of chapters:

- (a) §§ 9-11. China, India, Tibet.
- (b) §§ 12-17. South-eastern Turks.
- (c) §§ 18-22. North-western Turks.
- (d) §§ 23-26. Khorāsān and Transoxiana.
- (e) §§ 27-36. Middle zone of Islām (Sind-Persia-Jazīra).
- (f) §§ 37-41. Southern zone of Islām (Arabia-Spain),
- (g) §§ 42-53. Byzantium, Northern Europe, Caucasus.
- (h) §§ 54-60. Southern countries.

### § 9. Chīnistān

Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*; Reinaud, *Introduction*, pp. ccclii-ccclxxvii; Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 1866 (2nd edition by Cordier, Hakluyt Society, 4 vols., 1913-16)—a complete survey of the early travellers to China; V. Grigoriev, *O puteshestvennike Abu-Dulefe*, in *Zhurnal Minist. Narod. Prosv.*, 1872, part 163, pp. 1-45; Sprenger, *PostROUTEN*, 80-8; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 74-95 (analysis of Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muḥalhil's report, cf. Barthold, *Sandābil*, in *EI*); Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue*, SPb. 1903; Chavannes, *Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-Kiue occidentaux*, in *T'oung-Pao*, série II, v, 1904, pp. 1-110; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, L. 1910, 2 vols.; F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua, his Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries*, SPb., 1911 (cf. Barthold's review *Zap.*, 1913, xxi/4, pp. 0161-0169); M. Hartmann, *China*, and Barthold, *Kan-su*, both in *EI*. Very complete materials on the historical cartography of Western China are found in A. Herrmann's extensive contributions to S. Hedin's *Southern Tibet*, Stockholm 1922, vol. viii, pp. 91-456.

[Ch. Schefer, *Notice sur les relations des peuples musulmans avec les Chinois depuis l'extension de l'Islamisme jusqu'à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Centenaire de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, 1793-1893, pp. 1-43 (quotes 'Auffi on a colony of Shī'i Muslims who in Omayyad times settled near the capital of China); Hādī Ḥasan, *A History of Persian Navigation*, London, 1928, pp. 95 ff. (Islamic epoch). J. Kuwabara, *On P'u Shou-k'eng . . . with a General Sketch of Trade of the Arabs in China during the T'ang and Sung Era*, in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, Tokyo 1928, No. 2, pp. 1-70. On the twelve Chinese provinces under the Yüan dynasty see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, pp. 484-97; cf. Bretschneider, *o.c.*, passim. For

Timurid times, see the well-known report of Ghiyāth al-dīn Naqqāsh, one of the members of Baysunqur's embassy to China in A.D. 1421-2, edited by Quatremère, in *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, part 1, pp. 308-41 and 387-426, after the *Maṭla' al-Sa'dayn* (a more complete text found in Ḥāfiz-i Abrū's *Zubdat al-tawārikh*, Oxford MS., fol. 383b-412a, ed. by K. M. Maitra, Lahore, 1934); in the annex of his edition Quatremère quotes (pp. 474-89) an interesting account of the Tarim basin translated from \*Amin Ahmad [sic] Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm* (towards the end of the sixth cline); Kahle, *Eine islamische Quelle über China 1500*, in *Acta Orientalia*, 1934, xii/2, pp. 91-110.]

As early as A.D. 300 the Arabs are supposed to have had a settlement in Canton. Islam is said to have been brought there even in Muḥammad's lifetime. In A.D. 738 the Muslims in Canton were numerous enough to plunder the town, cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau fu-kua*, pp. 4, 14-15.<sup>1</sup>

Here we are only concerned with the actual geographical description of China by the Muslims. As was natural, the exploration of the maritime zone was carried on quite independently from that of northern China. Sulaymān the Merchant (before A.D. 851) is the earliest Arab authority on the situation obtaining in خانفو *Khan-fu* < *Kuang-(chou)-fu* = Canton.<sup>2</sup> Already I.Kh., whose work was finally completed towards A.D. 885, v.s. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 12, gives a detailed description, pp. 62-72, of the sea-routes to the Far East. Several Muslims are even said to have reached from the southern Chinese ports the capital of the T'ang dynasty (Ch'ang-an-fu, Hsi-an-fu, Khumdān). Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 307-12, mentions a merchant from Samarqand who travelled from Sīrāf to Canton (خانفو), and from there visited the capital called Anmwā (?): هي دار الملك (variants: انمو او).<sup>3</sup> A rich Quraishite Ibn al-Wahhāb, a descendant of Habbār b. Aswad, went from Canton to see the king of China "who at that time (i.e. shortly after A.D. 870) resided at the city of Khumdān", *Murūj*, i, 312-21. Abū-Zayd Muḥammad Sīrāfī, the editor of Sulaymān's report (p. 77), interrogated Ibn al-Wahhāb when the latter was an old man, and left a record of this conversation, cf. Reinaud, *Introduction*, p. lxxiii. Later Mas'ūdī, who in 303/915 met Abū Zayd in Baṣra, wrote down the same record, *Murūj*, i, 321-4.

<sup>1</sup> [Much more cautiously O. Franke writes in *Zur Geschichte d. Exterritorialität in China*, in *Sitz. Berl. Ak.*, 1935, p. 897: "Die genaue Zeit, wann die Araber zuerst in China gelandet sind, wann sie angefangen haben, ihre Niederlassungen zu gründen . . . wissen wir nicht." An indirect indication can be inferred from the fact that "an inspector of the oversea trade" in Canton is mentioned already in A.D. 712. Moreover, according to the *T'ang-shu*, already in A.D. 651 an envoy of *Han-mi mo-mo-ni* (\*amīr al-mi'minān) visited the Chinese court, see O. Franke, *Ge-*

*schichte des Chinesischen Reichs*, ii, 1936, p. 369.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pelliot, quoted p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> I now see that انمو several times occurring in Mas'ūdī's text is but a misreading of خمدان. Cf. the parallel passages in the *Murūj*, i, 309, and Sulaymān, 103; the latter has: *Khumdān wa huwa balad al-mulk al-kabīr*. In *Murūj*, ii, 131, *Anmwā* is identified with the legendary \**Kang-diz* which Kay-Khusrau built in China. خمدان \* < انمو is entirely distinct from مد (Murūj, i, 305) = مدو (Sulaymān, 64), cf. note to § 11, 9.

The northern overland routes to China used by the silk-traders were known from very early times (at least from 114 B.C.), see Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, 1910. The Soghdian settlements, all the way from Transoxania to China, undoubtedly possessed a detailed knowledge of the roads; and the probably Iranian (Soghdian?) appellations of Chinese towns (*v.i.* 1., 2., 22.) indicate the channels through which, later on, the Muslims received their information on China. From the first century of Islam the Muslims in Central Asia were in close touch with the Chinese in military engagements, as well as in more peaceful activities. Enough to say that between the years A.D. 716 and 759, nineteen Arab embassies are mentioned in Chinese sources, see Chavannes, *Notes additionnelles*, of which the relevant passages have been separately studied by H. A. R. Gibb, *Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia*, in *BSOS*, vol. ii/4, 619-22.

This state of things is very insufficiently reflected in early Muslim geographers whose allusions to the north-western China and the roads leading thereto are extremely few and vague. I.Kh.'s routes, pp. 29-31, stop at the capital of the Toghuzghuz. Qudāma, 264, in a legendary report on Alexander the Great's campaign, only mentions Khumdān and شول; the latter name has been restored as \*شرك, *Sharag* = Kāshghar, or better as سرك *Sarag* = the eastern capital of the T'ang dynasty Lo-yang which appears as *Saragh* in the old Soghdian letters of the second century and in the Nestorian inscription of A.D. 781. See Yule, *o.c.*; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 90, 502; Pelliot, *Jour. As.*, July 1927, pp. 138-41, and *T'oung-Pao*, xxv, 1928, pp. 91-2; Schaeder, *Iranica*, 1934, pp. 47-9. [It appears strange that an early Arab writer used ك to render the sound *g* or *gh*!] The interpreter Sallām's account of his trip to the wall of Gog and Magog under the orders of the caliph Wāthiq (A.D. 842-7) is a wonder-tale interspersed with three or four geographical names, I.Kh., 162-70, cf. de Goeje, *De muur van Gog en Magog*, 1888.<sup>1</sup> Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhallil's pretended journey to China in the company of a Chinese embassy returning from Bukhārā in 331/941 is a series of disconnected notices, of which some are genuine, and some imaginary, see Yāqūt, iii, 445, cf. Grigoriev, *o.c.*, and Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 74, 95. [The complete text of Abū Dulaf's *Risāla* is contained in the Mashhad MS. of Ibn al-Faqīh, first described by A. Z. Validi, *v.s.*, p. 215 and Appendix B.]

Mas'ūdī, i, 347-9, says that he met at Balkh an old man who had several times travelled to China overland and that he knew some other persons in Khorasan who went to Tibet and China *via* Soghdiana and saw on the road the mountains producing ammoniac salt (*jibāl al-nūshādīr*). Mas'ūdī himself (?) saw these mountains from a distance of 100 farsakhs: fires were seen over them at night and smoke during the day-time. Reinaud, *o.c.*, p. clxiii, thought that these details might apply to the ammoniac mines

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. E. Wilson, *The Wall of Alexander*, in *Asia Major*, introductory (Hirth Anniversary) volume, London 1923, pp. 575-612; Comte E. Zichy, *Le*

*voyage de Sallām*, in *K. Csoma Archivum*, 1922, i/3, 190-204, is certainly wrong in placing Sallām's supposed peregrinations between the Caucasus and the Ural.

in the T'ien-shan, north of Kuchā.<sup>1</sup> However, Mas'ūdi's account of the road is fantastic and does not contain a single geographical name.

The earliest systematic description of the lands to the south of the T'ien-shan was perhaps contained in Jayhānī's lost work, but even I.R., who seems to have been the first to utilize that work, did not transcribe these data. The *H.-Ā* and Gardīzī are the first to speak of China and Tibet. Their lists of places have striking resemblances but do not entirely coincide, and each author adds numerous details of his own. In Gardīzī the places are arranged into itineraries; our author simply enumerates them but the order of enumeration closely follows Gardīzī's system which certainly belongs to the original source (Jayhānī?).

The information contained in the present chapter and in those on the mountains (§ 5, 1.-6.), rivers (§ 6, 1.-4.), and deserts (§ 7, 1.-3.) has certainly been borrowed from several sources (cf. 6. Khālb.k). Parts of it may even refer to the earlier part of the ninth century, *v.s.*, p. 28, and *v.i.*, p. 227, line 8. The capital of China is still placed at Khumdān (Ch'ang-an, Hsi-an-fu), though after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 907 it was transferred first to Lo-yang and then to K'ai-fêng (A.D. 936). Likewise there is no hint in our author at the formation in China of numerous local dynasties after the fall of the T'ang, whereas Gardīzī, 92, speaks of "many kings in China, of whom the greatest is the Faghfur", referring probably to the post-T'ang times. More than this, the statement concerning the majority of the people professing Manichaeism could hardly be true after A.D. 843 when, following the collapse of the Uyghur empire on the Orkhon, the Chinese government took energetic measures against the Manichaeans, cf. Chavannes and Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen*, in *Jour. As.*, 1913, i, 295-305. We might eventually admit that our author has in view the special conditions obtaining in the Kan-su province which he knows best. According to Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 88, in A.D. 844 (one year after the events on the Orkhon) Long-tegin, the chief of the south-western branch of the Uyghurs which occupied the region between Sha-chou and Kan-chou,<sup>2</sup> proclaimed himself khāqān. In A.D. 924 an Uyghur khāqān was

<sup>1</sup> The *Wei-shu*, quoted by S. Lévi, *Jour. As.*, Sept. 1913, p. 346, mentions "l'arsenic vert" among the products of Kuchā. A Chinese source, written before A.D. 527, *ibid.*, p. 347, says: "Au nord de Koutcha, à 200 *li*, il y a une montagne; la nuit, elle a l'éclat du feu; le jour c'est tout fumée. Les gens recueillent le charbon de terre de cette montagne pour fondre les métaux; le fer de cette montagne est le plus généralement employé dans les trente-six royaumes." Cf. also the *T'ang-shu* in Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 115, on the "montagne A-kie-t'ien [\*Aq-tagh?] . . . appelée aussi la montagne blanche; il y a là

constamment du feu".

<sup>2</sup> See notes to § 12. Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, ii, 25-7, whom Marquart quotes, spells the name of the chief *Long-te-le*, whereas Bichurin (*v.i.*, § 12) reads it (in Russian transcription) *Pang-de-le* (\**P'ang-r'ê-lê?*). The characters *p'ang* and \**lung* differ only by one stroke. In principle no Turkish name would begin with an *l*. As regards the second elements Chavannes, *o.c.*, p. 225, note 3, and p. 367, confirms that "le titre turc de *tegin* est constamment écrit en chinois *t'e-le'* [the characters *le* (\**lê*) and *k'in* (\**ch'in*) being easily confused].

still residing in Kan-chou. The king "of China", called Qalīn b. Sh.khīr (\**Chakhīr*?), to whose court the Sāmānid embassy went in 381/941 must have been the ruler of the same branch of the Uyghurs. But as our source is silent on the presence of the Uyghurs in the province of Kan-su and only mentions the struggle going on in Kan-chou (7.) between the Chinese and the Tibetans, the impression is that it has in view the state of things before the arrival of the Uyghurs in that province in A.D. 843-4. Under 10. it is said that the Toghuzghuz are attacking Kuchā but it is possible that the question is not of the T'ien-shan Uyghurs but still of the Western Tu-ch'üeh, *v.i.*, p. 267, because Kuchā (*v.i.* 10.) and Khotan (*v.i.* 18.) [cf. also Kāshghar, § 13, 1.] are still reckoned to China, though entirely encircled by Turkish and Tibetan dominions. The above-mentioned towns, with the addition of Sui-shih on the Chu river (or, from 719, of Qarashar), constituted precisely "the Four Garrisons" on which the Chinese power rested in the west. In A.D. 670 the Four Garrisons were taken by the Tibetans, but in 692 the Chinese reoccupied them. In 760 the Tibetans became masters of the whole country to the west of the Huang-ho, but the garrisons of Pei-t'ing (= Bish-baliq) and An-hsi (= Kuchā) still held out till 787, see Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 113-14. Our author's statements must reflect China's incessant struggle for political influence and the possession of the strategic positions in the present-day Hsin-Chiang province. [With regard to Khotan, the author may have in view the re-establishment of connexions with China after A.D. 938 (*v.i.* 18.).]

The statement that the emperor of China was descended from Farīdhūn is certainly explainable by the tradition according to which Farīdhūn's son Tūr became the master of the Turk and Chīn and was accordingly called Tūrān-shāh or Shāh-i Chīn, see *Shāh-nāma*, cf. Minorsky, *Tūrān*, in *EI*. More directly our author's source may be I.Kh., p. 16, who says that \**baghpūr* is a descendant of Afarīdhūn. The same geographer also, p. 70, gives a list of the products of China, though more complete and not entirely coinciding in details with that of our author.

In the *H.-Ā.* China is called *Chīnistān* and *Chīn*. The first form which appears in the Soghdian letters of the second century, *o.c.*, 15,<sup>1</sup> and in Middle Persian and Armenian, is not usual in Modern Persian which prefers the form *Chīn*.<sup>2</sup>

The description of China consists of very distinct parts: 1., 23., 24. belong to the southern seas; 2. these provinces are said to lie on the south coast of China;<sup>3</sup> 5.-6., 13., 15. lay on the road from Ch'ang-an-fu to Kan-su, while 4. is the only town mentioned on the Yangtze; 10. is situated north of the Tarim; 16., 17. are to be sought in the neighbourhood of Tibet, and

<sup>1</sup> *V.i.*, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Persian *Chīn* is derived from the name of the dynasty Ch'in which ruled in China 221-206 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> It is curious not to find mentioned in the *H.-Ā.* the well-known ports of

*Khānfū* (= Canton, *v.s.*) and *Zaytūn* (Ts'üan-chou, near Amoy). About the 9th cent. a portion of the sea trade was diverted to the latter, *Chau Yu-kua*, p. 17. Abul-Fidā, 363, calls it "*Shinjū*, known in our time as *Zaytūn*".

18.-21., as well perhaps as 11. and 22. (?)—south of the Tarim; of 12. nothing can be said. This analysis shows that the source utilized by our author was chiefly acquainted with the Tarim basin and Kan-su, inclusive of the road leading to the T'ang capital Ch'ang-an-fu.

1. Muslim information on Wāqwāq is utterly confused. It has been exhaustively analysed by Ferrand in his articles *Wāk-Wāk* in *EI* and especially *Le Wāk-wāk est-il le Japon?*, in *Jour. As.*, avril 1932, pp. 193-243. Ferrand comes to the conclusion that two Wāqwāqs must be distinguished, of which the one lying in Africa in the Zanj country corresponds to Madagascar, *o.c.*, 211, 238, whereas the other, belonging to China, is identical with Sumatra, *o.c.*, 237 (and not with Japan as de Goeje had supposed). The confusion is increased by the fact that several other names are applied to Sumatra and its localities (see Zābaj, Fanšūr, Bālūs). In our text (§ 4, B 3.) the Gold-island (= Sumatra) is inhabited by the Wāq-wāqians, and the latter are confused with the homonymous Wāqwāq of the Zanj country. This entails a further complication: the Wāqwāq disappear from the immediate neighbourhood of Zangistān but the latter (§ 55) becomes a neighbour of Zābaj (= Sumatra = Chinese Wāqwāq = Gold-island, § 4, 3.). The detail about gold collars used in Wāqwāq is also found in I.Kh., 69. The town مقيس is unknown.

2. The names of the Nine Provinces are unknown and most of them have a non-Chinese appearance. None of them correspond to the names of provinces in Qubilay's empire as quoted in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, *GMS*, pp. 484-98. Īr.sh (ايرش) and Khūr.sh (خورش) are the provinces between which the Yangtze-kiang passes before disemboguing into the sea (§ 6, 2.). On the other hand, the localities similarly divided by the Huang-ho are Kūr.sh (کورش) and F.r.jākli (فرجاکلی) (§ 6, 3.). The absence of کورش in the present enumeration could be best explained by the identity of کورش خورش. In this case, *Kūr.sh/Khūr.sh* would be located between the Yangtze and Huang-ho, *Īr.sh* south-west of the Yangtze, and *F.r.jākli* north of the Huang-ho, in Pei Chih-li. According to our text all the Nine Provinces lay on the shore of the Ocean and following the order of enumeration (from S. to N.?) the last six mentioned provinces should be situated in the extreme Far East. Consequently (*d*) Thay can hardly refer to the former T'ai kingdom in Yün-nan (Nan-chao), destroyed by Qubilay khan in 1253.<sup>1</sup> To take (*f*) تنکوی for *Tangut* (Waṣṣāf, ed. Hammer, p. 22: تنک; Rashīd al-dīn, 492: تنکفوت) would be an anachronism. (*h*) قوری can hardly stand for Corea: in earlier sources (I.Kh., 70, I.R., 82) this country is called Shilā or Shilā<sup>2</sup> whereas Rashīd al-dīn, p. 486, gives a different transcription: کرلی. As on principle we must prefer the explanations consistent with the attested Muslim tradition it is more probable that قوری

<sup>1</sup> Nor does *Tai* in Shansi [Dr. P. Fitzgerald] suit our case.

<sup>2</sup> *Shilā* < \**Sin-lo*, the native kingdom comprising the central and eastern part of Corea. The Corea proper (Ko-ku-

rye) lay in the north. In 904 Ko-ku-rye rose in arms against the Sin-lo rulers and in 935 Corea became united under the national Wang dynasty, R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient*, 1929, p. 290.

refers to the people mentioned under § 14, 1., for the Khirkhīz were supposed to extend to the coast; in this case قای might also be considered as a mis-spelling for قای (usually coupled with قرن, see note to § 14, 1.). Khasāni, Būnūghnī and انفس (perhaps انفسه) are obscure.

3.-9., 13.-15. are to be located along the following itinerary found in Gardīzī, 92: from Chinānjkat in the Toghuzghuz territory (§ 12, 9.) *via* B.gh-shūrā (where a river is crossed in a boat) to Qomūl (§ 12, 9.)—8 days; from Qomūl, across a steppe with springs and grass, to the Chinese town Shā-chū—7 days; thence to Sang-lākh—3 days; thence to S.kh-chū—7 days; thence to Kham-chū—3 days; thence to K.jā—8 days; thence 15 days to the river *Qiyān* (Yangtze-kiang); from B.gh-shūrā to Khumdān, by a road of *ribāts* (fortified stations) and *mansils* (stations) 1 month. As the last-mentioned distance does not sum up the distances previously quoted, we must conclude that Gardīzī's text is out of order. Indeed the first mention of B.gh-shūrā (between Turfan and Qomūl, where no such place is known and no such important river exists!) is only a misplaced part of the second passage where B.gh-shūrā comes in the enumeration immediately after the Yangtze. This correction is fully confirmed by our author, who says (§ 6, 2.) that the river Kīsau, after it has entered the limits of Bughshūr, is known under the name \**Ghiyān* (<*kiang*). Consequently it seems that Gardīzī's itinerary first follows a southerly direction, from Turfan down to the Yangtze, and then from the important place where the river is usually crossed (Bughshūr?) turns back northwards to Khumdān (Ch'ang-an-fu). See Map iii.

Another important point is that in Gardīzī, 91-2, the name spelt كجا stands for two totally different places: (a) the well-known town Kuchā, north of the Tarim, and (b) a place lying between the Kan-su province and the Yangtze. Our text to some extent distinguishes between the two names (*v.i.* 10. and 5.).

Our author follows Gardīzī's itinerary in the opposite direction.

3. Khumdān is Ch'ang-an-fu, later Hsi-an-fu. The name is already quoted [from some Nestorian source?] in Theophylactus Simokatta [*circa* A.D. 582-602], vii, 9, *Χουμαδάν* (or *Χουβδάν*), see Coedès, *o.c.*, 141. Marquart, *Komanen*, 60, considers the name as Iranian (Soghdian?) and explains it as "potter's kiln".<sup>1</sup> Our author is very vague on the situation of Khumdān. The town is said to lie on the Khumdān river apparently confused with the Huang-ho (? 6, 1.). A lake is mentioned "in the region of Khumdān" (§ 3, 35.), and finally (§ 2, 4.) Khumdān is placed on the shore of the Green Sea!

<sup>1</sup> See now some doubts on this interpretation in Schaeder, *Iranica*, 2. *Fu-lin*, Berlin 1934, p. 48, who suggests that the name might belong to the Wei dynasty. The latter is reckoned to the Sien-pi race which, according to Pelliot, was Turkish. In any case Marquart's inter-

pretation receives an indirect confirmation from the fact that Fakhr al-dīn (see note to § 12) calls a Buddhist stupa *tanūra* "funnel" semantically very close to *Khumdān*. Could not the capital of China be called "stupa [town]"? On another Khumdān see the Index.

4. \*Baghshūr (spelt: *Bughshūr* and *B.ghsūr*) is very probably an Iranian name. A homonymous place (§ 23, 33.) lay between Herat and the Murghāb, Išt., 269. The name is explained in the *Burhān-i Qāṭi* as "a pool of salt water". Baghshūr is said to be an important commercial town, and as such could be known to the Soghdian merchants who probably renamed it in their language. All the indications point to its being situated on, or near, the Yangtze. As it is impossible to imagine a road connecting Khumdān with the north through a place lying on that river, the distance between Baghshūr and Khumdān must represent a special route, not directly belonging to the road Chīnānjkat-Khumdān. According to the *China Year Book* the Yangtze receives the name of Kiang in the neighbourhood of Yang-chou, in the Hu-peh province; but one would rather look for Bughshūr much higher upstream, in the region of Ch'ung-ch'ing where the highroad from the north approaches the river. [With regard to the meaning of "a pool of salt water" Dr. P. Fitzgerald kindly tells me that the celebrated salt wells in the Yangtze basin are situated at Tzū-liu-ch'ing.]<sup>1</sup>

5. Kuchān (کچان) is said to be a small town where both Chinese and Tibetan merchants were found. The latter detail points to the western part of Kansu, or Ssü-ch'uan. The mention under § 6, 2. of the Yangtze as flowing towards "the limits of Kujān (*sic*) and Bughshūr" is rather vague and means perhaps only that the river approaches the road leading from Kuchan to Bughshūr. Gardīzi calls the place کچا Kuchā and places it at 8 days south of Kan-chou, and at 15 days north of the Yangtze. Following these distances it is difficult to identify Kuchān with Kung-chang in southern Kan-su and one should rather place it in the region of Lan-chou. In the confused § 6, 3., the Tarim is represented as continued by the Huang-ho. Beyond the swamp the imaginary watercourse is said "to flow down to the limits of Kuchchā". This latter form کچچا very probably stands for Kuchān کچان. Were this hypothesis correct, we should have an additional argument for placing Kuchān in the region of Lan-chou through which the Huang-ho flows. On Kāshgharī's Map, south of the Tarim, the following places stretch W. to E. in one line: Yārkanḍ, Khotan, Jarjān (Cherchen), then behind a mountain شانجو (*Shan-chou*, probably \**Sha-chou*) and towards the south-east ارض کليم and کوشان (*sic*).<sup>2</sup> This Kūshān may be another spelling for our Kuchān (or for 16. K.sān).<sup>3</sup>

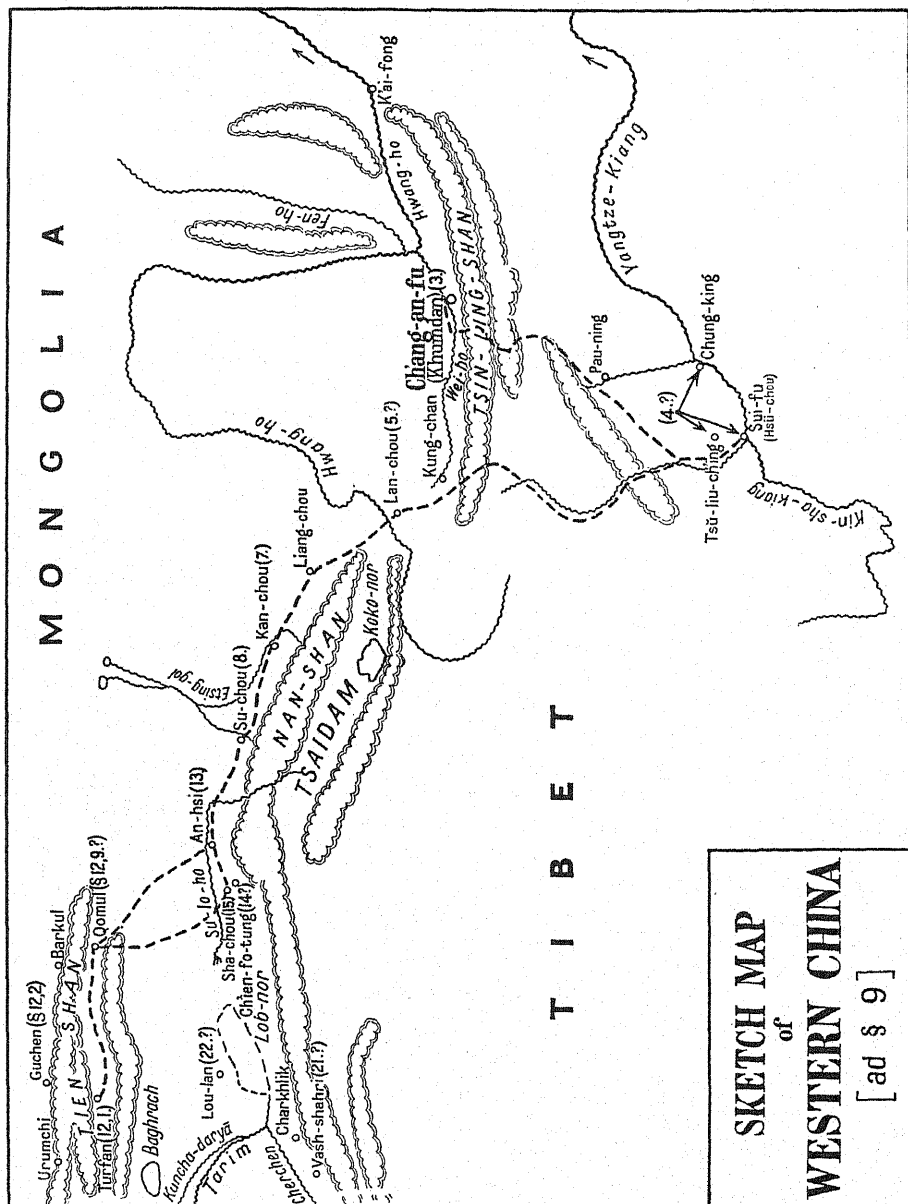
<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Richard, *Comprehensive geography of the Chinese Empire*, Engl. transl., Shanghai 1908, p. 114: Ch'ung-ch'ing—principal trading centre of Ssü-Ch'uan; Tzū-liu-ch'ing—a great industrial centre with 1,000 salt-wells (it lies at circa 200 Km. to the west of Ch'ung-ch'ing in the basin of the Lu-ho tributary of the Yangtze).

<sup>2</sup> ارض, if restored as \*ارضو, may stand for Er(i)-chou, a Mongol name for

Liang-chou, cf. Zhamtsarano in the *Festschrift to S. F. Oldenburg* (in Russian), Leningrad 1934, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> In the old Soghdian letters ed. by Reichelt, *o.c.*, pp. 13, 15, &c., the name of a town *Kē'n* or *Kē'n* (read: *K. chān*) is found several times. Reichelt, *o.c.*, 5, tentatively identifies it with Kao-ch'ang (see note to § 12, 1.), and this looks probable on account of the cold winds said to blow from its direction (*i.e.* from





6. Khālb.k looks non-Chinese. In Arabic cursive خالك (see especially its three last letters) has some likeness to سندابل as Mīsar b. Muhalhil (*v.s.*, p. 225) calls the capital of the "king of China". A curious point is that Khālb.k is mentioned precisely before Kan-chou with which Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 86-8, identifies Sandābil, see also *EI* under this name. As Khālb.k (said to be a large town) is not mentioned in Gardīzī it must have passed into the H.-'Ā. from some additional source, perhaps Mīsar b. Muhalhil.

7. Khāmchū is Kan-chou, cf. Rashīd al-dīn, 497, "قنچو, one of the towns of Tangūt".

8. سوکجو, wrongly vocalized *Saukjū* is Su-chou, old pronunciation *Suk-chou*. Turkish Yögurs of this region still pronounce Suk-chū, see Potanin, *Tangut.-tibet. okraina*, 1893, ii, 435. The Mongols say *Tsugchi*.

9. S.khchū (?), ditto in Gardīzī, at three days' distance from 7. Khāmchū. As Gardīzī does not mention سوکجو and as, on the other hand, Su-chou could scarcely be omitted in the itinerary from Sha-chou to Kan-chou, one cannot dismiss the possibility of both 8. سوکجو and 9. سنجو \**Sukh-chou* (?) equally referring to Su-chou. It is true that our author distinguishes *Sūk-chou* from *S.kh-chou* but he connects them administratively. [In the Turkish document written in Orkhon script *Suyču-balıq* seems to refer to Su-chou, see Thomsen in *JRAS*, 1912, p. 186.]

10.-12. seem to disturb the order of enumeration.

10. Kuchā (كچا) is the well-known town lying north of the Tarim (in Chinese *Küei-tzū* or *Ch'ü-tzū*, French trans. *K'ieou-tse* or *K'üe-tse*). On the long history of this Aryan (later Turkicized) principality see S. Lévi, *Le 'tokharien B', langue de Koutcha*, in *Four. As.*, Sept. 1913, pp. 323-80. The T'ang annals stop in their description of the city at A.D. 730, and between A.D. 787 and 1001 Chinese sources are altogether silent on the great revolutions in the region brought about by the arrival of the Tibetans, the Uyghurs, and the K'i-tan. Our source (*v.s.*, p. 227) still reckons Kuchā to China, and leaves it out in the enumeration of the Toghuzghuz possessions (§ 12) though the Toghuzghuz are said to raid it constantly (*v.s.*, p. 227). In Kāshgharī i, 332, Kusan (كسن) is given as "the name of a town called Kujā (كچا) which is the frontier of the Uyghurs". The form *Kūsān* is also found in the "Secret history of the Mongols", cf. Pelliot, *Notes sur les noms anciens de Kučā &c.*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1926, p. 126.

11. Kūghm.r کرغمر is a puzzle. It is true that on the right bank of the Qara-qash river, circa 16 miles south-west of Khotan, there is a sanctuary on the Kōhmāri hill which Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 1907, pp. 185-90, and *Serindia*, 1921, i, 93-5, identifies with Hsüan-tsang's Mount *Gośṛṅga* "Cow's horn". However, the passage of کرغمر into کوهمارى [so according to Sir A. Stein's transcription!] is not at all obvious, to say nothing of the mention of Kūghm.r in our text after Kuchā and before the "Stone-tower".

the eastern T'ien-shan?). [I now see that A. Herrmann in his commentary on Kāshgharī's map (1935) tentatively

identifies *Kūshān* with Kuei-shun, Ning-hsia. Phonetically this identification presents some difficulty.]

12. It is difficult to say which of the "Stone Towers" this *Burj-i Sangīn* represents. Is it Tash-qurghan in Sarikol (east of the Pamir), or simply a reminiscence of Ptolemy's *λίθινος πύργος*, as supposed by Barthold, *Preface*, v.s., p. 26. Bīrūnī, by popular etymology, identified the "Stone Tower" with Tashkent, cf. § 25, 80., but judging by the description of the silk-route in Ptolemy, i, 12, 7-9, the tower must be placed at Daraut-qurghan at the western end of the Alai plain, see Marquart, *Wehrot*, 63, and Sir Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, ii, 849, and *On Ancient Tracks past the Pamirs*, in *The Himalayan Journal*, iv, 1932, p. 22. [Perhaps some tower of the Chinese Limes, near An-hsi, cf. Sir A. Stein, *Serindia*, Maps 78 and 81.]

13.-15. again in Kan-su. The mention of Manichaeans in 13. and 15. agrees with the reports on their safe existence in Kan-su, even during the persecution following the collapse of the Uyghur empire on the Orkhon, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 88. Cf. also the general remarks on the time to which our source refers, v.s., p. 227.

13. Khājū = Kua-chou, i.e. the present day An-hsi oasis on the Su-lo-ho river and on the road from Su-chou to Sha-chou, see Stein, *Serindia*, p. 1040.

15. *ساجو* \**Sha-chou*, "Town of the sands", mentioned in Gardīzī as the first Chinese town on the road from Qomūl, is the name of the Tun-huang oasis near which the celebrated Ch'ien-fo-tung "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" are situated. It would be tempting to identify with the latter place our 14. Sanglākh with its Buddhist (?) associations. It is true that Gardīzī places Sanglākh at 3 days from Sha-chou and at 7 days from S.kh-chou whereas in fact the caves "are carved into the precipitous conglomerate cliffs overlooking from the west the mouth of a barren valley some 12 miles south-east of the oasis", Sir A. Stein, *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, 1933, p. 193. Though the distance does not suit that given by Gardīzī, the place of Sanglākh (14.) before 15. Sha-chou would be easy to understand in our enumeration which goes from south to north (resp. NW.), and its Iranian name Sanglākh, "The Stony Place", would accord with the natural characteristics of the Ch'ien-fo-tung. However, Sanglākh may be a mere popular etymology of some Chinese name compounded with *sang-*, cf. Playfair, *The Cities and Towns of China*, 1879, Nos. 6062-71. In the Tibetan documents edited by Prof. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, April 1930, p. 294, *Sen-ge-lag*, closely resembling our *Sang(a)lakh*, occurs as a personal name in the Khotan region.

16. All we can say of K.sān is that it lay in the direction of Tibet, probably west of the Nan-shan, or south of the K'un-lun.<sup>1</sup> See also note to 5.

17. Kādākh? The Tibetan documents from the Lob region (8th century) frequently mention the city named Ka-dag, which must be sought somewhere near Charkhlik, cf. F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Documents*, iii: The Lob Region, *JRAS*, July 1928, pp. 555 and 565. The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 67, in connexion with the same region, says: "The khan used

<sup>1</sup> A town called *Kushai* or *Gushai* lies to the west of Lan-chou between the Yellow river and the Hsi-ning-ho,

cf. Potanin, *Tangut.-tibetskaya okraina*, 1893, i, 196-8, 332. In Arabic characters the name would look كَشَائِي \*.

to go hunting wild camels in the country round Turfān, Tārim, Lob, and Katak". Even now the memory of a *Shar-i-Katak* lives in the region, cf. Barthold, *Tarim* in *EI*.

18. Though surrounded by Tibetan possessions (see note to § 11, 10.) Khotan is not included in Tibet, and, on the contrary, reckoned to China. Its king, styled 'aṣīm (which is not a very high title), appears as an autonomous ruler over a population consisting of Turks and Tibetans.<sup>1</sup> This situation is well in keeping with what is known of the history of Khotan, cf. Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, London 1907, ch. vii, section iv, pp. 172-84: "the T'ang period". The Tibetan attacks on Khotan began in A.D. 714, and in 790 all connexion with China by the road south of the Tarim was suspended. However, "there is nothing to indicate that Khotan had lost its local dynasty during the period of Tibetan ascendancy", the latter being checked by the Turkish tribes of the T'ien-shan. Only in A.D. 938 the Khotanese succeeded in sending an embassy to China which was followed by those of 942, 947, 948, 961, 965, 966. It is probable that the 'aṣīm mentioned in our text is the king Li Shêng-t'ien in whose long reign most of the above-mentioned embassies visited China. The embassy of 971 brought the news of a war between Khotan and Kāshghar, and, some thirty years after, Khotan succumbed in the struggle and was occupied by the Muslim Qara-khānid Turks of Kāshghar, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 281, and notes to § 13. Gardīzī, p. 94, gives a detailed description of Khotan. Our source accurately records the items on the two rivers, silk and jade.

19. As a name similar to Kh.za may be mentioned that of Khada-lik, lying east of Khotan, between the Chira and Keriya rivers. In the ruins of its sanctuary Sir A. Stein found coins of A.D. 780-8, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 1912, i, 245.

20. 21. Under § 7, 8. our *Hutm* and *Sāvnīk* are spelt *Khuthum* (sic) and *Sārnik* (perhaps: *Vasārnik*). These were two Chinese towns in the neighbourhood of the Lob-nor, between which a sand desert stretched for a distance of 3 days. Of the two towns the southern one must be sought in the region of the present-day Charkhlik and the northern one in that of the ancient Lou-lan (the city of Lob). \**Vasārnik* (of which the initial *v* could have been misconstrued into the conjunction "and") has an outward likeness to Vash-shahri, the westernmost oasis of the Charkhlik district, where T'ang and Sung coins have been found, Sir A. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, i, 332-3. In this case *Hutm*/*Khuthum* could lie in the immediate neighbourhood of the Lob-nor swamp. Vash-shahri is situated half-way between Charkhlik and Charchan of which the latter must have been reckoned to Tibet (cf. § 11, 8.). [*Vi.*, p. 485: *B.rwān.*]

22. The meaning of *bar karān-i daryā* is dubious. Perhaps the mention of Būrkhimū and Navījkath just before 23. Sarandīb is accounted for by the interpretation of *daryā* as "the sea". But Navījkath looks distinctly Iranian (Soghdian): "the New Town". Therefore the two localities seem

<sup>1</sup> The *Mujmal al-tawārīkh* also calls this king 'aṣīm al-Khotan, Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 20.

to have lain still in the Tarim basin where the Chinese could most likely have Soghdian subjects. Since the second quarter of the 7th century there existed, in the Lou-lan region, a Soghdian settlement Tien-ho ch'êng. In 675 the whole region was included in the Sha-chou administration, see Pelliot, *La Colonie sogdienne de la région du Lob-nor*, in *Jour. As.*, 1916/17, pp. 111-23 (after a document written in A.D. 885). Consequently one would have reasons to translate *bar karān-i daryā* as "on the bank of the river", or perhaps "in the riverine region", i.e. of the Tarim. Less probably N.vīkath "the New Village" could be compared with Yangi-baliq ("the New Town") which Kāshgharī, i, 103, mentions among the Uyghur settlements near the Eastern T'ien-shan, see note to § 12, 2.

23. 24. have been added from some totally different source. Sarandīb (Ceylon), left out under India, is treated as a mountain under § 5, where it is somehow brought into connexion with the continental system of mountains (cf. § 6, 1. and § 9, introduction), and it is possible that it was sometimes looked upon as a continuation of Indo-China.<sup>1</sup> Under the name of Taprobana (Ṭabarnā), and perhaps (?) of Nāra, it is described as an island (§ 4, 4. and 13.). 24. Gh.z.r (?) is unknown. Being a small town it cannot be identical with Muvas, mentioned under § 4, 4. No such name is found in Ptolemy, vii, ed. by Renou, in *Khuwārizmī*, 97-8, in the *Mohīt*, and on the Portuguese maps, *Mohīt*, Maps XVII and XVIII.

### § 10. India

Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* [1866], re-edited by Cordier, 1913-16 (Hakluyt Society); Elliot-Dowson, *The History of India*; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886; [Turkish Admiral Sidī 'Alī Ra'īs], *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels Mohīt*,<sup>2</sup> übersetzt von Dr. M. Bittner, mit einer Einleitung sowie mit 30 Tafeln versehen von Dr. W. Tomaschek, Wien 1897; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1909 (Atlas in vol. xxvi); Ferrand, *Relations*; V. Smith, *The Early History of India*, 4th ed., Oxford 1924; Nundolal Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (2nd ed.), as Annex to *The Indian Antiquary*, xlviii (1919)-liii (1924) (last name Śrāvastī); H. Ch. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India, Early Mediaeval Period*, i, Calcutta 1931. See also below under respective paragraphs.

Some important additional information on India will be found under § 5, 2. 4.-8. (mountains), § 6, 13.-16. (rivers) and § 7, 5. (deserts).

In his *Preface*, p. 27, Prof. Barthold suggests that as regards India "the original source (*pervoistochnik*) of I.Kh. and other early Arab geographers was Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq". However, even for I.R., p. 132, who alone names this authority, the latter does not exhaust the

<sup>1</sup> Ceylon may have been confused with Sumatra. On Kāshgharī's map Sarandīb and the "Sarandib mountain" are shown on the dry land! [Cf. § 4, 4.]

<sup>2</sup> On the Arabic sources of the *Mohīt*

see G. Ferrand's detailed articles *Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad b. Maḍjīd* (Vasco de Gama's pilote) and *Sulaimān al-Mahrī* in *EI* and his edition of these two pilots' works, Paris, 1921-2 and 1921-3.

sources on India. Abū 'Abdillāh, who [probably before the beginning of the 9th cent.] spent two years in Khmer (Qimār), could hardly know much about northern India. I.R. himself, 135<sup>20</sup>, 136<sup>14</sup>, distinctly quotes some other sources of information on India. Finally, Sulaymān the Merchant's report is still extant: it was completed in 237/851 and could have been known if not to I.Kh., at least to I.R., as it was known to Mas'ūdī. [*V.s.*, p. 172.]

For the maritime part of India our author pretty closely follows I.Kh. and I.R., but gives some entirely new information on Central India and the sub-Himalayan region for which after him we find fuller data only in Bīrūnī. The present chapter contains numerous points not otherwise known, but their interpretation is rendered difficult by confusions inherent to Arabic script, by the absence of indications regarding the epoch to which these data belong, and by a very inconvenient system of enumeration of the localities, partly based on some unknown itineraries (cf. 38., 48.) and partly on an arbitrary division of the map into a number of zones, running in various directions, without much consideration for political and geographical divisions (see Qinnauj and its dependencies treated under 29., 38., 39., 46., and 53.).

### *The Kings of India.*

All Arab travellers pay much attention to the political organization of India and to the mutual relations of the Indian kings (cf. Yule-Cordier, i, 241-4). The system described by them is recognizable also in our author.

In the EXTREME EAST three kings are mentioned: that of Assam (Qāmarūn), represented as master of Śanf and Mandal, that of Fanšūr (Sumatra) called *S. ūhā*(?), and that of Qimār (Khmer), see 1.-6. To the same group belong the three countries 8.-10. lying on the Chinese frontier, (evidently west of Yün-nan).

On the east coast of India proper is named the king DAHUM (*sic*), lord of a mighty army of 300,000. Roughly speaking, his possessions comprised the country between Carnatic in the south (cf. § 7, 5.) and the Ganges basin in the north. Dahum's kingdom marched in the north (north-west?) with that of the "Indian rāy" (the raja of Qinnauj?) along the Vindhya Range and the Lesser Mīhrān (Narbadā), evidently in their more easterly parts.<sup>1</sup> Dahum's name has numerous variants in Muslim sources. Sulaymān the Merchant, p. 29 (Ferrand's tr., p. 50), has دُهمي. He places him in the immediate neighbourhood of the Ballah-rā (*v.i.*) and the kings of Gujra and Tāqin (*v.i.*), adding that he is at war with both the Ballah-rā and the king of Gujra. Though not of noble extraction Ruhmī was a powerful monarch.<sup>2</sup> I.Kh., 67 (whose relation to Sulaymān is not quite

<sup>1</sup> For in the west was the kingdom of the Ballah-rā.

<sup>2</sup> He had 50,000 elephants and 10,000-15,000 fullers and washermen in the army, and in his country were found

gold, silver, aloes, *sm.r* (chowries, yak-tails), cowrie-money, and spotted rhinoceroses. [H. A. R. Gibb suggests that the sentence *ويقال ان قصارى عسكره نحو من* and *المقا* must mean:

clear), says: "and after [the Ballah-rā] (comes) the king Jurz who has *tātrī*-dirhams; after him Ghāba; after him R.hmī (دهمی variant: دهمی), between whose (possessions) and (those of) the other (kings) is a distance of a year, and he is said to possess 50,000 elephants as well as cotton and velvet garments and Indian aloes. Then after him (comes) the king of Qāmarūn, whose kingdom adjoins China. . . ." Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, i, 106, mentions between Dānq (دانق, perhaps: \*جرز?) and the Ballah-rā and considers him the most important of the kings ruling over a most extensive country which lay by some sea and produced gold. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 384, says that R.hmay's territory is conterminous with those of Jurz and the Ballah-ray; he possesses 50,000 elephants and some people pretend with exaggeration that in his army there are 10-15 thousand fullers and washermen; R.hmay's possessions comprise both land and sea.<sup>1</sup> Beyond him lives the king of الكامن in whose possession there is no sea and whose people are white and have pierced ears. The latter kingdom evidently corresponds to الامين, which I.R., 133, mentions after Qimār (good-looking people, boys married at a tender age).<sup>2</sup>

Yule-Cordier, i, 243, suggested the identification of \**Ruhmī*, &c., with Pegu, called in Burma *Rahmanīya* [Ssk. *Rāmaṇya-deśa*], but with a noteworthy reservation: "I should be sorry", says he, "to define more particularly the limits of the region intended by the Arab writer [*i.e.* Mas'ūdī]." This cautious suggestion<sup>3</sup> becomes still less alluring in view of our text which attributes to Dahum the whole of the east coast of India.

Our analysis of the Arab sources enables us to infer the identity of the forms رهم دهمی دهمی دهم,<sup>4</sup> but it is still to be seen whether our author has not transferred to the original *Ruhmī*/*Dahum* some traits of a king whose name was very celebrated in the second half of the 10th century, namely of Dhaṅga (A.D. 950-99) who was the best-known king of the Chandēl family which ruled in the province of Jejākabhukti, *i.e.* the present-day Bundelkhand lying between the Jumna and Narbadā. The Chandēls, who first came into notice about A.D. 831, had gradually advanced from the south until the Jumna became their frontier with the rajas of Kanauj in whose affairs they intervened on several occasions. In 989-90 Dhaṅga joined the league formed against Maḥmūd of Ghazni by Jaypāl of Vayhind (explicitly mentioned by our author under 56). See V. Smith, *o.c.*, 405-7. If,

"[others] say that the utmost limit of his regular army is from 10,000 to 15,000 [men]." However, *Murūj*, i, 384, shows that already Mas'ūdī had imagined that the passage referred to [القصارين والنسارين].

<sup>1</sup> The source of this and several other details in Mas'ūdī is Sulaymān who is evidently to be understood by "the informer" (*al-mukhbīr*), *l.c.*, i, 393.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Burmese are meant by

\**al-Arman*. In a Mon inscription (A.D. 1101) the Burmese are called *Mirmā*; in later Burmese their name is *Mranmā*, see G. H. Luce, *Note on the Peoples of Burma* (quoted under 8-10).

<sup>3</sup> For Tomaschek's identifications, *v.i.* under 8-10.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Iyās in Arnold's *Chrest. Arabica*, 1853, pp. 66-73, invoking the authority of Mas'ūdī says that رهم (*sic*) is the name of the king of ماري (?).

however, *d* in *Dahum* and a common frontier<sup>1</sup> between Dahum and Kanauij may refer to Dhañga, the mention of the great part of the east coast of India as belonging to Dahum does not apply to this king. The basic characteristics of *Ruhmī/Dahum* point back to the times before A.D. 850 and it must be left to the specialists in Indian history to decide to which dynasty of north-eastern or eastern India they may refer (Orissa, Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi who ruled A.D. 815-960, &c.).

The SOUTHERNMOST part of India (Madura?) is described as the realm of a queen (*rāñiya*) [12. and perhaps 11.].

On the west coast the king Balharay, or better BALLAH-RĀ [in our text several times \**Ballah-rāy*; Persian *rāy* = *raja*], is represented as paramount. His name probably reproduces the Indian title *Vallabha-rāja*, which several times occurs in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, cf. Ray, *o.c.*, 577, and Sir T. W. Arnold's article *Balhara*, in *EI*. Even apart from the title of Ballah-rā, the kings so called who, according to the Arabs, were powerful opponents (from the south) of the rulers of Qinnauj, can only be the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan (A.D. 743-974). Sulaymān, p. 28, says that the Ballah-rā's kingdom starts<sup>2</sup> from the coast called \**al-Kumkam*, i.e. Konkan, the region stretching along the sea between Bombay and Goa.<sup>3</sup> Mas'ūdī, i, 162, 177, and Iṣṭ., 173, definitely mention, as the Ballah-rā's residence, Mānkīr, i.e. *Manyakheṭa*, now Malkhed, south of Gulbarga (Haydarābād). The Muslims living in great numbers in the Ballah-rā's possessions sided with him against the raja of Qinnauj, and consequently were likely to exaggerate his power. Sulaymān calls him "the king of the kings of Hind", cf. I.Kh., 67. The same tendency accounts perhaps for the inclusion of Malabār by our author in the dominions of the Ballah-rā. In the north 15. Qāmuhul (*v.i.*), situated at 4 days' distance from Kanbāya, belonged to the Ballah-rā. Cf. also Idrīsī (Jaubert), pp. 176-7: "la ville de Nahrwāra [Bīrūnī: *Anhilwāra* < *Anhalwāta*, now Pattan in the northern Baroda] est gouvernée par un grand prince qui prend le titre de Balhara."

Another great king was the RAJA OF QINNAUJ (such is the Arabic spelling, in Indian *Kanyākubja* > *Kanauij*) whose army is mentioned under 29. as consisting of 150,000 horse and 600 elephants, and under 38. as being 100,000 horse strong. His other title seems to be "Raja of the Indians", (§§ 5, 9. and 6, 16.). Our author includes in his possessions 38. Jālhandar (though this latter had princes of its own, Ray, *o.c.*, 138) and even considers as his vassals the Shāhī kings of Gandhāra (56. Vayhind) and those of 75. Qashmīr (but *v.i.* 57.).

Sulaymān does not mention Qinnauj but speaks, p. 28, trans. Ferrand, 48, of the JURZ king who possessed the best cavalry in India, was at war both with Ballah-rā and the king of Ruhmī, hated Islam and the Arabs

<sup>1</sup> § 5, 9.: "a mountain", perhaps "a watershed"?

<sup>2</sup> I.Kh., 67, I.R., 134, and Mas'ūdī, *Muriq*, i, 383, have somewhat misunderstood Sulaymān in saying that *Kum-*

*kam* was the name of Ballah-rā's country.

<sup>3</sup> Bīrūnī, *India*, 99: "the province of Kunkan, and its capital Tāna [Thāna, near Bombay] on the sea-coast."



and reigned over a "tongue" of territory (*wa huwa 'alā lisānin min al-ard*). Yet Sulaymān's continuator Abū Zayd, p. 127 (Ferrand, 123), mentions Qinnauj as "a great city in the Jurz kingdom". Mas'ūdī, on the one hand, speaks of the king of Qinnauj called BA'ŪRA (*v.i.* under 53. *Bīrūza*) who possessed four armies, each seven to nine hundred thousand strong, of which the northern one was directed against the Muslims of Multān, the southern against the Ballah-ray, and the two others against any eventual enemy, see *Murūj*, i, 372-4, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 263-4. On the other hand, he, *o.c.*, i, 383, separately speaks of the king Juzr (*sic*), whose kingdom lay "on a tongue of territory" and who "from one side" attacked the Ballah-ray's possessions.

In fact the kings of Qinnauj belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty (8th century—A.D. 1037) and the name \**Jurz* (<*Gurz*) stands correctly for Gurjara.<sup>1</sup> Our author's statements with regard to the extent of the Qinnauj dominions may appear somewhat exaggerated (cf. 38., 56., 57.) yet the latest authority (Ray, *o.c.*, Introduction, p. xxxvii) confirms that "the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire embraced the whole of Northern India (excepting Sind), western portions of the Panjāb, Kashmīr, Nepal, Assam and portions of Bengal, Central Provinces and Orissa".

In the SUB-HIMALAYAN region five principalities are mentioned, of which 41. Hytal, 42. Tythāl, and 43. Bytāl (Nepal?) lay in the region of Nepal (*v.i.*), whereas 44. Tāqī (Tākka-deśa?) and 45. Salūqī (Chambā?) must be looked for in the neighbourhood of Kashmīr. The S.lūqī king was particularly famous for his nobility (*v.i.* 45.).

As regards MUSLIM possessions (see now Ray, *o.c.*, p. 24) Manšūra belonged to the descendants of 'Omar b. 'Abdil-'Azīz, a native of Bāniya, descended from the Quraishite Habbār b. Aswad, *Iṣṭ.*, 173, cf. § 27, 1. and *v.i.* 16., whereas the ancestor of the amīrs of Multān was the Quraishite Sāma b. Lu'ayy. The dynasty of Manšūra recognized the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, whereas that of Multān, the Fātimīd caliphs of Egypt, *Maq.*, 485, (*v.i.* 32). The amīrs of Multān were the immediate neighbours and enemies of the raja of Qinnauj and they are said to have had under their sway even the town of 53. Bīrūza (named after the title of the raja of Qinnauj) and Lahore, in which case the communications of Qinnauj with its northern feudatories were of a precarious nature.

### *Description of India.*

We shall now proceed to the identification of single localities mentioned in the text.

The plan of the chapter is the following: 1.-6. localities to the east of India, stretching east of the Bay of Bengal from north to south; 7. localities of the east coast of India enumerated from south to north; 8.-10. localities

<sup>1</sup> The mention of the "tongue of territory" most probably refers to the name to some other branch of the Gurjara tribe. On the Gujrāt of the peninsula of Gujrāt which owes its Panjāb, *v.i.* 46.

on the Chinese frontier (west of Yün-nan); 11.-14. localities along the south (?) and west coasts of India (beginning to the south of 7.); 15.-29. localities of a semicircular zone beginning south of the Indus, then following upstream the course of the Narbadā and ending at Qinnauj on the Ganges; 30.-40. localities on the left bank of the Indus (beginning in the north of Sind) and of the Panjāb; 41.-5. sub-Himalayan principalities; 47.-57. northernmost zone going west to east from southern Afghanistan to Kashmīr.

1.-4. and 6. are well-known names but their sequence in our text reflects some confusion in the author's ideas. From Assam he passes to Sumatra (already treated in the chapter on the islands, § 4, 5.-6.) and Indo-China (in the latter, Šanf and Qimār ought to be named side by side but by some mistake Šanf is placed under Assam!).

1. Qāmarūn (\*Qāmarūb), I.Kh., 13, is Kāmarūpa, modern Assam. The dynastic history of Assam is little known. From *circa* A.D. 800-*circa* 1000, the Prālambha dynasty ruled in Assam, Ray, *o.c.*, 241, 268.

2. Šanf is the regular Arabic rendering of Indian *Champa*. The celebrated country of aloes was Champa, southern Annam, on which see Georges Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa*, Paris 1928 (reprinted from the *T'oung-Pao*, 1911). Cf. I.Kh., 68: Šanf at 3 days' distance from Qimār (*v.i.* 6.). There seems to have existed a Muslim colony in Champa as shown by P. Ravaisse, *Deux inscriptions coufiques du Čampa*, in *Jour. As.*, Oct. 1922, pp. 247-89; one of the documents is a tumular inscription of some Aḥmad b. Abī Ibrāhīm b. 'Arrāda al-rahdār who died in 401/1039, and the other a sort of tariff for Muslim merchants [unfortunately the exact place of the finds is not known]. If our author's report on Šanf being a part of Qāmarūn is not a mere mistake, the name in our case stands for some different place. The names of the type *Chamba*, *Champa*, &c., are frequent in India, see the state *Chambā*, south-east of Kashmīr, *Champa* east of Bilaspur, Central Provinces, and curiously enough a *Champa* is situated near the source of the river Manās, which rises in Bhutan and falls into the Brahmaputra; this Manās formed the western frontier of Kāmarūpa.<sup>1</sup>

3. Mandal by its meaning (*maṇḍal* "province") is a vague term, Elliot, i, 390. I.Kh., 51, mentions a Mandal in Sind. Ferrand, 315, tentatively locates the celebrated place producing aloes at Mandarī (*v.i.* 12.), on the continent opposite Ceylon, which is doubtful. In our text Mandal belongs to Assam (!) and in this case ought to be sought in its neighbourhood (cf. *Vyāghrataṭi Maṇḍala* in the Ganges Delta?). [But Mandalay is a late name.]

4. 5. Fanšūr < Panchūr, celebrated camphor port, lay on the western

<sup>1</sup> In modern Persian *chāmpā*, or *champa*, is applied to (1) a white flower resembling a *zambaq* (and also called *gul-i chāmpī*) and (2) a kind of rice; according to the *Burhān-i qāṭi* both "came to Irān from Hindūstān". The

name of the flower < Sanskrit *chāmpaka*, is already attested in Pahlavī *chambak*; the name of the rice *birinj-i chāmpā* may reflect a geographical name, but which exactly?

coast of Sumatra immediately south of Baros (§ 4, B 8.), see I.R., 138, and *Mohīt*, Maps XXV–XXVI. Cf. Ferrand, *Çrīvidjaya*, pp. 55, 95, who, moreover, p. 72, admits the existence of a second \**Panchūr*, an island off the eastern coast of Sumatra. The town *H.dd.njira* (?) and the king *S.ṭūhā* are unknown unless سطرها stands either for Śailendra, "lord of the mountains", title of the Śrīvijaya dynasty, or for the later (15th–16th century) شطرة or سطرى, Sumatra, cf. Ferrand, *ibid.*, pp. 80 and 86.<sup>1</sup> The mention of a port of Sumatra is out of place in the present chapter and ought to come under § 4, B (5–8.).

6. Qimār = Khmer, i.e. Cambodia on the Me-kong. The Khmer empire formed in A.D. 802 lasted till the middle of the thirteenth century, Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient*, 1929, pp. 559, 568, 587. I.Kh., 68, counts from Qimār to Šanf 3 days following the coast. Prohibition of adultery is also mentioned in I.Kh., 47, and I.R., 132 (who names as the original author of this report Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq, *v.s.*, p. 27).<sup>2</sup>

7. I.Kh., 63–4, gives an itinerary along the eastern coast of India (going northwards): from the estuary of the Kūdāfarid (Godavari) 2 days to Kaylkān (Portuguese: Calingam?), al-Lavā (?) and K.nja (= Ganjam); thence to Samundar < Samudra (north of Ganjam, south of the Rio de Paluro = Barua, *Mohīt*, Map I), 10 farsakhs; thence to \*Ūrīshīn (spelt: اورنشین = Orissa) 12 farsakhs; thence to ابنة 4 days. Our Ūr.shin and S.m.nd.r are the firm points of comparison. According to the order of enumeration Andrās would lie south of Orissa, somewhere towards the Godavari. The name اندراس *Andrās* (or perhaps *Andrā'iya*, *Andrāniya*, *Andrāliya*?) recalls Āndhra, as the region between the Godavari and Kistna is called. H.rk.nd and N.myās must be sought north of Orissa. In the Preface to the second edition (1906) of *Maq.*, de Goeje quotes Marquart's emendation: *Harkand* < \**Harikel* (هرکند < هرکند or هرکیل). Indeed, Harikela is the name of Eastern Bengal. An inscription of the end of the tenth century mentions the conquest by the king of Harikela of Chandradvīpa (which is still the administrative name of the districts of Bakergunj, Khulna, and Farīdpur, on the western bank of the Ganges near its estuary), see Ray, *o.c.*, i, 322. This Harikel excellently fits our case, but some difficulty persists with regard to the general use of the term هرکند which seems to stand for several similar but different local names (*v.s.*, note to § 4, 11.). In Sulaymān, pp. 5–9 (and Abū-Zayd, *ibid.*, 123), the Harkand sea comprises the waters between the Laccadives and Malabār, as well as those round Ceylon, and stretches even as far as Ramnī, i.e. Sumatra (§ 4, 5.)! Our N.myās, according to its place in the enumeration, seems to lie still farther east. It must be identical with N.yars which Ibn Iyās, Arnold's *Chrestomathia Arabica*, p. 71, mentions in the neighbourhood of China (before [= east of?] Orissa). As regards the produce of the region, I.Kh., 64, mentions both the elephants and the aloes "carried in fresh water" to

<sup>1</sup> The state of *Shumutra* (?) on the NE. coast of the island is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 230.

<sup>2</sup> Chau Ju-kua (A.D. 1225), p. 61, says that adultery was severely punished in San-fo-ts'i (Palembang in Sumatra).

S.m.nd.r from places 15-20 days distant from there. I.Kh. evidently means that the aloes wood was floated on rivers, such as Godavari. Cf. Idrīsī, trans. Jaubert, p. 180: "On apporte [à Samundar] du bois d'aloès du pays de Kārmūt, distant de 15 jours, par un fleuve dont les eaux sont douces." I.Kh. confirms the high rank of the king of this region (cf. our Dahum?). سَنَك (read: شَنَك \**shank*) is Ssk. *śaṅkha*. The text suggests perhaps that the *śaṅkha* is the peculiar trait of this country, but these conchs were usually employed as insignia of the kings, cf. Sulaymān, p. 7, Ray, o.c., i, 456 and Yule, *Hobson-Jobson* (1903), p. 184b: *chank, chunk*.

8.-10., located on the frontier of China, come as an intermezzo in the description of the Indian coast.

H.-'Ā.	طرسول	موسه	مانك
Ya'qūbī	طرسول	موشه	مايد
Sulaymān	[فرنج]	موجه	مايد
Mas'ūdī	[فرنج or قروح]	موجه	ماند

Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, i, 106, also places them near China with which they were at war. Sulaymān, p. 32 (Ferrand, 52), says that the Mūja have a white complexion and dress like Chinamen; good musk is found in their country, through which stretch long ranges of white mountains; Māb.d is a larger country, and the inhabitants, of whom many live in China, have still more resemblance to Chinamen.

The three countries must be sought in the neighbourhood of Burma (west of Yün-nan). Prof. G. H. Luce of the Rangoon University, to whom I submitted my passage, has most kindly communicated to me (21.v.1933) a series of very valuable materials<sup>1</sup> and personal suggestions. As regards Ṭ.sūl (Ya'qūbī: Ṭ.*rsūl*; absent elsewhere), Prof. Luce quotes as a parallel the name *Tirchul* found in the old Mon inscription (*circa* A.D. 1101) edited by Dr. C. O. Blagden. On the other hand, in the New T'ang History (ch. 222) it is said that "the P'iao call themselves T'u-lo-chu. The Javanese call them T'u-li-ch'ü". Consequently the Tirchul may be the people known in Burman history as Pyū (P'iao) who together with the Mons were in occupation of the plains of Burma during the ninth century. Later on the Mons probably pushed back the Pyū into the central and upper Burma. By A.D. 1060 both had yielded to the domination of the Mīrman (Burmans).<sup>2</sup>

The *Man-shu* composed by Fan-ch'ō after A.D. 863, in the enumeration of the barbarian kingdoms bordering on the T'ai kingdom of Nan-chao (Yün-nan), mentions at the first place the Mi-no (\**myie-nāk*) and Mi-ch'ēn

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Luce, *Note on the peoples of Burma in the 12th-13th century A.D.* in *Census of India 1931*, vol. xi. Burma, part i, Rangoon 1933, pp. 296-306.

<sup>2</sup> Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī give here a name which looks entirely different from our Ṭ.*rsūl*: Sulaymān, p. 32,

says that Qīr.nj lies beyond the kingdom الكاشين by the sea which deposits much amber; the country also produces much ivory and a small quantity of pepper. According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 388, *F.r.nj* lay on a peninsula.

(\*myie-*ziēn*). The former apparently lived on the river Mi-no = Chindwin (one of the head-waters of the Irawaddy); the latter, according to P. Pelliot, lived near the mouth of the Irawaddy. Prof. Luce compares the names of these peoples with those of the Mānak and Mūja<sup>1</sup> though he does not conceal some difficulties for such an identification: according to the Chinese sources the people of Mi-ch'ên had "black short faces" (not "a white complexion"!); likewise doubtful are the points on musk and "strong fortresses". One may remark that the "white" mountains do not necessarily refer to snowy peaks; Dr. Blagden tells me that many of the mountains in Burma are of calcareous formation.<sup>2</sup>

11.-14. continue the description of the coast towards the south (in opposite direction to the enumeration under 7.).

11. بابين corresponds to I.Kh., 63, بابین "from which the inhabitants of Sarandīb receive their provisions". De Goeje, following Yule, reads Bāpattan (?). Whatever the proper reading of the first element of this name, the place certainly lay south of the Coromandel coast.

12. اورشفين corresponds to اورفسين which I.R., 134, places in the *bilād al-aghbbāb* adding that its queen is called Rābiya and that the tallest elephants are found there. De Goeje took اورشفين for ارتشين in I.Kh. (v.s. 7.), but this is surely a confusion. Our author clearly discriminates between the two localities respectively belonging to the queen Rāniya (\**rānī*) and Dahum. He describes اورشفين as a sort of peninsula and mentions pepper among its products which points to a southern situation. He follows I.R. in saying that the sea near Ūr.shfin is *baḥr al-aghbbāb*. This name, omitted in § 3, is usually applied to the sea near the southern extremity of India. Abū Zayd (in Sulaymān, p. 123) says: "opposite (Sarandīb) vast *aghbbāb* are found. The meaning of *ghubb* is a huge river [or valley, *wādī*] extremely long and wide which disembogues (*maṣabb*) into the sea".<sup>3</sup> On the strength of our passage S. Lévi (d. 6.xi.1935) suggested for Ūrshfin the Mandam peninsula continued towards Ceylon by the Rameśvāram island. Instead of our اورشفين I.Kh., 63, mentions بلین, where the maritime route for eastbound ships bifurcated: one branch followed the east coast of India while the other went to Ceylon and China.<sup>4</sup> Mas'ūdī, i, 394, has an interesting

<sup>1</sup> The name موسى resembles that of the Mo-so tribes in south-western China, but its alternative موجه suggests that their common original contained a *ch* sound: \**Mūcha*, or \**Mocha*.

<sup>2</sup> On Tomaschek's Map I, *Mohīt*, the kingdom "Ruhmi" occupies the estuary of the Ganges; al-Mūja occupies the coastal region of Burma; al-Arman is located in Pegu (near Rangoon) and al-Māyad (compared with Moi) is shown round the Bay of Tonkin.

<sup>3</sup> Dozy, *Supplément aux dict. arabes*: "golfé, appartient au dialecte de

Yémen, Edrisi, *Climat* I, sect. 6, Jaubert, i, 54: ومعنى الغب البحر".

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Barnett suggests for B.līn "Baliapatam, more correctly Valāpaṭṭanam, a few miles NW. of Cannanore in Cirakkal Taluk, Malabar District, which is Ptolemy's *Βαλαπᾶτνα*" [ed. Renou, 1925, vii, ch. i, § 6: *Βαληπάτνα*]. This would indicate for B.līn a much more westerly position than Ūrshfin. However, it must be remembered that I.Kh. places B.līn at 2 days' distance to the south (or SE.) of Malay (Malabār) and at 1 day's distance from Ceylon.

passage in which immediately after the king of Sarandīb is mentioned the king of مندورین (variants مندوری and منصور بن بی) “which is a country opposite the Sarandīb island, as well as opposite Qimār . . . [text out of order] . . . and every king<sup>1</sup> ruling the country of M.ndūrfin is called القايدى al-Qayday” [the last element perhaps -ray instead of -day].<sup>2</sup> Bīrūnī, *Canon*, describes مندرى س (\*Mandurī-pattan) as “the harbour and embarkation point (ma’bar “ferry”) for Sarandīb, lying in the *ghubb*”.<sup>3</sup> Idrīsī (Jaubert), pp. 185–7, describes اورشین as a small town on the sea-coast near which lies a celebrated island of the same name where elephants are caught. This island is also known for its rhubarb, iron-mines, and a tree called شمبر. From اورشین to لوقن (in the direction of China) the distance is of 3 days.<sup>4</sup> Abul-Fidā, p. 355, mentions a town Manīfattan on the Ma’bar coast, identified by Yule with Malīpatan which the Jesuit traveller Bouchet places “on the shore of Palk’s bay, a little north of where our maps show Devīpatan”, see Yule’s remarks in Elliot-Dowson, viii, Index, p. xl, [though probably Manīfattan is only a mis-spelling of \*Mandurī-fattan, found by Abul-Fidā in some other source of his]. The *Mohū*, Map XVII, mentions in the same region a locality ادلائق as the first place which the boats coming from Indo-China find on the east coast of India [on Portuguese maps *Beadala*, *Bedala*?].

If the first elements of these names are still doubtful, the second part of the compounds can be safely restored as -battan [*v.s.* 11.], or -fattan, rendering Indian *paṭṭan*. The names all refer to the same important locality in the southernmost part of India from which the roads of the east-bound ships bifurcated, but it is possible that in the course of time several different harbours were used by the navigators, or even that the site of the principal port was moved.

13. Malay = Malayabār, “Malabar coast” (Abul-Fidā, p. 353: المنيار) could hardly be under the direct rule of the Ballah-rāy. In I.Kh., 64, whose enumeration runs from west to east, Malay comes immediately before B.līn, *v.s.* 12.

14. Iṣṭ. (whom our author follows in the opposite direction) gives the distances, pp. 172, 179: Kanbāya to Sūbāra 4 marḥalas; thence to Sindān 5 marḥalas; thence to Ṣaymūr 5 marḥalas; thence to Sarandīb 15 marḥalas. Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 330, who visited the Ballah-rāy’s possessions in 303/915, gives a somewhat different enumeration: Ṣaymūr, Sūbāra, Tāna, Sindān,

Generally speaking a place on the west coast of India is hardly suitable for bifurcation of roads leading farther east.

<sup>1</sup> King, not queen, as in I.R. and the *H.-‘Ā*. In Sulaymān, p. 6, a queen is mentioned in the *Dibājāt*, i.e. the Laccadive, &c., islands.

<sup>2</sup> Ferrand, *Çrivīdja*, p. 62, explains the name as “Mandūrapatan, la capitale de Madura”, but the city of Madura lies far inland.

<sup>3</sup> Abul-Fidā, p. 353, in his quotation from the *Canon* seems to have misread بن -pattan into بين “between”.

<sup>4</sup> Idrīsī is certainly wrong for I.Kh., 69, counts 100 farsakhs from Šanf (*v.s.* 2. Annam) to Lūqin, “the first of the ports of China” (*awwalu marāqī al-Šm*). O. Franke, *Zur Geschichte der Exterritorialität in China*, p. 894 (13) identifies Arabic *Lukim* (read: *Luqin*) with Lung-pien in Tonking, south-east of Hanoi.

and Kanbāya; like our author he, too, praises the sandals of Kanbāya. *صمور* in our text<sup>1</sup> is a mis-spelling for *Iṣṭ.*, 170, *Maq.*, 477: *صمور* and *Birūnī*, *India*, 102, *جيمور*, both transcriptions standing for \**Chaymūr* which was identified by Yule with Ptolemy's, vii, i, 6, *Σημίλα*, modern Chaul in the Kolaba district of Bombay. *Sindān*, *Sanjam* of Portuguese maps and *St. John* of English ones, lay south of Daman in the Thana district of Bombay; *Sūbāra* = *Σουππάρα* (cf. *Mas'ūdī*, i, 253, *Sufāra*) also in Thana; Kanbāya = Cambay in Gujarat. On the *Kūlī* of Cambay *v.s.*, § 6, 16.

15. *Iṣṭ.*, 176, 179, places *Qāmuḥul* at 4 *marḥalas* from Kanbāya at the beginning of the frontier of Hind (*i.e.* the frontier of the Ballah-ray's possessions with Sind).

16. *Iṣṭ.*, 175, spells *Bāniya* adding that the said 'Omar was the grandfather (*jadd*) of the conquerors of Maṣūra.

17. This Qandāhar (Indian *Ghandhār*) is totally different from its Muslim namesakes in Afghānistān and the Panjab, *v.i.* 56. Some light on its position is thrown by § 6, 16. *Idrīsī* counts from it to Naharvāra (Anhilvara) 5 days in a cart. It stood in the eastern corner of the gulf of Cambay, see *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, iv, 58, cf. *Marquart*, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 266–8. Both the *Mohit*, Map XIII (Bandar-i Ghandārī), and Portuguese maps, *ibid.* (Bandel Guandari), show it between Cambay and Broach (evidently in the bay of Amod, SW. of Baroda).<sup>2</sup>

18.–24. were situated in the neighbourhood (more or less immediate) of the Narbadā, for in the description of that river (§ 6, 16.) our 21., 23., 24. (with the addition of Nu'nīn) are mentioned in the opposite direction, *i.e.* following the course of the river, whereas the enumeration in § 10 starts with 17. Qandāhar, situated near the estuary of the river, and then goes eastwards up the Narbadā river. This must be the clue for the future identification of the localities, of which the names are disfigured. The additional *نؤنين* must correspond to one of the towns 18., 19., 20., or 22., and more probably to *كونسر* which not only is mentioned immediately before Nūnūn (cf. the order in § 6, 16.) but in Arabic cursive has some resemblance to *نؤنين*. It would be tempting further to consider both these forms as corruptions of *اوجين*, *i.e.* Ujjain, a place of great fame, through which Indian geographers drew their *o°* of longitude, *v.s.* note to § 4, 13.; Greek *Ὀζήνη*; *I.R.*, 22: *اذين*; *Birūnī*, *Canon*: *اودين* *بجبال قبة الارض و عليه حسابات الهند*; *Birūnī*, *India*, p. 159: *اوين* or *اوجين*. Ujjain does not lie on the Narbadā, but the terms of § 6, 16. cannot be interpreted too strictly. As regards the important Nūnūn (*ننون*) one would tentatively identify it with the capital of Mālwā: *Mandū* (*مندو* or perhaps *ماندو* in Arabic script) situated to the north of the Narbadā on the top of an offshoot of the Vindhya range and possessing unique natural defences: it could hardly be overlooked in

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this form has been influenced by the name mentioned under § 5, 9. which seems to stand for a different place.

<sup>2</sup> For earlier identifications of Qanda-

hār with Khandār (60 miles inland of Kathiawar) and Kanthkot, or Kanthgar, in Kachh (cf. *Ibn al-Athīr*, ix, 243: *كنده*), see Burgess in *Elliot-Dowson*, *o.c.*, viii, *Geogr. Index*, p. xl.

enumeration. The Paramāra dynasty ruled in Mandū in the 8th-13th centuries, G. Yazdani, *Mandū, The City of Joy*, Oxford, 1929, p. 6.

24. It is not known whether B.lhāri has anything to do with the king Ballah-ray whose capital Mankīr = Mānyakheta lay some 350 miles south of the Narbadā. Bīrūnī, *India*, 102, mentions a locality called Vallabha, but places it south of Jymwr (\**Chaymur* > Chaul, v.s. 14.), i.e. probably in Konkan, v.s., p. 239, line 18.

25. and 26.-8. are obscure but in view of the closing sentence of 25. seem to lie in Central India in the direction of Qinnauj.

29. Qinnauj (so in Arabic, for *Kanyākubja* > *Kanauj*) on the Ganges, seat of the powerful Gurjara-Pratihāra kings (A.D. 836-1037), Ray, o.c., 570-611, v.s., p. 239, and v.i. 38.-39., 46., and 53.

30.-44. Muslim possessions on the Indus forming a digression in the middle of the enumeration of the Qinnauj dependencies. Our author, who takes the Indus for the geographical frontier between Sind and Hind, describes here also some towns of the left bank of this river which Iṣṭ., 171, does not separate from the rest of Sind (§ 27).

30. Iṣṭ., 171, 175, places Qallārī, Annarī, Bulrī, and Rūr in Sind. The two first lay far to the east of the Indus on the road from Maṇṣūra to Multān. The situation of Annarī is uncertain. Bulrī lay to the west of the Indus, where a branch (*khalīj*) separated from the river beyond Maṇṣūra. A Bulrī is shown on Cousens's map [cf. § 27], 40 miles south of Ḥaydarābād. Rūr, encircled by a double wall, was not second in size to Multān, and formed the limit of [the possessions of] Maṇṣūra. The ruins of al-Rūr (Arūr, Alor), the ancient capital of Sind, are situated near Rohri, see H. Cousens, o.l., 76-9, and Minorsky, *Les Tsiganes Lūli*, in *Jour. As.*, April 1931, p. 286.

31. Iṣṭ., 175, places Basmad at 1 farsakh to the east of the river, at 2 marḥalas from Multān, and at 3 marḥalas from Rūr.

32. I.R., 135-7, Iṣṭ., 173-5. According to I.R., 135, the amīr of Multān did not obey the lord of Maṇṣūra, but read the *khuṭba* in the name of the caliph (*amīr al-mu'minīn*). By his term "Maghribī" our author means<sup>1</sup> that the *khuṭba* in Multān was read for the Fāṭimid caliph, and this fact is confirmed by Maq., 485: *وَأَمَّا بِالْمُلُكَيْنِ فَيُخَطَّبُونَ بِالْفَاطِمِيِّ*. The term *maghribī* is found in Maq., 195b (Cod. Constantinopolitanus), where it is said of Crete that *استجدها المغربي منهم* "the Western One (i.e. the Fāṭimid caliph) delivered it from (the Byzantines)".

33. According to Iṣṭ., 175, *جندراور* \**Chandror* was the military camp of the amīr.

34. Jab.rs.rī unknown. 35. Bahrāyij. The amīr of Multān could not possibly control the town and district of Bahraich, situated north of Gogra, some 125 miles to the north-east of Qinnauj; consequently some different place is meant here.

36. *لہور* must be Lahore on the Rāvi (Ssk. *Lavapura*, modern *Lāhaur*),

<sup>1</sup> Contrary to Barthold, v.s., p. 27.



though its name is spelt in Bīrūnī, *India*, 102: لوهاور Lōhāvar, and in Idrīsī, transl. by Jaubert, 170: *Lahāvar*. In Bīrūnī, *India*, 102, 163, لمور (or لهور) stands for an entirely different place, the fortress Lohara on the western approaches of Kashmir. Cf. M. A. Stein, *Memoir on Maps . . . of Kashmir*, in *JASB*, lxviii, part i, extra No. 2, 1889, p. 20.

37. \**Rāmayān* رامان must correspond to رامانان which Maq., 478, mentions among the dependencies of Multān. It lay at a distance of 5 days from 38. and evidently to the west of it, seeing that 38. belonged to Qinnauj and 37. to Multān.

38. 39. Qinnauj (Kanauj) itself was quoted under 29. as the last in that series of localities. With 38. and 39. we come back to the possessions of the raja of Qinnauj, this time approaching the basin of the Ganges from the Panjab (N. to SE.).

38. Jālhandar = Jālandhara, now Jullundur in the Panjab, between the Bias and Sutlej. Cf. Hsüan-Tsang, *Si-yu-ki* (Beal), i, 175.

39. No parallel could be found for *S.lābūr*, unless it is related to \**Siṃhapura* (*Seng-ha-pu-lo*) which Hsüan-Tsang, *Life*, St. Julien, p. 89, Beal, p. 67, and *Si-yu-ki*, St. Julien, i, 172, Beal, i, 143, mentions on the way from Takshaśila to Kashmir (and further to Jālandhara, *v.s.* 38.). *Seng-ha-pu-lo* lay at 700 li = *circa* 403 Km. to the south-east of Takshaśila,<sup>1</sup> had no king, was a dependency of Kashmir and possessed a natural fortress. The location of *Seng-ha-pu-lo* cannot be regarded as finally settled. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, re-edited by S. M. Sastri, Calcutta 1924, p. 145, identified *Siṃhapura* with Ketās (*Kaṭās*, *Kaṭāksha*), lying on the northern side of the Salt Range (which stretches along the right bank of the Jhelam), but Watters in his commentary on Hsüen-Tsang, i, 248, ii, 263, thinks that the Chinese traveller, rightly or wrongly, thought of *Siṃhapura* as lying *north* (or north-east) of Takshaśila, not *south-east* of it! In our text both *S.lābūr* and Kashmir (*v.i.* 57.) are dependencies of Qinnauj. To judge by the variety of currency<sup>2</sup> in *S.lābūr* it was a busy commercial town but it is noteworthy that salt is not mentioned among its products.

40. برهمنون (or برهمان) must be identical with برهمنوا which Maq., 478, mentions as a dependency of Qinnauj. The detail about the sacred water makes one think of Benares (*Vārāṇasī*, Bīrūnī, *Canon: Bānārśī*) which was a part of the dominions of the rajas of Qinnauj, Ray, *o.c.*, 579, but "5 days to Tibet" is evidently too short a distance for Benares, even if by Tibet some of the principalities 41.-3. are meant. The name, apparently disfigured, has some outward resemblance to Budā'un (بدایون) but it is still to be seen whether the latter fulfils the conditions of our text.

41.-3. undoubtedly situated in the sub-Himalayan region. 41. About Hitāl (or هیتال, § 5, 9 B.) we know that it was the nearest of the three to Qinnauj from which it was separated by a high mountain. Beyond Hitāl

<sup>1</sup> This detail is repeated in the *T'ang-shu*, Chavannes, *Documents*, 167.

<sup>2</sup> The names of the coins were un-

known to the specialists whom I have had the advantage of consulting.

(H.btāl) the range of mountains crossing India from west to east split into two branches. Hitāl possessed a ruler who was hostile to the raja of Qinnauj. 42. Tithāl is the wild mountainous country separating Hitāl from 43. Baytāl (Nītāl) described as a commercial centre from which (Tibetan?) musk was imported. Two of our names also occur in Bīrūnī's *Canon* at the end of the third climate (the text unfortunately without dots):

the region سال which is the observation point between (?) ... المرصد (ب) مار: long. 104° 35', lat. 30° 10'.

the region سال which is the observation point between Hind and Inner Tibet:<sup>1</sup> long. 120° 5', lat. 32° 5'.

The second country lying to the north (?) east of the first, according to the explanatory sentence, seems to be Nepal and to correspond to our 43. which, by moving the dots, easily becomes \*نيپال *Naypāl*, i.e. Nepal. It is, however, much more difficult to identify the two other names. 41. follows on 40. which, with regard to Qinnauj, lay evidently in the direction of "Tibet" (Himalaya). If 40. is Budā'ūn (?) the continuation of the line Qinnauj-Budā'ūn may indicate the direction in which Hitāl ought to be sought, but the identity of 40. is not certain. Hitāl was evidently an important valley considered as "splitting" the Himalaya range: the valleys of Sarda, or Gogra in westernmost Nepal would serve that purpose. As a name resembling our Hitāl هيتال (Bīrūnī: سال) one may quote Nainītāl (\*نيپتال) to the west of the Sarda river though as an administrative term it seems to be of a later origin, *The Imperial Gazetteer*, xviii, 322-32.<sup>2</sup> As regards 42. طتال it must be sought in the neighbourhood of Dhaulagiri, to the west of the central part of Nepal.

The route from Qinnauj to Nepal quoted in Bīrūnī's *India*, 98 (transl., 201) ran eastwards along the foot of the mountains and did not touch our 41. and 42. From Qinnauj to Bārī, 10 farsakhs; thence to Dūgum, 45 fars.; thence to the Sh.lhat kingdom (ملک شلہت), 10 fars.; thence to the town of *Bh.t* or *B.h.t*, 12 fars. "Farther on the country to the right is called T.lwt (تلوت) and the inhabitants Tarū, people of very black colour and flat-nosed like the Turks. Thence you come to the mountains of Qāmrū, which stretch away as far as the sea. To the left [*i.e.* to the north of T.lwt] is the realm of Naypāl." Some informer of Bīrūnī's travelled that way: "when in T.nwt (تنوت), he left the easterly direction and turned to the left. He marched to Naypāl, a distance of 20 farsakhs, most of which was up-hill country."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps "Outer Tibet" is here meant for Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, places Inner Tibet in the fourth climate at long. 94° 0' lat. 36° 0' [perhaps 37° 0' ?]. For comparison's sake one may quote the position of

Yarkand long. 95° 35' lat. 43° 40'

Sikāshim long. 96° 20' lat. 37° 0'

Abul-Fidā, 361 (quoting Ibn Sa'īd and

*al-Aṭwāl*), mentions among the towns (*mudun* "lands"?) of Qinnauj Outer and Inner Tibet, of which the latter lay at 7 marḥalas from Qinnauj. On the Outer Tibet cf. § 11, 9.

<sup>2</sup> In the region of Nainītāl there are several names ending in *tāl* "lake" (< Ssk. *talla*).

<sup>3</sup> The identification of the route must

44.-6.: These kings must undoubtedly be sought in the direction of Kashmir. Of them Sulaymān, pp. 28-9, mentions *malik al-ḡurʿ* and *malik \*al-Ṭāqin*; I.Kh., p. 16: *ḡāba*, *malik al-Ṭāqin*, *malik al-ḡurʿ*, \**Ghāba*, and p. 67: *al-Ṭāqin*, *ḡāba*, *al-ḡurʿ*, \**Ghāba*; I.R., p. 135: *malik al-Ṭāqin*, *N.ḡāba*, *al-ḡurʿ*. I.Kh.'s عابة \* غابة, is perhaps a dittography for جابة (*Ghāba/Gāba*); in any case it cannot be confronted with I.R.'s العابدی (Mas'ūdī, i, 394: القابدى) which belongs to the southern group of rulers enumerated by I.R., p. 133 (as it seems, on the authority of Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq).

44. On *Ṭāqī* (or *Ṭāqin*) see Sulaymān, 27, I.Kh., 13, I.R., 130. It is the country *Ṭakka-deśa*, or *Ṭakka-viśaya* mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅginī*, ed. by M. A. Stein, 1900, i, 205 *et passim*. Hsüan-Tsang, *Si-yu-ki* (Beal), i, 165, calls it Tseh-kia and describes it as bordering in the east on the Vipāsa (Biās) and in the west on the Indus. Its capital lay *circa* 15 li (= 8.6 kilometres) to the north-east of Shê-kie-lo (Śākala, Sialkot). Cf. S. Lévi, *Notes chinoises sur l'Inde*, in *BEFEO*, v, 1905, p. 300, and Ray, *o.c.*, 119, and Map 3, where *Ṭakka-deśa* is shown south of Kashmir and east of Sialkot, between the upper courses of the Chenāb and Rāwī. The Arab authors all speak of the beauty of the *Ṭāqin* women. In the immediate vicinity of Kashmir Bīrūnī, *India*, 102 and 206, mentions jointly تākshir و لوهار, of which \**Lohāwar* is certainly *Lohāra*, valley of the Upper Tohi on the western approaches of Kashmir (and not the town of Lahore!) while *Tākēshar* (*Ṭakka-deśa*) stands for *Ṭāqin* of the earlier geographers.

45. This name undoubtedly applies to the ruling dynasty and not to the country itself. The form *S.lūqiyīn* (Arabic *gen. plur.*) shows that the name *S.lūqī* has been found in an Arabic source. I.R., 135, says: "and after [the king of *Ṭāqin*], (comes) a king called *N.ḡāba* (\**ḡāba*) who enjoys an honourable position among (the kings), and the king Ballah-rā takes wives from among them, and they are *S.lūqī*, and on account of their pride (*sharaf*) take wives only from among themselves. The well-known *S.lūqī*-hounds [wind-hounds, *Salukī*] are said to have been brought from their country. In their country and its forests (*ghiyād*) red sandal wood is found." Instead of *N.ḡāba* I.Kh., 16 and 67, has *ḡāba*, and clearly distinguishes this جابة from his namesake *Jāba* (see § 4, 9.) whom he calls "Jāba the Indian" جابة الهندی. Our author furnishes a further proof of the homonymous character of the two names, for at another place (§ 5, 9 B.) he calls the *S.lūqī* king جابة خشك "the *Jāba* of the dry land, continental *Jāba*", as Barthold has suggested. In the same passage the inner range of the Himalaya (in the neighbourhood of Kashmir) separates *Jāba*'s country from that of *Lḡrz* (*v.i.* 46.). It would

be left to the specialists. Bārī, later capital of the *rajas* of the *Gurjara-Pratihāra* dynasty, lay east of the Ganges; then the road would cross the distance between the *Gogra* and *Great Gandak* rivers (ancient Northern *Kosala*) and on the left bank of the latter reach *Battiah* (our بهت?). The country *T.lwt* would

be the region between *Nepal* and *Mithila* inhabited by the forest people *Ṭhāru* (our ترو *Tarū*). Going farther east towards the *Jamuna* the road would enter *Assam* (*Kāmarūpa*, our قامرو *T.lwt* and *T.mut* evidently represent the same name corresponding to modern *Tirhut* < *Tīra-bhukti*).

be tempting to identify Jāba's kingdom with Chambā, on the head-waters of the Rāvi, north-east of the Ṭakka-deśa, see J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā*, in *Archeological Survey of India*, N.S., vol. xxxvi, Calcutta 1911. This small but ancient principality is well known in the history of Kashmīr, whose kings, under the Lohara dynasty (A.D. 1003-1171) [and probably earlier?], intermarried with the rulers of Chambā [took wives from them?], cf. Ray, *o.c.*, 107, &c. According to Prof. Vogel, *o.c.*, 97, the founder of the Chambā dynasty towards A.D. 700<sup>1</sup> was "a Rajput chief of the Solar race, Meru-varman by name, who not only assumed the proud title of 'King of Kings' but actually must have been the liege-lord of feudatory chiefs". Our S.lūqī may somehow reflect this Solar.<sup>2</sup> Prof. Vogel himself (letter of 4.iii.1935) would rather compare our Jāba with another hill state Jammū (<\**Jambū*) lying on the Chenāb and now united with Kashmīr. However, the most ancient name by which this territory seems to have been known is *Durgara* (mentioned in two title-deeds of the eleventh century); the *Rājataranginī* does not know either *Durgara* or *Jammū* and only mentions the old capital *Babbapura* > *Babor*; in the town of Jammū (which alone interests us from the point of view of the name) there are no ancient remains, or evidences of antiquity, see J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *o.c.*, ii, 515-16. Therefore Chambā still seems to me the most suitable correspondence for Jāba (<\**Chāba*).<sup>3</sup>

46. In I.Kh., 16 and 67, and I.R., 135, الجرز follows immediately on Jāba and there is no doubt that our لجرز (bearing the trace of an Arabic source!) stands for it. The item on the justice of this king corresponds to what I.R. says about him. The Jurz are the Gurjara (Gurjara-Pratihāra) kings of Qinnauj; their identity with the rajas of Qinnauj (29., 38.-40.) has been overlooked by our author, who this time comes back to Qinnauj from another direction. As Jālhandar is reckoned to Qinnauj, the inner range<sup>4</sup> of the Himalaya can really be said to divide al-Jurz (= Qinnauj) from

<sup>1</sup> In the latest work by J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Lahore, 1933 (printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Panjab), i, 268-339, Chambā is described as "one of the oldest Native States founded not later than A.D. 600 and perhaps as early as A.D. 550".

<sup>2</sup> From a purely phonetical point of view S.lūqī corresponds best to Chaulukya. Moreover, according to V. Smith, *o.c.* 440, "there is some reason for believing that the Chalukyas or Solankis were connected with the Chāpas, and so with the foreign Gurjara tribe of which the Chāpas were a branch". This combination of *Chaulukya* with *Chāpa* would be a curious parallel to our pair of *S.lūqī* and *Jāba* (<\**Chāpa*)! However, I hear from Dr. Barnett that Chalukya and

Chaulukya must be distinguished and that the Solanki-Chaulukya dynasty of Rājput origin could not as yet be traced much farther north than 25°.

<sup>3</sup> As in Sumatra Jāba has a Chinese parallel *chan-pei* (note to § 4, 9.), it appears that the original nasal element of the name was dropped in Arabic rendering. The same method may have been applied in arabicizing the name of the sub-Himalayan Jāba (<Chambā?). The variations of length may be due to a different timbre of the long vowels.

<sup>4</sup> Our author (§ 5, 9 b.) may be wrong in calling this range *Q.s.k* which name, according to the story of § 6, 15., ought to belong to the region of the passes between the Indus basin and the Oxus, say between Gilgit and Andamin, see Map iv.

Jāba's possessions (Chambā?). I.R. distinctly says that al-Jurz was at war with the Ballah-rā, the king of Ṭāqin, and N.jāba (\**ḡāba*). [It must be remembered that a locality Gujrāt (reflecting the name of Gurjara) exists in the Panjab, north of the Chenab and south of Naoshera, at the very threshold of Kashmir.] See Map iv.

47.-57.: Places of the northernmost zone of India (beyond the Indus), enumerated in the order from west to north-east.

47.-50. and 54.-5. lie near the southern frontier of Afghānistān. 47. Gardīz (Gardēz), the birthplace of the well-known author of the *Zayn al-akhbār*, is situated 34 miles to the east of Ghaznī (§ 24, 19.), in the plain of Zurmat. Maq., 349, gives an itinerary: Ghaznī to Gardīz, 1 marḥala, thence to Ūgh, *ditto*; thence to L.jān (?), *ditto*; thence to Vayhind—the whole stretch being of 17 stages (*manzil*). Apparently this road was a short cut from Ghaznī, across the mountainous region of the Pathan tribes, to the Indus, of which it then followed the right bank upstream to Gandhāra (region of Pēshāwar). Our author distinctly speaks of a road from 48. Saul (lying in a very mountainous and turbulent region) to 49. Ḥusaynān (lying near the plain). Therefore our 48. and 49. following immediately on 47. Gardīz, may respectively correspond to Maqdisī's Ūgh and L.jān. Bīrūnī in his *Canon*, mentions on the road "from Ghaznī to Multān" (immediately after Gardīz) *فول* *i.e.* \**Farmul*, or *Parmul*. This district, named after the [Tājik?] tribe inhabiting it, lies precisely on the road from Ghaznī to Bannū, *i.e.* towards the Indus region.<sup>1</sup> South-east of Ghaznī the road crosses a pass 8,000 feet high to penetrate into the basin of the Tochi, the right affluent of the Kurram on which Bannū is situated. In the upper part of the Tochi valley the first stage on the road is Urgūn, which is the centre of the Parmul district (23 kurohs to the south-east of Ghaznī). According to the order of enumeration in our sources it is probable that *سول*, *سول*<sup>2</sup> and *فول* refer to the same locality, *i.e.* Farmul. The direct road from Ghaznī to Farmul seems to leave Gardīz to the north; but in the 10th-11th century travellers from Ghaznī could have reasons for making a circuit in order to pass through Gardīz, situated at the junction of the roads from Ghaznī, Kābul, and Bannū. Cf. Raverty's description of the route in *Notes of Afghanistan*, 1888, p. 85.

Geographically 54. and 55. ought to come between Kābul (mentioned unexpectedly under the Marches of Khorāsān, § 24, 20.) and 50. \**Ninhār*. The exact situation of the town of 54. Lamghān (Laghmān), Ptolemy, vii, 1, 42, *Λαμβάγαι* (Ssk. *Lampāka*, Bīrūnī, *Canon*, لنگا) is not indicated on the maps, but as regards the district of Lamghān (Lamghānāt) the Emperor Bābur says that originally it consisted of Alangār, 'Alī-shang, and Mandrāvar, situated on the left side affluent of the Kābul river, which flows from Kāfiristān (to the NW. of the Kunār basin). Alangār is the eastern valley and 'Alī-shang the western one; their waters join below Mandrāvar and form the

<sup>1</sup> *The Bābur-nāma*, GMS, fol. 128a, mentions south of Kābul: Farmul, Naghar, Bannū, and the Afghān coun-

try. [I. Athīr, xi, 108, *کرمان* = \**فول*?] *try*.

<sup>2</sup> Indistinctly written in the MSS. Could it echo the name of Urgūn?

Bārān river falling into the Kābul river, cf. *The Bābur-nāma*, trans. by A. S. Beveridge, 1922, i, 207-13. *Bar miyāna* has been translated "on the middle course" in view of § 6, 58.; an alternative would be "a middle sized" town, cf. § 12, 1.

55. دېنور (§ 6, 13.) according to the description lay over against Lamghān, consequently on the right bank of the Kābul river.<sup>1</sup> Bīrūnī in his *Canon* gives the positions:

	long.	lat.
Lamghān	96° 10'	33° 50'
Dynwŕ	96° 25'	33° 45'

the latter being placed to the south-east (\*south-west?) of the former (corrected latitude in Bīrūnī, *India*, 167). Anyway, *Dynwŕ* must correspond to دېنور mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Ilminsky, p. 161, GMS., fol. 131b; Mrs. Beveridge's translation, pp. 207-9: "in the east of the country of Kābul are the Lamghānāt [of which 5 tumans and 2 buluks are enumerated]. . . . The largest of these is Ningnahār [in the wider sense of the term] . . . its darogha's residence is in Adīnapūr, some 13 yighaches [*i.e.* farsakhs] east of Kābul<sup>2</sup> by a very bad road. . . . Surkh-rūd flows along south of Adīnapūr. The fort stands on a height having a straight fall to the river of some 40-50 *qūrī* [130 feet] and isolated from the mountain behind it on the north. . . . That mountain runs between Ningnahār and Lamghān." Consequently Adīnapūr, as also suggested by our text, was situated north of the Surkh-rūd, which is the right-side affluent of the Kābul river and falls into the latter downstream from the estuary of the Bārān, *v.s.* 54., and upstream from the present-day Jalālābād. The name \*دېنور > دېنور is said to reflect Ssk. *Udyānapūra*<sup>3</sup> which would confirm the pronunciation of our name as being *Dunpūr*.

The Afghans are mentioned under 48. (and 50.) *i.e.* only in the southernmost part of the present Afghānistān. As Barthold, *Preface*, p. 30, remarks, this seems to be the earliest contemporary record of the name, although Ibn al-Athīr (13th cent.) mentions the Afghāns under the year 366/976-7.

50. The name is spelt better under § 6, 13. (\**Ninhār*?), where it is explained that the place lies downstream from Lamghān, on the northern (?) bank of the latter's river. The name certainly refers to the Jalālābād district of which a detailed description is found in G. H. MacGregor's article in *JASB*, 1844, xiii/2, pp. 867-80: "the country which is subject to the control of the governor of Jullalabad is the valley of the Cabul river, but it is generally termed Ningrahar, or Nungnihar, the former being a corruption of the latter word, which signifies in the Afghan language nine

<sup>1</sup> In the *Shāh-nāma* the name has the form دېنر; see the passage describing the extent of the fief granted to Zāl by Minūchichr, ed. Vullers, i, 144: "The whole of Kābul and D.n.b.r and Māy-Hind, from the China sea to that of Sind, from Zābulistān to the lake of Bust." On Māy-hind *v.i.* 56.

<sup>2</sup> The distance is confirmed by Bīrūnī's route, *India*, p. 101: Vayhind-Purshāvur 14 farsakhs; thence to Dunpūr 15 f.; thence to Kābul 12 f.; thence to Ghazna 17 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Mrs. Beveridge's notes in her translation of the *Bābur-nāma*, Appendix, p. xxi.

rivers, or rivulets, and has reference to those by which the valley is intersected." The *Bābur-nāma* (Ilminsky), p. 161, gives both ننگہار (Ningnahār) and the more correct نگرہار (Nagarahār), cf. also A. S. Beveridge's translation, ii, Appendix, pp. xvii-xxviii. The mention in our text of the three idols of \*Ninhār is curious, as this locality (Hsüan-Tsang's *Na-ka-lo-ho*, i.e. \*Nagarahāra, cf. Watters, pp. 182-90) was a famous centre of Buddhist cult. However, the chief ruins of the *stupas*, indicating the situation of the ancient town, lie, contrary to our text, on the southern bank of the Kābul river, some 8 Km. south of the town of Jalālābād. See J. Barthoux, *Les Fouilles de Haḍḍa*, i, 1933, pp. 1-12 (geographical account).

51.-3. according to § 6, 17., are situated on one of the Panjāb rivers, perhaps the Sutlej. Light on 53. Bīrūza is obtained from Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 206-7, who says: "The king of Qinnauj, one of the kings of Sind, is (called) B.rūza (بروزہ, &c.). This is the title of the king of Qinnauj, and here (too) stands a town called B.rūza (named) after the title of the king. It is now the territory of Islām forming a district of Multān. From the town comes one of the rivers which form the Mihrān of Sind." The spelling Bīrūza (perhaps influenced by a popular etymology) is very near بروزہ which Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 264, has restored after the Leiden codex. [Less satisfactory seems to be a later surmise by Marquart, *Komanen*, 100, according to which Mas'ūdī erroneously made a title of the king of Qinnauj out of the name of his town برودہ which should be interpreted as *Mahodaya*?] If we keep to our texts, Bīrūza lay in Panjāb, and Ray, *o.c.*, p. 16 and Map I, places it, with some probability, in the neighbourhood of the Sutlej, for the Panjāb river flowing past Bīrūza is likely to be the one nearest to the system of the Ganges, where the kings of Qinnauj were at home. However, certainty will be acquired only when Hivān, B.lwt (بلوت) and J.lwt (جلوت) lying upstream from Bīrūza have been identified. The reading of the two last names is uncertain. Under § 6, 15. they are spelt *B.l.vv.t* and *ḡ.l.vv.t*, but they may possibly be *B.lūt*, *B.lv.t*, *ḡ.lūt*, *ḡ.lv.t*, &c. A fort of Bilwat is mentioned in Ni'matullāh's *Makhzan-i Afghānī*, Elliot-Dowson, *o.c.*, v, 107, as the place against which Bābur marched from Lahore. Elliot thinks that it is identical with Milwat found in the *Tuzūk-i Bāburi*, *ibid.*, v, 248: moving from Kalanūr (situated half-way between the Rāvī and Biyāh) Bābur crossed the Biyāh (opposite Kamvahn). Thence three marches brought him to the valley in which lay the fort of Milwat. These indications suggest for Milwat (Bilwat?) a position between the Bias (Biyāh) and Sutlej, which is an argument in favour of our supposition. [On the other hand, the Bilwa-ferry mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, GMS, 364 (Mrs. Beveridge's translation, p. 688) situated on the Ganges, downstream of Benares, has nothing to do with Bilwat/Milwat; equally T.lwt (تلوت) mentioned in Bīrūnī, *v.s.* 43., is an entirely different place.]

54.-5. *v.s.* after 47.-50.

56. Vayhind,<sup>1</sup> Indian *Udabhāṇḍa* > *Ohind*, lay between the Indus and

<sup>1</sup> Firdausī's مای هند, *Shāh-nāma* (Vullers), i, 144, and 154 seems to refer to Vayhind, *v.s.*, p. 252, note 1.

the Kābul river, just above their confluence. Maq., 477, 479, mentions Vayhind as a provincial capital (*qaṣaba*) and enumerates its towns: V.dhān, Bīr, Nūj, L.vār, S.mān, Qūj. Vayhind was the capital of the kingdoms of Gandhāra (Bīrūnī, *India*, 101: *Qandahār*, cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 271), which was ruled by the Hindūshāhī dynasty. The latter was founded in the second half of the ninth century by the Brahman Lalliya, who had deposed his former master, the Turkish ruler of Kābul. According to Muḥammad Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, p. 194, the possessions of the masters of Vayhind stretched from Lamghān to the Chenāb, and from southern Kashmīr to the frontier of the principality of Multān. The name of the town may belong to an earlier source, but the mention of the king Jaypāl (Jayapāla) must have been added by our author. Jaypāl, who reigned A.D. 965-1001, was the gallant, but unfortunate, opponent of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, cf. Ray, *o.c.*, 78, 103. Jaypāl's feudatory ties with the rāja of Qinnauj are rather unexpected.

57. The fact that the name is spelt here *Qashmīr*, while under § 26, 19.-20. it appears as *Kashmīr*, shows that our author depended on several sources. § 26 suggests the existence of a road linking Kashmīr with Transoxiana and running through Bolor and Vakhān. More detail on Kashmīr is found in Bīrūnī, who personally visited the country, see his *India*, p. 101, and *Canon*, where he calls Srinagar *Addishtān* <Ssk. *Adhiṣṭhāna* "the residence".<sup>1</sup> From 855 to 939 (and even down to A.D. 1003) the Utpala dynasty reigned in Kashmīr, Ray, *o.c.*, 181. It is true that the tenth century was a time of considerable weakness of these kings, but nothing seems to confirm their vassal dependence on Qinnauj.<sup>2</sup> Nor can Dimashqī's late and indirect evidence be understood in the sense that Qinnauj and Kashmīr had formed one territorial unit. This author (who died in A.D. 1327) speaks of the Inner and Outer Kashmīr, the former with 70,000 villages and the latter with more than 100,000; the two provinces are divided by a high mountain in which lie the passes (*abwāb*) leading to China. In the middle of this description of Kashmīr a paragraph on Qinnauj is found saying that it was "the residence of the kings of Hind" and that, according to Mas'ūdī, it possessed 108,000 villages. This looks like an interpolation in the text which is obviously out of order, and Mehren, in his French translation of Dimashqī, Copenhagen 1874, p. 246, was wrong in placing Qinnauj in the Inner Kashmīr. On the other hand, the term "Inner" Kashmīr can be traced up to the *Bundahishn* where *Kashmīr-e andarōn* is mentioned, see Christensen, *Les Kayānides*, 1932, p. 53. See Map iv.

### § 11. Tibet<sup>3</sup>

I am greatly obliged to Prof. F. W. Thomas, M. Bacot, and Dr. W. A. Unkrig for valuable suggestions on matters concerning this chapter.

<sup>1</sup> A complete survey of the early exploration of Kashmīr is given in Sir A. Stein's *Memoir* quoted under 36.

<sup>2</sup> Only the western marches of Kashmīr could depend on Qinnauj, *v.s.*, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> The text of this chapter (without translation) was published by Barthold in *Comptes rendus [Doklady] de l'Acad. des Sciences de Russie*, 1924, pp. 72-4.



Mirzā Haydar's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, trans. by E. D. Ross and commented by Ney Elias, 1895, contains a mass of important data on Tibet and the neighbouring countries, but more than five centuries separate it from the period interesting us, and our author has in view an entirely different situation near the K'un-lun. It is a pity that Minchul Khutukhtu's *Geography of Tibet*, written circa A.D. 1830-9 and translated into Russian by the late Prof. V. Vasilyev, SPb., 1895, is not accompanied by a commentary and is therefore difficult to use for a layman. A new translation of it by Dr. Unkrig is in the press. [See Barthold, *Tibet*, in *EI.*]

The present curious chapter on Tibet has no parallel in the known works of Arab geographers. On the other hand, its data are chiefly derived from a source (Jayhānī?) common with that used by Gardīzī, 88-9, 94. Gardīzī described three routes leading to Tibet:

(a) from Kāshghar a road passes between two mountains and follows an easterly direction until it reaches the province of Ādh.r (آذر)<sup>1</sup> which is 40 farsangs long and consists of mountains, plains (read: سهل instead of سجده), and barren hills (*kauristān*); the text, which is out of order, seems to indicate that Ādh.r formerly belonged to the khāqān of Tibet, but at the time to which the source refers was under Kāshghar. From the "province of Kāshghar" the road goes to Sār.msābkath and then to Alīshūr (الیشور) after which it follows the stream of K.jā (کجا) on which, in the direction of the desert, lies the village of حمجان (or حمحاب) where Tibetans are found; then a river is crossed in a boat and the travellers reach the frontier of Tibet;<sup>2</sup>

(b) from Kāshghar to Khotan by the places enumerated in the note to 10. down to رستویه which is the first village of Khotan; "and at this stretch (*andar in miyān*) comes the river Y.ra (ره)"; thence [from *R.stūya* or *Y.ra*?] to the village of S.mywb.m, then to the "barren hills belonging to the Muslims" (کورستان مسلمانان),<sup>3</sup> then to a stream (جوی) coming from China (چین, or \*Khotan ختن?), then to the town of Khotan; at 15 days' journey from Khotan lies the large town of Kay (کی, perhaps \*کجا K.jā) which is within the limits of China but is occupied by the Toghuzghuz;<sup>4</sup>

(c) from Khotan on, the road (b) is continued to the south: it goes to الشان *Al.shān*, then to a bridge built by the Khotanese between two mountains and finally across the mountainous tract (*Kūh-i zahr* "Poisonous

<sup>1</sup> In Turkestan (e.g. in the Samarqand region) the word *adīr* means "low foot-hills", cf. *Tajikistan* (by several authors), Tashkent 1925, p. 47. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, quotes *adīr* (in Qirghiz and Qara-Qirghiz dialects) in the sense of "broken, mountainous country". Very probably the Persian correspondence of *adīr* is *kauristān* standing in our text.

<sup>2</sup> This road seems to stretch north of the Tarim down to the region of Kuchā

and then turn southwards, across the lower Tarim, to some place near Cherchen. [Alternatively it would run along the southern bank of the Tarim and then the river finally crossed would be the Cherchen?]

<sup>3</sup> Barthold read: *gūristān* "cemetery".

<sup>4</sup> The final portion of the itinerary seems to describe a short cut across the Tarim from Khotan to Kuchā, cf. § 9, 10., where similar particulars on Kuchā are given.

mountain") where the travellers suffer from mountain sickness, to the "Gate (*dar*) of the khāqān of Tibet".<sup>1</sup>

Our author says nothing on the first two roads but incorporates the names of the road (*b*) down to R.stūya (see notes to 10.-20.). The rest of the places of the present chapter is not in Gardīzī; of them 1., 3., 9., 21., 22. (K.lbānk) are also mentioned in the chapters on the mountains and rivers (§§ 5, 3. and 6, 3.); one rare name (9.) is also found in Bīrūnī; one name 23.) has a parallel in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*; the names 5., 6., 7., 8., and 22. (Bīnā) occur only once in our text.

The order of enumeration of the places is quite fanciful and reflects the compilative character of our author's work: after 1. Rāng-rong which seems to lie in the south-east of Tibet, comes 2. at the north-western extremity of the country, then 3. which is a north-eastern march, and, after a doubtful 4., follows unexpectedly Lhasa (5.), described for a second time under 23.

Both our author and Gardīzī refer to the times of Tibetan expansion in the heyday of which the Tibetan influence was felt even in the neighbourhood of the T'ien-shan where the Tibetans came into contact with the Arabs.<sup>2</sup> It is for the Tibetan scholars to see whether our chapter contains any details<sup>3</sup> permitting a more exact definition of the epoch of the original source. Our author seems to have used several different sources: in the chapter on China (§ 9, 7. and 8.) no mention is found of the [Sarī]-Uyghurs who occupied Kan-su (§ 9, 7. and 8.) towards the middle of the ninth century and whose advent meant a considerable check to Tibetan power. On the other hand, the whole region north of the Tarim is represented as free from Tibetans<sup>4</sup> and the presumed connexion of Khotan with China (see § 9, 15.) may even indicate the situation towards A.D. 937. [Cf. also 20. as interpreted on p. 280, l. 14.] [P. 92, l. 23, and p. 97, l. 17, may refer to p. 96, l. 9.]

According to our text, the home of the kings of Tibet (*Tubbat-khāqān*) was

<sup>1</sup> This road, also mentioned in Bīrūnī, v.s., p. 24, evidently led across the K'un-lun range to the Tibet proper. From Khotan it must have followed one of the head-waters of the Khotan river. The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 324, 327, mentions a bridge on the Aq-tash river in the Qaranghu-tagh valley. See now on this valley Sir A. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, i, 193, 207 (with photographs of such dangerous bridges), and *ibid.*, 58, on the "poisonous air" as supposed by the natives to cause mountain sickness.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabs are twice mentioned in Chinese annals as co-operating in the T'ien-shan region with the Tibetans against the Chinese, Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 148, n. 3 (year A.D. 715), p. 289,

n. 2 (year 717). Later they were engaged in a long struggle, see a penetrating analysis of these data in H. A. R. Gibb's articles, *The Arab Invasion of Kashghar in 715*, in *Bull. S.O.S.*, ii/3, pp. 472-3, and *Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia*, *ibid.*, ii/4, pp. 616-18. The situation in the 8th-9th cent. is reflected in such notices as Qudāma, 208: Atbāsh (in the Narin basin) "situated between Farghāna, Tibet, and Barskhān", cf. also our § 25, 58.

<sup>3</sup> On the frontier of China see § 9, 5., 7.-8., 18. On the frontier between the Tibetans and their northern neighbours see §§ 12 and 15.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gardīzī's remark on Ādh.r, v.s., p. 255, line 18.

in the north-east of Tibet. Dr. W. A. Unkrig, whom I consulted on the matter, very ingeniously suggests to me (letter of 25.ii.1935) that the name of the tribe to which the kings belonged, *Ma-yul*, meaning in Tibetan "mother country, or the mother's country", may reflect the matriarchal habits of the Tibetans, whereas *ما يول* among whom the chiefs (vice-roys) were recruited, may be explained as \**Akhā-yul* "the land of elder brothers" with a possible hint at the paternal connexions of the candidate.<sup>1</sup>

Our text does not indicate the seat of the king of Tibet (*Tubbat-khāqān*) whose troops occupied 9. Tūsmat (evidently lying in the neighbourhood of Khotan), and whose treasure was kept in a fortress, south of the road leading from Kāshghar to Khotan. [It cannot be identical with the fortress mentioned in the confused § 6, 4. which lay to the south of the K'un-lun as it was situated on a river flowing down towards Lhasa.] Separately from the Tubbat-khāqān is mentioned the Lord of Khotan (§ 9, 18.) whose subjects were both Tibetans and Turks.

The record on the cheerfulness of the residents in Tibet is found in I.Kh., 170, and I.R., 82. This feature is confirmed by modern travellers, cf. G. Roerich, *Trails in Inmost Asia*, 1931, p. 459: "The village street is blocked on either side by heaps of refuse forming veritable ramparts in front of each house from behind which peep curious crowds, dirty beyond description but quite content [! V. M.] and eager to see foreigners."

1. The second element of رانك رانك has been tentatively transcribed as *rong*, in Tibetan "defile, valley". The first element too must be some Tibetan name like *Rang*, *Zang* (*Tsang*), &c. The province, as adjacent to Hindūstān and Chīnistān; must be looked for in the south-east and east of Tibet, cf. the description of the Mānisā range (§ 5, 3.) which crosses Rāng-rong from the neighbourhood of India to a northern point where Tibet borders only on China (perhaps in Ssū Ch'uan, see note to § 5, 3c.). Prof. F. W. Thomas suggests the possibility of Rāng-rong standing for "*Sgañ-Roñ*, i.e. the Sgañ and the Roñ, the two different kinds of territory which make up south-east Tibet towards China", whereas Dr. W. A. Unkrig's restoration would be \**gTsang-rong* with the suitable meaning of "defile of the great river" [perhaps of the Brahmaputra]. Gold is found principally in western Tibet, but also in the Nan-Shan; cf. Sir A. Stein, *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks*, 1933, p. 241, on the gold pits worked by the people "from the side of Hsi-ning in the north-eastern border of Tibet".

<sup>1</sup> *Akha* in Mongol "elder brother, elderly, respectable person" + *yul* in Tibetan "country, land". If the possibility of such compounds be admitted, cf. *dalai* + *lama*, the first element *دالاي* < \**دالاي* may eventually be interpreted as *āchā* [with Arabic *imāla*: *ā* for *ā > e*] and explained as Mongol *eche* "father". In the region now occupied by the Sari-Yöğurs a word *aja* is quoted for "father", with

the difference that in G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya*, SPb., 1893, ii, 435, it is attributed to the Turkish-speaking part of the federation, whereas in Mannerheim, *Jour. de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, xxvii, 1911, p. 630, it figures as *acha* in the speech of the group mentioned, and as *aja* in that of the Mongol-speaking group. This *acha* may be a local form of Mongol *eche*.

2. The "Bolorian Tibet" corresponds to the Great Bolor (*Pu-lu* of the Chinese sources, Chavannes, *Documents*, 149), *i.e.* Baltistān, as opposed to the Lesser Bolor (*Gilgit*, &c.) on which see § 26, 19. See Map iv.

3. *N.zvān* (*T.rvān*, *T.xdān*?) is placed by the Mānisā range at the point where the latter bends to the north-west (§ 5, 3.). Geographically it may be identified with the Koko-nor and Tsaidam, and the name may be Tibetan. On the interpretation of *Mayūl* as "mother country" or "the mother's country", *v.s.*, p. 257. It apparently has nothing to do with *Mar-yul* "the low country" which in the *Tārikh-i Rashīdī*, pp. 410, 456, is applied to Ladak.

4. برخان may correspond to Gardīzī's حمان which (*v.s.*, p. 255) seems to have been situated north of a river. This latter detail makes it difficult to identify the two names with Cherchen (Kāshgharī: حرجان) on which *v.i.*, 8.

5. It is extraordinary to find the name of Lhasa so perfectly transcribed in Arabic characters لاسا. The report about a mosque in Lhasa is quite unexpected and M. Bacot doubts its truth. *V.i.* 23. K.rsāng.

The localities 6.-22. seem all to belong to the northern possessions of the Tibetans which at the epoch of the original report extended beyond the K'un-lun range into Chinese Turkestan.

6. On Zava see under 9.

7. احایل admits of very different readings. M. Bacot suggests \**Ajā-yul*, "the Ajā Country". The name transcribed in Tibetan characters *Ha-ža* [French transcription 'A-ža] belongs to the people whom the Chinese call T'u-yü-hun and of which the original form is restored as \**Tu'u-yun*, or \**Tuyuy-yun*. This people, in the beginning of the fourth century A.D., founded a kingdom in the region of the Koko-nor among the Tibetan K'iang, with a capital lying 15 li = 8.6 Km. west of the Koko-nor. The kingdom was destroyed by the Tibetans in A.D. 663, but the name 'A-ža still survived as shown by the Tun-huang documents. According to the Chinese sources (*Sung-shu*) "the T'u-yü-hun or Barbarian A-ch'ai [Tibetan: *Ha-ža*] were the Sien-pi of Liao-tung"; as regards the name *A-ch'ai* it was that given to the T'u-yü-hun by the "mixed tribes of the North-West", and was consequently a popular, local name. Various opinions have been expressed with regard to the nationality of the \**Tuyuy-yun*; some scholars took them for the Tunguz, others for the Mongols. The last opinion has been lately supported in the light of fresh evidence by P. Pelliot, *Note sur les T'ou-yu-houen et les Sou-p'i*, in *T'oung-Pao*, xx, 1920, pp. 323-31. Prof. F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Documents*, v, in *JRAS*, Oct. 1931, p. 831, states that "the Tibetans (who speak of a *Ha-ža* kingdom long after the overthrow of Tu-yü-hun) understood by the term *Ha-ža* the people of the Shan-shan [*i.e.* Lob-nor] area and knew the Tu-yü-hun, who had long dominated the Shan-shan kingdom as Drug-cun". In this case our \**Ajā-yul* has a chance of being located to the south of the Lob-nor. On the other hand, Dr. Unkrig's suggestion of a curious popular etymology (*v.s.*, p. 257), supported by his interpretation of the name Ma-yūl, is very

interesting. Muslim sources on far-away countries could readily draw on popular lore as explained to them by interpreters and intermediaries.

8. J.rm.ngān, quoted between *احال* and Tūsmat, has a twofold outward likeness. On the one hand, "to the south of the (Khotan) oasis and not far from the left bank of the Yurung-qash" two ancient sites are found, now called Jamada and *Chalmakazan*. At the latter place, situated 13 miles south-south-east of the ancient Khotan, coins were found dating from c. A.D. 713-83 and c. 1102-6, cf. Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i, 233, and Map. On the other hand, 600 li = 346 Km. to the east of Niya, and 1,000 li = 576 Km. to the south-west of Lou-lan, Hsüan-Tsang, *Si-yu-ki* (St. Julien), ii, 247, and *ditto* (Beal), ii, 325, mentions a *Chê-mo-t'o-na* "which is the same as the country called Ni-mo". Sir A. Stein, *o.c.i.* 311, note 7, identifies it with *Chalmadana* mentioned in Kharoṣṭhi documents, and states that "it manifestly corresponds to the present Charchan". The situation of our J.rm.ngān "on the edge of the desert" better fits the region of Cherchen, and in this case the occupation of the inhabitants —*ṣayyādī*—was perhaps "fishery" in the swamps of the lower course of the Tarim and Cherchen. Cf. Kozlov, *Lob-Nor*, in *Izv. Russ. Geogr. Obsh.*, 1898, xxxiv.

9. Twsmt, vocalized *Tūsmat*, according to § 5, 3., must have lain somewhere to the south of Khotan. As a dependency of Tūsmat our author mentions 6. Zava. A place of this name is found immediately north of Khotan on the western bank of the Qara-qash (western river of Khotan) and eventually such an extension of Tūsmat would indicate that Khotan, too, was practically comprised in it. However, our author places Khotan under China (§ 9, 18.) and says that a range of mountains separates Tūsmat from China (Khotan? § 5, 3.). It is curious that in the enumeration of the places lying between Kāshghar and Khotan (*v.i.* 10.-20.) our author at the last place mentions some *مت* instead of Gardīzī's *Khotan*. This name looks like a trace of the indistinctly written *توسمت*, in which case our author (who would contradict himself if he mentioned under *Tibet* a road leading up to Khotan which latter is described under *China*), wanted perhaps to connect the road with the neighbouring Tūsmat. This may be the reason, too, why he leaves out one or two localities mentioned by Gardīzī immediately before Khotan. Prof. F. W. Thomas draws my attention to the likeness of the name Tūsmat to Tibetan 'Mdo-smat "Lower Mdo", south of the Koko-nor region.<sup>1</sup> Has our author misunderstood the situation of Tūsmat? In Bīrūnī's *Canon* (the fifth climate) I now read *توسمت* (indistinctly written without dots); it is placed in "Outer

<sup>1</sup> Abū Zayd (= Sulaymān, 64) in the story of the revolt of Huang-Ch'ao says that the emperor fled to مدينة بحدو متاخمة لبلاد التبت. *Ibid.*, p. 109, a locality of M.dū (*al-mauḍī' al-ma'rūf bi-M.dū*) is mentioned on the Tibetan frontier, and it is said that its inhabitants are constantly at war with the Tibetans. In

the parallel passage Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 305 and 297, gives م. Already Reinaud, note 134 to Sulaymān's text, compared *M.dhau* with *Mdo* (*Amdo*). In any case, the tradition of *Twsmt* in the *H.-'Ā* and Bīrūnī is different from Sulaymān-Mas'ūdī's *\*Amdo*.

Tibet" and mentioned along with Chīnānjkaṭh (§ 12, 1.):

Tūsmat long. 110° 0' lat. 39° 10'  
Chīnānjkaṭh long. 111° 20' lat. 42° 0'

This position of Tūsmat is certainly very remote from Khotan of which the centre (*qaṣaba*) according to Bīrūnī was

احمه (?) long. 100° 40' lat. 43° 30'

10.-20. As the author says, the places quoted here belonged formerly to China but "now" are held by the Tibetans. They exactly correspond to the places which Gardīzī, 94, enumerates along the road from Kāshghar to Khotan. The mention of a fortress "to the right of Kūnkrā and Rāy-kūtiya"<sup>1</sup> seems to be a trace of the original arrangement of the places along an itinerary. Our author, with his usual care about elaborate geographical and political "areas", mentions Kāshghar under Yaghma (§ 13, 1.) and Khotan under China (§ 9, 18.). Consequently in the present paragraph Gardīzī's itinerary is quoted without its initial and terminal points. One would think that in the author's opinion the Tibetan territory began immediately south of Kāshghar, and Khotan was a sort of enclave in Tibetan dominions retaining some connexion with China (cf. § 9, 18.). On the Toghuzghuz Turks said to live in large numbers at the intermediary stages between Kāshghar and Khotan, see § 13. Here is Gardīzī's itinerary with the corresponding names of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*:

<i>Gardīzī</i>	<i>H.-'Ā.</i>
Kāshghar	see § 13, 1.
پايش	بالس 10.
كرمان	كرمان 11.
خجمان	وجحمان 12.
غزا	[غزا 21.]
يونجه (يونجه)	بريخه 13.
خجكت	جخكت 14.
كدلور	كونكرا 15.
رايكوتيه	رايكوتيه 16.
[يره؟]	بريه 17.
تدروف	تدروف 18.
رستويه	دستويه 19.
سميوم	مٹ 20.
كورستان مسلمانان	
ختن	

<sup>1</sup> The fortress would have a sense in protecting some road across the K'un-

lun. The road to the Qaraqoram pass runs through Sanju, the latter lying to

Map iv



The comparison of the two columns is instructive as it indicates the extent of the alterations which foreign names underwent in Arabic script. Even this double set of names does not facilitate identification. The road from Kāshghar to Khotan must have followed, as at present, the belt of cultivated lands on the border of the mountains. Our author excludes from Gardīzī's series 21. Ghazā (*v.i.*), which he evidently places lower down on the Khotan river (§ 5, 3.). But is then Gardīzī's enumeration in a straight line? Our 11. might be Kilian, though in this case it would be strange that, contrary to the actual distances, only one name would be found between it and Kāshghar, whereas some eight names would separate it from Khotan lying nearer. 13. B.rīkha looks like the name quoted at the upper course of the Khotan river (§ 6, 3.), in which case our identification of the latter with Brinjak becomes less probable. There is some graphical likeness between our 18. and the Tiznaf river but the latter flows too far west (immediately east of the Yārkand-daryā). Perhaps only 19. could stand a comparison with Zanguya (زنگويه) situated between the Sanju and Qara-qash rivers, nearer to the former. Its situation would suit Gardīzī's remark that it was the first village on the road belonging to Khotan. In this case 15. might be *Gundalik* or *Gundaluk* (گندارک), now Gunduluk-Langar. In a Chinese itinerary quoted by I. Bichurin, *Opisaniye . . . Vost. Turkestana*, SPb., 1829, i, 236, the distances are: Ilchi (= Khotan) to Kialma (Pialma), 110 *li* (circa 68 Km.); from Kialma to Gundalik, 90 *li* (circa 52 Km.). According to P'evtsov, *Putesh. po Vost. Turkestanu*, SPb., 1892, p. 107, Gunduluk lies among reeds at some 10 Km. to the north-west of Zangūya, and near it great masses of shards are found. On the fortress *v.s.*, p. 260, note 1.

21. 23. According to § 6, 3. the three tributaries of the Khotan river joined the latter between Ghazā and K.l.bānk. The first name recalls the names of *Ghaz-daryā* and *Ghaz-qum*, which lie on the Khotan river just above its junction with the Aq-su after the latter has received the joined waters of the Yārkand and Kāshghar rivers. However; the particulars on Ghazā contained in the present paragraph do not facilitate this identification (cf. note to § 6, 3.). K.l.bānk is obscure and Bīnā is not found elsewhere.

23. Barthold, *v.s.*, p. 25, has recognized the identity of our كسانك with اوسانك (\**Ūsāng?*), which name in Mīrzā Haydar's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* refers to Lhasa. Haydar, p. 130, calls *Ursāng* "the Qibla of Khitay and Tibet", and p. 48, gives an account of an unsuccessful expedition which in the summer of 939/1533 he led with the object of destroying the idol-temples of *Ursāng*. Elias in his commentary on the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 136, explains that *Ursāng* is a probable corruption of the names of the two central provinces of Tibet, *Wu* and *Tsang*, which in speech are usually coupled together. Vasilyev, p. 32, transcribes the name of this "Middle Country" *Vuy-Tsang* (= *dVus-gTsang*). The name of the province (comprising Lhasa and Shigatse) was consequently used by the Muslims for the south of the road from Kāshghar to Khotan. Zangūya is the turning point for the travellers going from Khotan to Sanju.



its capital. The form كسانك in our author may have arisen from the vowel sign (*damma*) أسانك.<sup>1</sup> The second name of the place, "Great Farkhār", i.e., in usual interpretation, "Great Vihāra", suits Lhasa quite well.<sup>2</sup> A vague report on Farkhār is found in the *Nushat al-qulūb*, p. 260, where it is said that it is a country (*mamlakat*) of the 6th (?) climate with numerous provinces and possessing a population renowned for beauty.

### §§ 12-17. The South-Eastern Turks

Additional authorities for §§ 12-17: Radloff's Introduction to *Das Kudatku Bilik*, part i, SPb., 1891, pp. i-lxxxiii (contains a survey of the sources on the "Toghuzghur" and Uyghurs known at that time; the Introduction is now out of date, except for the Persian texts of the Mongol epoch quoted in the original); Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i, 236-63; Chavannes, *Documents*; the following are the editions and translations of the Orkhon inscriptions to which reference is made in the text: V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, Helsingfors, 1896 (tumular inscriptions for Kül-tegin and Bilgä-qaghan) and his later translation (1922)<sup>3</sup> into Danish (inclusive of Tonyuquq's inscription) rendered into German by H. H. Schaeder, *ZDMG*, 1924, pp. 121-75; Radloff (fourth version) in *Die alttürkisch. Inschriften*, Neue Folge (Kül-egin, Bilgä), SPb., 1897 and *ditto*, Zweite Folge (Tonyuquq), SPb., 1899; P. Melioransky, *Pamiatnik v chest' Kül-Tegina*, in *Zap.*, xii (1899), 1-144. See also Marquart, *Historische Glossen zu d. alttürkischen Inschriften* [quoted: *Glossen*], in *WZKM*, xii, 1898, pp. 157-200; *Die Chronologie d. alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig, 1898; *Streifzüge*, see Index; *Komanen*, see Index; Barthold, *Die historische Bedeutung d. alttürkischen Inschriften*, 1897; *Die alttürkischen Inschriften und die arabischen Quellen*, 1899; *Erforschung d. Geschichte d. Türkischen Völker*, in *ZDMG*, 1929, p. 130; *Ghuzs, Tarim, Toghuzghuz, Turfan, and Türk in EI; Vorlesungen*, pp. 48-9. [O. Franke's, *Gesch. d. Chines. Reiches*, ii, 1936, contains numerous data on the Turks, but it comes too late to be utilized in this commentary.]

### § 12. The Toghuzghuz

Even though the reading تۈغۈز *Toghuzghuz* (and not *Toghuzghur* as formerly supposed) and its interpretation as *Toquz-Oghuz*, i.e. "the Nine (tribes of the) Oghuz", are now generally accepted there remains still some obscurity with regard to the origin and use of the term in Muslim literature.

<sup>1</sup> As another possibility Dr. Unkrig suggests in Tibetan *mK'ar bZaṅ* (> *K'arzung* and even *K'arsang*) with a meaning of "Fine Castle" ("schöner Herrnsitz", "prächtige Burg"). Could such a name apply to the Lhasan *potala*?

<sup>2</sup> Etymologically Soghdian *farkhār*

(*ṣaryār*) is not connected with Indian *vihāra*, and is an Iranian word < \**parux-vādra*, "full of happiness", cf. Benveniste, *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, 1928, xxi, 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> There seems to exist a still unpublished final translation by Thomsen.

Before the sixth century A.D. the peoples now called "Turkish" were known under various tribal and political names. In the first half of the sixth century a group of Turks living in the Altai began a movement to regroup the neighbouring peoples and in a short time succeeded in organizing a great empire which from Mongolia spread its influence down to the neighbourhood of the Black sea.<sup>1</sup> The founders of this new empire for the first time assumed the name *Türk* (or *Türük* "strength") which the Chinese rendered as *T'u-chüeh*, and in order to avoid confusion with other occasional uses of the term *Türk* we shall adopt this conventional Chinese term<sup>2</sup> in speaking of the first Turkish empire. From the very beginning<sup>3</sup> the *T'u-chüeh* dominions split into an Eastern and a Western part. The administrative centres of the former lay on the Orkhon in Mongolia, and those of the latter in the present-day Semirechye.<sup>4</sup> Both kingdoms at different times had to recognize Chinese sovereignty. In A.D. 742 a coalition of the Uyghur, Qarluq (Khallukh), and Basmil destroyed the Eastern *T'u-chüeh* kingdom and in 745 the Uyghurs, former associates of the *T'u-chüeh*, took the leadership on the Orkhon. Cf. Bichurin, *Sobr. sled.*, i, 338.

The rule of the Western qaghans (*khāqān*) of the original *T'u-chüeh* dynasty lasted till A.D. 657, when the Chinese subjugated them. From A.D. 685 to 688 the territories of the Western *T'u-chüeh* were constantly invaded by the tribes of the Eastern qaghans. The Indian summer of the Western *T'u-chüeh* is connected with the rise of the *Türkish* clan (*v.i.*, § 17) whose leaders with some interruptions ruled from the end of the seventh century till A.D. 739. At this latter date begins the decline: the Arabs press the *Türkish* from the west; the Chinese interfere with their affairs from the south; in A.D. 751 the Chinese are defeated by the Arabs near Talas; the "Black" and "Yellow" clans of the *Türkish* exhaust themselves in internal struggles until finally towards A.D. 776 the Qarluq (§ 15) as a *tertius gaudens* come to occupy the Chu and Talas valleys, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 4, 43, 79, 85, and *passim*. Such was the end of the two original *T'u-chüeh* kingdoms.

The Uyghurs remained on the Orkhon till A.D. 840, when in their turn they were defeated and decimated by the *Qirghiz* (§ 14). The remnants scattered in various directions; the chief group seems to have gone to Kan-su where the Uyghurs founded a new kingdom which survived till the times of the Tangut supremacy, *i.e.* circa A.D. 1020.<sup>5</sup> Towards A.D. 860 a second

<sup>1</sup> Soon after A.D. 572 Turkish troops cooperated with the Utigurs during the siege of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (= Kerch, at the entrance of the Azov Sea). In Hsüan-tsang's time the dominions of the western qaghan reached the Indus, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 241, 256.

<sup>2</sup> To the English transcription *T'u-chüeh* corresponds the French transcription *Tou-kiue*. The Chinese presumably had in view not the singular *Türk*

but its Mongol plural *Türkhüt* (Pelliot).

<sup>3</sup> Officially since A.D. 582, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 219.

<sup>4</sup> Hsüan-tsang in A.D. 630 found the khan of the Western Turks at his encampment on the Chu river.

<sup>5</sup> *V.s.*, notes to § 9. According to the *T'ang-shu*, transl. by I. Bichurin, i, 419, after the catastrophe of 840 the minister of the former Uyghur khan called Si-ch'i P'ang-r'ê-lê led 15 aymaqs from

kingdom was founded by the Uyghurs in the eastern T'ien-shan<sup>1</sup> which preserved its independence till Mongol times.

The above-mentioned term *Toghuzghuz* found in Muslim authors applies more usually to the later Uyghur kingdom situated in eastern T'ien-shan, cf. Qudāma, 262, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 288, Iṣṭ., 10, Gardīzī, 90-2., as well as our author. Kāshgharī, who personally knew the region, quietly substitutes *Uyghur* for the antiquated *Toghuzghuz* and the latter term occurs no more in the literature of Mongol times. How, then, did it happen that the T'ien-shan Uyghurs were surnamed *Toquz-Oghuz* ("Nine Oghuz")?

In the authentic Orkhon inscriptions of the Eastern T'u-chüeh qaghans the term *Toquz-Oghuz* is well known and seems to be almost a synonym of *Türk*, with the difference that the latter refers more to the political and the former to the tribal side of the organization, cf. Barthold, *Türk* in *EI*, for not always and not all the Oghuz recognized the qaghan's authority.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, the Uyghurs are separately mentioned in the same inscriptions. The account of Bilgä-qaghan's campaign in the Selenga region (ii, E 37 in which a few words are unfortunately missing) is immediately followed by the record of the flight of the Uyghur *eltäbir* with 100 men, cf. Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 157. These two passages seem to suggest that the Uyghurs lived separately on the Selenga. For the time of Uyghur supremacy on the Orkhon we possess the inscription of Shine-usu commemorating the deeds of the Uyghur qaghan Moyun [Pelliot: *Bayan*?]-chur who reigned A.D. 756-9. On it the *On-Uyghur* ("Ten Uyghurs") and

Mongolia to the Qarluq country, whereas the rest of the Uyghurs retreated to Tibet and An-hsi. At a later date, *ibid.*, 424, P'ang-t'ê-lê is found in Kan-chou; having proclaimed himself khan (*qaghan*?) he was ruling over the towns "situated to the west of the Sand Desert". The emperor Hsüan Tsung (847-59) confirmed P'ang-t'ê-lê's title. (This passage is not included in Chavannes, *Documents*.) On these Uyghurs *v.s.* note to § 9. Their descendants are the Sari-Yoghur living in north-western Kan-su (near Su-chou). This small colony is now supposed to have played a considerable role in the cultural life of the Mongols. See Potanin, *Tangut.-tibet. okraina Kitaya*, SPb., 1893, i, 440, ii, 410, 435, Mannerheim, *A visit to the Sarö and Shera Yögurs in Jour. Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, xxvii, 1911, pp. 1-27 [reviewed by S. E. Malov in *Zhivaya Starina*, 1912, pp. 214-20]; S. E. Malov, *Ostatki shamanstva u zholikh Uyghurov*, 1912, pp. 61-74; W. Kotwicz, *Quelques documents sur les relations entre les Mongols et les Ougours* in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*,

ii, 1925, pp. 240-7, and L. Ligeti, *Les Pérégrinations de Csoma de Kőrös*, in *Revue des études hongroises*, July 1934, pp. 233-53. [On the disruption of the Uyghur empire see now O. Franke, *Gesch. d. Chines. Reiches* ii, 1936, p. 491-4.]

<sup>1</sup> The *T'ang-shu*, *ibid.*, i, 424 sq., says that in the reign of I Tsung (860-73) the chief of the Uyghurs called Pu-ku-ts'un attacked the Tibetans from Pei-t'ing and took from them Si-chou (Yarkhoto) and Lun-t'ai = Urumchi. He also was confirmed by the emperor (though the latter seems to have lost the throne at that very moment). Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 390, gives A.D. 866 as the date of the Uyghur occupation of Kao-ch'ang.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thomsen, *Inscriptions*: i, N 4 and ii, E 30, translation, pp. 112 and 124 (= *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 154), where Bilgä-qaghan says that the Toquz-Oghuz people was his own people but became his enemy. A similar situation existed between the Seljuks and the Ghuz tribes at the time of Sanjar.

*Toquz-Oghuz* ("Nine Oghuz") are separately quoted side by side, see G. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften*, in *Jour. Soc. Finn.-Ougr.*, xxx/3, p. 12. [Theophylactus Simokatta, book vii, 7-9, definitely speaks of the conquest of 'Oγw̄p by the Turkish qaghan.]

As regards Chinese sources the earlier *Chiu T'ang-shu* says that at the time of the Later Wei (A.D. 386-circa 558) the Uyghurs (*Huei-ho*) were called *T'ieh-lê* (usually restored as *Tölös* or *Tölös*, v. *supra*, p. 196.)<sup>1</sup> The nine subdivisions of the Uyghurs are further enumerated and it is added that their number was increased [after 745?] by the Basmil and Qarluq, as respectively the tenth and eleventh divisions.

It must be admitted that the terminology of Chinese, Turkish, and Arabic sources presents still considerable difficulties. The former reading of the name *توگوز* as *Toghuzghur* was in favour of its further interpretation as *Toquz-Oghur*, but the solidly established reading *Toghuzghuz* (found in a Middle Persian text!) and the fact that the Uyghur khans called their federation "*On-Uyghur* [and] *Toquz-Oghuz*" makes it difficult to explain the Muslim use of the name *Toghuzghuz* by the supposition that that was the name rightly belonging to the Uyghurs.

The theory of the identity of the *Oghuz* with *Uyghur* was supported by Thomsen, *o.c.*, 147, who, however, in his later work, *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 128, says much more cautiously: "Wahrscheinlich ist Uyur eigentlich der Name für eine Dynastie, die sich nicht lange vor dieser Zeit zum Herrn über eine Anzahl von Stämmen gemacht hat, die ihre Sitze nördlich von den Türken haben, in der Gegend des Selengafusses. Die meisten dieser Stämme scheinen zu dieser Zeit zu einer anderen grossen Konföderation von Stämmen, die in den Inschriften *Oyuz* heissen, in einem nahen Verhältnis gestanden oder ihr angehört zu haben." The most decided partisan of the identity of *Toquz-Oghuz* and *Uyghur* was Marquart, see *Chronologie*, 23, *Streifzüge*, Index, and finally *Komanen*, 35-6 (and in a modified and very involved form *ibid.*, 199-201).

On the other hand Barthold, who repeatedly insisted on the necessity of discriminating between the original *Toghuz-Oghuz* and the *Uyghurs*, thought that the term *Toghuzghuz* was transferred to the T'ien-shan Uyghurs from the earlier occupants of this region, namely the so-called *Sha-t'o*, i.e. "Sand Desert people", see *Semirechye*, 15, *Toghuzghuz* in *El*, and *Vorlesungen*, 53-4. According to the *T'ang-shu* (Chavannes, *o.c.*, 96-9) this group, which had separated from Western T'u-chüeh, lived in the seventh century near the Barkul lake (at the eastern extremity of Eastern T'ien-shan) and after 712 near Pei-t'ing (Bish-baliq) from where it was

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes, *o.c.*, 87-94. The later *T'ang-shu* enumerates the 15 tribes of the *Ch'ê-lê* (> *T'ieh-lê*), among whom the first place is occupied by the Yüan-ho (Uyghurs). To judge by Chavannes's analysis these tribes occupied by far a more limited territory than what Hirth, *Nachworte z. Inschrift des Tonjukuk*,

p. 37, says of the "Tölös im weiteren Sinn (*sic*) . . . deren Stämme vom Schwarzen Meere ostwärts . . . bis zum Amurgebiet hie und da zerstreut lebten"! Cf. also Chavannes, *o.c.*, 221, and Barthold's critical remarks in *Zap.*, xv, 0172-3. [Is the reading *T'ieh-lê* correct?]

dislodged by the Tibetans in 808.<sup>1</sup> The principal argument in support of this theory is that Abū Zayd, the continuator of Sulaymān's work, pp. 62-6, speaking of the revolt of Huang Ch'ao (هاشوا)<sup>2</sup> and the expulsion of the emperor Hsi-Tsung (A.D. 881), says that the latter asked for the help of "the king of the Toghuzghuz who live in the land of the Turks. The Chinese and the Toghuzghuz are neighbours and their royal families are allied." So the king of the Toghuzghuz sent his son with an army who restored the emperor to his throne. According to Chinese sources, see Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1905, pp. 1759-61, the emperor was restored by Li K'o-yung and his 10,000 men of Sha-t'o and Ta-tan.<sup>3</sup> Although these parallel texts show that the term *Toghuzghuz* could refer to the Sha-t'o, the evidence in favour of the Sha-t'o having been alone responsible for the transmission and perpetuation of the name Toghuzghuz as applied to the inhabitants of Eastern T'ien-shan does not seem very decisive. It is curious that Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 305, speaking of the same events of A.D. 881 calls the emperor's ally "king of the Turks ابرخان", as he also calls, i, 288, the king of Kūshān (v.i. i.). In both cases the name is undoubtedly to be restored as افرخان\* *Uyghur-khan*, as both Birūnī, *Canon*, and Kāshgharī, i, 28, spell the name *Uyghur*. This fact would suffice to show that there was no great consistency in Arab terminology regarding such remote regions. Other passages quoted by Barthold in his *Vorlesungen*, 53 (Tabarī, iii, 1044; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 117; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 313<sup>35</sup>) seem to indicate that the name *Toghuzghuz* was often given to the Western T'u-chüeh and their successors in general. The case of the Sha-t'o would be only an instance of the application of this rule. More than this, the common origin of Western T'u-chüeh and their Eastern cousins could not escape the Arabs, whereas the events of A.D. 745 were most probably regarded as mere internal changes within the same group of tribes, similar to the rise of the Türgish within the Western Turkish federation. If even, as time wore on, the Arabs learnt to discriminate between the single tribes nearer to Transoxiana, the new group arriving from the Orkhon after the events of A.D. 840 could rightly be regarded as a wave having risen from the original home of the Toquz-Oghuz.

It remains to explain the two curious passages from Jāhīz (died *circa* A.D. 868) quoted by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 91-3. Jāhīz ascribes to the effeminating influence of Manichaeism the decline of "the Turkish Toghuzghuz after they had been the champions of them [*i.e.* of the Turks] and were the leaders of the Khallukh although [the latter] were twice as

<sup>1</sup> The town of Bish-baliq does not seem to have belonged to the Sha-t'o, v.i. under 2.

<sup>2</sup> According to Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao* xxi, 1922, p. 409, the Arabic form must be \**Bānshwā* (*Bansho*?) which gives an equivalence of the southern pronunciation of *Huang Cao*, "mot à ancienne gutturale initiale laquelle s'est complète-

ment amuie dans les dialectes modernes de la côte chinoise au sud du Fleuve Bleu". However to render \**Wang* as *Bān* the Arabs must have heard it as \**Vang* for *b* in Arabic may stand for *v* but not for *w*.

<sup>3</sup> Li K'o-yung had previously sought refuge with the Ta-tan.

numerous as they". Even if this passage hints at the catastrophe which befell the Manichæan Uyghurs in A.D. 840, the name *Toghuzghuz* as applied to them would only confirm our point of view on the indiscriminate use of the term by the Arabs who could not very accurately distinguish between the Orkhon tribes and who have not left any record of the role played by the Qirghiz in the events of 840. It is more likely, however, that Jāhīz (with some confusion in the details, cf. p. 290, n. 2) had in mind the subjugation of the Türgish (Western T'u-chüeh) by the Qarluq towards 766.

The earliest visit to the Toghuzghuz country recorded by the Muslims seems to have been the journey of Tamīm b. Baḥr called al-Muṭṭawwi'i (i.e. belonging to the class of the volunteer fighters on the marches of the Islamic empire). An abstract of his report has survived in Yāqūt, i, 840, and iv, 823. The following analysis will show to what extent it was utilized by the early geographers. [*D* stands for *ditto* and *A* for *abest*.]<sup>1</sup>

Tamīm (Yāqūt)	I.Kh., 31.	Qudāma, 263.	Abū Dulaf
6 months of great cold	A	A	A
journeying 20 days in the steppe and 20 days in the inhabited country	from the Upper Barskhān 3 months among large villages	from the Lower Barskhān 45 days: 20 in the steppe and 25 among large villages	"we travelled among them 20 days"
the inhabitants fire-worshippers and Manichæans	D	D	inhabitants have no places of worship
A	A	the town lies on a lake surrounded by mountains	A
the town has 12 iron gates	D	D	A
distance to China 300 farsakhs	D	A	A
to the right, the country of the Turks	A	A	A
to the left, the Kimāk	D	A	A
straight on, China	D	A	A
before arriving in the town saw a golden tent and 900 men on the top of the castle	D	A	D
the Turks possess a rain stone	tent containing 100 men	A	A
	A	A	A

<sup>1</sup> Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 55, places Tamīm's journey in the period between A.D. 760 and 800. [See Appendix B.]

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 81, was at first disposed to think that I.Kh.'s distance from the Upper Barskhān to the khāqān's town, *viz.* 3 months' journey, might refer to the Orkhon capital, but as I.Kh. undoubtedly depends on Tamīm's data the distance of "three months" has been probably calculated from the latter's indication that he was riding day and night at the rate of 3 *sikka* per day. Consequently I.Kh. must have converted Tamīm's 40 [Qudāma: 45] days into more quiet stages.<sup>1</sup> Yāqūt omits to mention the starting-point of Tamīm's journey, but it could certainly not be *Barskhān al-a' lā*, as I.Kh.'s text has it, but (as Qudāma, 262-3, clearly implies) the *Lower* Barskhān which lay in the neighbourhood of Ṭarāz (see note to § 15, 11.). In this case 40-5 days to Bish-baliq would be no great exaggeration. That the terminal point of Tamīm's journey was Bish-baliq is shown by his mention of the "golden tent" which very probably is the Buddhist stupa which had stood there since the times of the Western T'u-chüeh (the *Qaghan-stupa*, in Chinese *K'o-han-fo-t'u*, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 12 and 305). The Arabs call it *khaïma* "tent" but Fakhr ad-dīn Mubārakshāhī, ed. Sir E. D. Ross, p. 39, uses for it the curious Persian term *tanūra* "funnel" [not = the Arabic *tannūr*.] [See Appendix B.]

The traces of Tamīm's tradition are also found in Idrīsī, i, 491, who says that the capital of the Toghuzghuz تنبع, read \*بیشلیغ *Bish-baligh* (?), has twelve iron gates, the inhabitants are Zoroastrians and some are Magians and fire-worshippers. From a different source Idrīsī, i, 502, has the name of the "principal city of the Toghuzghuz" خرخراکت separated from the khāqān's town [perhaps Yar-khoto?] by a distance of one light day's march. From it to نهنوا lying on the bank of the lake کوارت there is a distance of 4 days. The name of the first town corresponds most probably to چیناییک (*v.i.* 1.).<sup>2</sup> The second name, mutilated as usual in Idrīsī, could be پنچیک *Panjikath* (*v.i.* 2.), *i.e.* the Iranian name of the same Bish-baliq. The detail about the lake would suit Bish-baliq,<sup>3</sup> and the distance of 4 days between the "khāqān's town" and Panjikath would be approximately right in view of Idrīsī's tendency to reckon in heavy stages. According to the Chinese itinerary, Chavannes, *o.c.*, p. 11, there were 370 *li* (= 213 Km.) between Chiao-ho (Yar-khoto) and Pei-t'ing (Bish-baliq) which roughly corresponds to 4 days' journey.

There are no indications of a direct dependence of our § 12 on Tamīm's report.<sup>4</sup> More probably, in common with Gardīzī, the author derives his

<sup>1</sup> It is true that  $40 \times 3 = 120$ , *i.e.* 4 months, but I.Kh. with his experience as a postmaster probably made some allowance for Tamīm's exaggeration of his powers of endurance.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 81, 390.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Qudāma, 262: "to the capital of the Toghuzghuz [namely: Bish-baliq?] belongs a lake round which, close to each other, lie villages and cultivated lands." Cf. the report of the Chinese envoy

Wang Yen-tê, transl. by S. Julien, *Jour. As.*, 1847, ix, 62.

<sup>4</sup> [Very puzzling, however, is Tamīm's indication (Yāqūt, i, 840) concerning the religion of the Toghuzghuz ("most of them are fire-worshippers of the Magian religion, and among them are found *zindiqs* of Mānī's creed"). What does Tamīm take for the majority's religion? Does he confuse Buddhists with Zoroastrians and use the term 'abadat al-

principal information from Jayhānī, who certainly had numerous opportunities for completing the data on the Turks from direct sources. The Sāmānids at whose court he lived must have keenly watched the rivalry of the Uyghurs and the Khallukh in the hope that the former might check the rising power of the latter, who as direct neighbours of Transoxiana were more dangerous. Our text contains some traces of this particular interest (§ 12, 10. and § 15, 11.).

The bearings of the Toghuzghuz frontier are displaced as usual: the bulk of the Khallukh lived north-west of the Toghuzghuz (and not south of them). In § 13 the Yaghmā are said to have the Toghuzghuz on the east, but, to say nothing of Kuchā reckoned to China, the Khallukh (§ 15) also intervened between the Yaghmā and the Toghuzghuz. On some Khirkhīz found to the west of the Toghuzghuz see notes to §§ 14 and 15, 13. The Toghuzghuz (probably in a wider sense) are also said to have been numerous along the road from Kāshghar to Khotan (§ 11, 10.). The real frontier of the Toghuzghuz towards the north-east seems to have lain near the Tarbaghatai (*v.i.* 8.), but under § 3, 1. the Eastern ocean is said to adjoin the extreme eastern limits of the Toghuzghuz and Khirkhīz. This statement, due to some earlier source and not tallying with § 12, may contain a vague reference to the times of the Orkhon empires.<sup>1</sup> Very curious is also the tradition according to which the Toghuzghuz were once<sup>2</sup> the kings of the whole "Turkistān", the latter term being of course used in the sense of "territories occupied by Turkish tribes" and not in the later acception of Transoxiana, or even Semirechye. The same ancient recollections may account for the item of the Toghuzghuz-Tātār (*i.e.* Mongol) affinities. In the table of contents (*v.s.*, p. 47) the heading of our § 12 is even formulated as "The country of the Toghuzghuz and Tātār".<sup>3</sup> Finally the item on some prosperous "Turks" belonging to the Toghuzghuz may refer to the remnants of the Western T'u-chüeh and their Türgish continuators (see notes to § 12, 10.). Some remains of the Sha-t'o (*v.s.*, p. 266) at the eastern extremity of the T'ien-shan could also be called Turk.<sup>4</sup>

*nīrān* in the loose sense of "heathens"? A Manichaean minority could certainly exist in Bish-Ballīq even in the times of Western T'u-chüeh. Had Tamīm known the real Uyghurs (who according to Marquart occupied this region towards A.D. 866) his presentation of the religious situation would have been quite different. Should we then (contrary to Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 390) assign an earlier date to Tamīm's journey, this assumption would be in favour of a further hypothesis that this traveller may be the source of information on the situation in Kan-su as described in our § 9 (*v.s.*, p. 227). Cf. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 26 and p. 268, note 1.]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 81, on a similar statement in Idrisi, i, 491.

<sup>2</sup> Even in Mongol times the Uyghurs kept up their national traditions, Juvayni, i, 39-45.

<sup>3</sup> Gardīzī mentions the Tātār (*sic*) only as one of the Kimāk tribes (§ 18). But the item referring to a definite clan has nothing to do with our author's statement about the relationship of the Tātār and Toghuzghuz.

<sup>4</sup> Tamīm, *v.s.*, p. 268, mentions the Turks to the "right" (*i.e.* to the south) of the Toghuzghuz. If the term *Turks* does not stand here for the Tibetans (considered as Turks) it may refer to the Sha-t'o.



Our author starts (1. and 2.) with the two residences: the winter one south of the T'ien-shan, and the summer one north of the range with its dependencies (to which 9. may also belong?). 3.-5. (and perhaps 6.) lie along the road from Turfan to Kuchā. 7.-8. and 10.-17. are the northern possessions of the Toghuzghuz in the region stretching across the T'ien-shan down into the Ili basin and perhaps farther east. See *Maps iii* and *v*.

1. *Chīnānjath*, "the Chinese town",<sup>1</sup> is the well-known place lying *circa* 45 Km. east of Turfan and called in Chinese: *Kao-ch'ang* (later: *Huochou*) and in Turkish: *Qocho*. In fact Qocho was first a military colony of the Chinese (settled "at the wall of Kao-ch'ang"), cf. Pelliot, *Kao-Tch'ang*, *Éc.*, in *four. As.*, May 1912, p. 590. Bīrūnī, *Canon*, f. 103a, quotes "Chīnānjath which is قوچو Qocho, the residence of the Uyghur-khān". Kāshgharī, *iii*, 165, calls the town قوچو Qocho (on his *Kūshān* see note to § 9, 5.; on his *Kusan* see note to § 9, 10.). Juvaynī, *i*, 32, spells (with a popular etymology) *Qara-Khwāja* and the *Masālik al-abšār*, transl. by Quatremère, *Notices et extraits*, *xiii*, 224: *Qarā-Khwājā*. The ruins of Qocho, now known as *Idīqt-shahri*,<sup>2</sup> were first described by the Russian expedition of 1898, see D. Klemenzen in *Nachrichten über die von der Kaiserl. Akademie d. Wissensch. im Jahre 1898 ausgerüstete Expedition nach Turfan*, *i*, SPb., 1899. On the remarkable discoveries of the German expeditions see especially A. von Lecocq, *Chotscho*, Berlin, 1913. The latest description is found in Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 566-609.

2. The mountain Ṭafqān, separating Chīnānjath from Panjikath, cf. § 5, 6., is certainly Eastern T'ien-shan (Boghdo, highest peak 12,080 f.). The name, otherwise unknown,<sup>3</sup> looks like a mis-spelling of Ṭurfān (the name of the town *Tturpamni-kaṃtha* occurs in the Saka document, written probably in the latter part of the eighth century).<sup>4</sup> See Barthold, *Ṭurfān*, in *EI*.

The "Five Villages" lying behind the mountain did not form one close group. The village called Panjikath was only one of them. The Turkish equivalent of this Iranian (Soghdian?)<sup>5</sup> name is Bish-baliq, both meaning

<sup>1</sup> The name Chīnānjath "the Chinese town" was also borne by a town of Shāsh, *Išt.*, 323. The name is distinctly Soghdian, the element *-ānj* being a feminine suffix to suit the word *-kath*, cf. also *Gurgānj* in Khwārazm and perhaps *Kabūdhanj-kath* "the Blue (?) Village" in Soghd, *Išt.*, 322. Cf. Benveniste, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, *ii*, 1929, pp. 87-8, and *four. As.*, Oct. 1930, p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> *Idīqt* was the official title of the Uyghur rulers probably inherited by them from their Basmil predecessors.

<sup>3</sup> Gardīzi's تفسخان is certainly an entirely different name, see note to § 15, 15.

<sup>4</sup> F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, *Two Medieval Documents from Tunhuang*, Oslo, 1929, pp. 130 and 131, line 23.

<sup>5</sup> I owe to H. W. Bailey the reference that in Middle Persian the form *pnšknđyy kwō'y*, "the lord of Panjkānd", is found together with *čyn'nčknđyy kwō'y*, cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch*, in *Abh. PAW*, 1913, pp. 45 and 55. In our case *P.njyk.th* (with *y*) is written clearly. In the Saka document quoted above, *o.c.*, p. 131, lines 20-1, stands *misti kaṃtha Panji-kaṃtha* "the great town of P.". On another place called Panjikath see note to § 15, 7.

"Pentapolis", probably in the sense of "administrative centre of the Five Towns". The Chinese called it Pei-t'ing "Northern Court". Bish-baliq is mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions (ii, E 28) in connexion with Kül-tegin's expedition of A.D. 713, Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 153. The region first belonged to the tribe Basmil (Chinese *Pa-si-mi*) who helped the Uyghur to overthrow the Eastern T'u-chüeh in 742. But immediately after, the Uyghurs and Khallukhs defeated the Basmil and since 744 the latter had been incorporated in the Uyghur federation, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 94. So towards the middle of the eighth century the Uyghurs already had Bish-baliq under their sway. In 791 the Qarluq (§ 15) occupied "the valley of the stupa which belonged to the Uyghurs", Chavannes, *o.c.*, 305. The town is the one visited by Tamīm b. Baḥr (*v.s.*). In the year of the composition of the *H.-Ā.* the Uyghur prince Arslan was entertaining at Pei-t'ing the Chinese envoy Wang Yen-tê, see S. Julien in *Jour. As.*, 1847, ix, pp. 50-66; Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 11; Barthold, *Bishbaliq* in *EI*, Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 1928, p. 582 sq. On the mention of Bish-baliq in Idrīsī, *v.s.*, p. 269. The ruins of Bish-Baliq lie some 47 Km. west of Guchen near Jimisar. They were first visited in 1908 by B. Dolbezhev and described by him in *Izvestiya Russ. Komiteta dl'a izucheniya Sredney i Vostochnoy Azii*, No. 9, April 1909, and *Zap.*, xxiii, 1915, pp. 77-121. An archaeological description of the ruins is found in Sir A. Stein, *o.c.*, pp. 554-9.

The other names quoted behind the mountain do not correspond to those given in Kāshgharī's list, i, 103, of the "five towns" composing the Uyghur possessions, namely, Sulmī (founded by Alexander the Great!),<sup>1</sup> Qocho (= our 1. Chīnānjath), Jambaliq, Bish-baliq (= 2. Panjikath), Yangi-baliq. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii, 27-33, quoting the *Yüan-shi* mentions under Pei-t'ing the following five places: Qara-khocho (= Chīnānjath); \*Taksin (*T'a-ku-sin*) shown on the old Chinese maps between Qumūl and Bish-baliq;<sup>2</sup> Jambaliq shown west of Bish-baliq and east of Manas; Khutukbai (*Ku-t'a-ba*) west of Jambaliq; and Yāngi-baliq (the Yāngi-balghasun station between Khutukbai and Manas).<sup>3</sup> If our author, as is his habit, enumerates the five places east to west, Kūzar.k and J.m.lkath must be placed east of Panjikath (Bish-baliq), and Bārlughand Jāmgh.r west of it.<sup>4</sup> This surmise is corroborated by the fact that the

<sup>1</sup> Birūnī, *Canon*, mentions *S.lm.n* situated long. 113°0', lat. 43°0', i.e. north-east of Chīnānjath lying long. 111°20', lat. 42°0'. On some other mentions of this town (called *Üč-Solmī* in an Uyghur colophon) see Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1931, xxviii, 494.

<sup>2</sup> This does not correspond to the present Toksun lying at some 50 km. to the south-west of Turfan. Birūnī, *Canon*, places a Taksin far down in the south-east at long. 120°15', lat. 32°5'.

<sup>3</sup> Many towns of this region are men-

tioned in the Saka document quoted above, *o.c.*, p. 130: apart from \*Turfan and \*Panjikath, *Yırrūmciñni kaṇtha* is probably Urumchi and *Çammaidi Ba-daiki nāñma kaṇtha* [read: \*Jamīl-baliq?] may stand for our J.m.l-kath = Jam-baliq, or (less probably) for our 10. J.mli-kath.

<sup>4</sup> كوزارك has some outward resemblance to the lake of كوارت which according to Idrīsī lay probably near Bish-baliq (cf. p. 269, note 3) though on Idrīsī's map this lake seems to correspond to the Lob-nor.

same Jāmgh.r is for a second time quoted in § 15, 12. at the eastern limit of the Khallukh territory as a place which "in the days of old" belonged to the Khallukh.<sup>1</sup> The name is perhaps to be pronounced \**Chāmghar* in view of the similar name belonging to a place on the road from Farghāna to Khujanda spelt in I.Kh., 30, صامغار, and in Maq., 341, صامغر (with Arabic *ṣ* for *ḥ*). On the name of *Ĵ.m.lkat* (cf. the present-day Jimisar?), *v.i.*, note to 10.

3.-5. belong to the itinerary given in Gardīzī, 91: Barskhān<sup>2</sup>-B.nchūl (?) -Kujā-ازل-Sikat-M.k.shmīghnāthūr-Chīnānjkat. Our author quotes them in inverted order (reckoning Kuchā to China, and B.nchūl and Barskhān to Khallukh). The same itinerary is mentioned by Raverty in his translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, p. 961: Barskhān-سکیت - بھول - کشمیانور - جکت (read: چینانجکت?). Raverty, with his exasperating vagueness about references, pretends to quote from I.Kh., but all the details of the passage coincide with Gardīzī, of whose work Raverty must have had a defective copy.

3. The strange کسمیغیا corresponds to Gardīzī's کشمیانور and Raverty's کشمیانور in which the element نور is perhaps an additional name or term, for Gardīzī's text runs: "from Sikat to M.k.shmīghnāthūr, and from Thūr to Chīnānjkat". Raverty (on what authority?) places the two (or four?) last-mentioned towns at 1 day's distance from one another, in which case our place would have to be looked for near the present-day Turfan. The only parallel to our name is another very difficult name found in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, *Trudi V.O.*, vii, 100-1, xiii, 237: کوساوجارکشه with numerous variants. This place lay near the region of کوشان (or کسان) "on the frontiers" of China (or Khotan?) and Kāshghar. Whether \*Kūshān (K.sān) refers to Kao-ch'ang (*v.s.* 1.) or to Kuchā (§ 9, 10.)<sup>3</sup> the place described by Rashīd al-dīn geographically suits our K.msīghiyā. Pelliot, in *Jour. As.*, April 1920, p. 183, quotes a parallel Chinese name: *k'iu-sien-kiu-tch'ö-eul-ko-sseu-man* [in English transcription: *Ch'ü-hsien-ch'ü-ch'ê-êrh-ko-ssü-man*]. The first three syllables seem to run parallel to our *Kamsīghiyā* and Rashīd-al-dīn's *Kūsāqū* (?).

4. Gardīzī's *Sikand* < *Sī-kand* or *Shī-kand* is a better name for a group of 3 villages (cf. Soghidian *šy* "three"). It must be also remembered that the Chinese called *Si* the district of Yar-khoto, situated at 12 km. to the west of Turfan.

5. اړك lying near the Khūland-ghūn river (§ 6, 3.) corresponds to Gardīzī's اړل<sup>4</sup> and Raverty's اړل. Barthold, *Report*, 116, suggests the reading \**Aral* ("island") though he feels embarrassed by the position of a village

<sup>1</sup> In this case Bārlugh ("wealthy") cannot be compared with Barkul (< *Bars-kul* "Tiger lake") at the north-eastern extremity of the T'ien-shan. Hardly, either, can our Bārlugh have anything to do with the mountain of this name belonging to the Dzungarian Ala-tau range,

north-west of Manas across the plain.

<sup>2</sup> On the passes south of Barskhān see note to § 15, 15.

<sup>3</sup> The latter is the opinion of Tomaschek, *SBWA*, Bd. cxvi, p. 738, and Pelliot, *Jour. As.*, April 1920, p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> P. 91: اړل *ba-Az.l*.

of this name<sup>1</sup> to the west of Kuchā, whereas Gardīzī places \*Aral east of the latter town, *i.e.* in the direction of Qarashar and Qurla. The comparative importance of our place is confirmed by the story recorded in Gardīzī, 90<sub>12</sub>: speaking of the strife between a former khāqān of the Toghuzghuz and his brother Kūr [Kūr]-tegin he says that the capital (*haḍrat*) of the Khāqān “was” [at that time?] in Azal (\*Aral?). The nearest place of importance to the east of Kuchā is Būgūr (on the western bank of the Qizil river). Kāshgharī, i, 301, says: “Būgūr is a fort (*qal’a*) between Kuchā and Uyghur lying on a height (*‘alā shāhiq*) and it is a frontier-post (*thaghr*)”. From a palaeographic point of view a confusion of \*كورك and \*كورك is not impossible (cf. note to § 15, 15. on *Azār* < \**B.d.l.*).<sup>3</sup> Some complication in the way of this identification lies, however, in the fact that it is difficult to take Qizil-su for the important Khūland-ghūn (cf. § 6, 3. and § 13). [The latter probably corresponds to the Muzart river which flows west of the Kuchā-river and before reaching the Tarim turns off eastwards. Its course, parallel to Tarim, can be traced almost down to the Lobnor region. See Map of Kuchā studied by A. Herrmann in S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, 1922, viii, p. 431.]

6. كارعون is obscure. In Idrīsī’s confused text, i, 495, a mention is found of a middle-sized town دارحون to the east of طنا (var. كنا) and it is probable that the last-named place situated in “Outer China” is \*كچا *Kuchā*.

7. These five villages belonging to a *beg-tegin* and inhabited by Soghdians must be distinguished from the village of somewhat similar description mentioned under § 17, 3. Barthold in his article *K voprosu o yazīkakh soghdiyskom i tokharskom*, in *Iran*, i, 1906, pp. 29–41, while commenting on our § 12, 7. recalls the finds of exclusively Christian documents made in the villages of Bulaiq east of Turfan. However, Beg-tegin’s villages lay in the cold zone, which does not tally with the hot Lukchun depression.

8. Kūmas (*Kūmis*?)-art has some likeness to K.miz-[art?]<sup>4</sup> which Gardīzī, 86, mentions on the road from Toghuzghuz to Khirkhīz (see note to § 14). The route is very vague and only tentatively would one place K.miz-art (after which a mountainous tract succeeds to the plains) somewhere to the south of the Tarbaghatai, say near Chuguchak. On the other hand, Kāshgharī, i, 306, and iii, 177, speaks of a كى تالاس *Kūmi-Talas* (or *Talas-yūz*)<sup>5</sup> forming the frontier (*thaghr*) of the Uyghur; on his Map he shows it between the upper courses of the Ili and Irtish, south of a mountain (Tarbaghatai?). At 1,500 *li* due north of Yar-khoto the *T’ang-shu* mentions a “To-lo-se valley” which Chavannes, *o.c.*, 32, identifies with that of the Black Irtish. This may be another hint for the location of Kūmi-Talas, though the connexion of the latter with Kūmas-art<sup>6</sup> is still problematic.

<sup>1</sup> On Grum-Grzhimailo’s map this *Aral* lies *circa* 90 Km. west of Kuchā and 11 Km. east of Bai.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 273, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> [*Ark* may be the generic Persian word “citadel” = Kāshgharī’s *qal’a*.]

<sup>4</sup> Cambridge MS., fol. 182a: *K.mvāz*.

<sup>5</sup> To be distinguished from the *Ulugh-Talas* (*v.i.*, § 25, 93.).

<sup>6</sup> In script *Kūm.s* and *Kmy* can be easily confused. Kāshgharī’s orthography is different, for he expressed the vowels by *ḥarakāt* while the Persian authors use in Turkish names *matres lectionis*.

Both the name of Küm.s-art and the detail about its inhabitants being hunters point to a mountainous locality. The alternative tentative explanation would be to connect the name \*Kümās with that of the river Kūnges (upper course of the Tekes which latter is a left affluent of the Ili) and to place it near some pass leading over the T'ien-shan into its valley (Daghit, Narat, Adun-kur). The fluctuation of *n/m* is not unknown in Turkish (*qoñshu* > *qomshu*).

9. The obvious restoration of خومود would be \**Khumūdh* for قومول *Qumūl* which Gardizī, 92, places on the road from Chīnānjath to Sha-chou (see note to § 9, 3.). The fluctuation of *δ/l* would not make difficulties in Eastern Iranian; in the Soghdian letters published by Reichelt *Qumūl* is called *K.myδ*. Our author having split the itinerary into political areas could, of course, insert *Qumūl* in his enumeration out of definite order. If, however, in his usual way he followed some system one ought to consider the fact that *Kh.mūd* is mentioned among the places lying in the north-western corner of the Toghuzghuz possessions, immediately before J.mlikath, and its description would suit the upper valleys of the Qarashar drainage area (the two Yulduz valleys). [Eventually خومود could be improved into \*خيدور *Khaidu*, but this latter name of the Qarashar river seems to be of later Mongol origin!]

10. According to the description جمليک must be different from جمليک mentioned above under 2. but their names have a striking likeness and it is possible that both are composed of the same elements: *ʃml* or *ʃmly*<sup>1</sup> + *kat* or *kath*. As a parallel one would quote the name of the tribe جم Jumul to which Kāshgharī, i, 28, assigns the following place in his north-to-south enumeration (*al-qabā'il al-mutawassita bayn al-janīb wal-shimāl*): Chigil, Tukhsī, Yaghmā, Ighrāq, \*Charuq, Jumul (Brockelmann reads \**Chomul*?), Uyghur, Tangut, Khitay.<sup>2</sup> If really the Jumul were the Uyghurs' neighbours in the direction of the Ili their name could very well account for 2. and 10. An important detail in our text is that the chief of J.mlykath bore the title of \**yabghū*. That he was distinct from the Khallukh *yabghū* (§ 15) results from the facts that he is mentioned under § 12, evidently as a vassal of the Toghuzghuz, and that his village was exposed to the Khallukh raids. Perhaps a passage of the *T'ang-shu*, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 86, may give us a clue to the situation. Speaking of the disruption of the Western T'u-chüeh (*i.e.* Türgish) federation towards A.D. 766 (see notes to §§ 15 and 17) it says: "when this people was destroyed there was a certain T'ê-p'ang-lê who settled in the town of Yen-ch'i (= Qarashar) and took the title of *shê-hu* (= *yabghū*)".<sup>3</sup> One could then take our *yabghū* for a descendant of T'ê-p'ang-lê and his residence for Qarashar. It would be strange indeed if this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. our Panj-kath (§ 12, 2.) = Panj-kath in Gardizī, 90, note 8.

<sup>2</sup> On Kāshgharī's Map the Jumul (or a section of them?) appear much farther to the east on the Obi upstream from the Qāy, *v.i.*, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> In the T'ang times Qarashar was usually under the Western T'u-chüeh until A.D. 719 it was included in the number of the "Four Garrisons", occupied by Chinese troops, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 110-14.

important locality had been left out in our author's enumeration. Apart from its historical associations it certainly occupied an important position; cf. Chavannes, *o.c.*, 21 and 5: "une . . . route dont l'existence nous est révélée par les textes historiques est celle qui partait de Harachar [Qarashar], remontait le Khaidou-gol [*v.s.* 9.], suivant la vallée de Youldouz,<sup>1</sup> puis traversant la passe Narat pour arriver sur le Koungès et dans la vallée d'Ili. Mais le *T'ang-chou* ne nous en fournit pas la description." Precisely the existence of this road connecting the territories lying south of the T'ien-shan with the Ili valley could account for the variety of tribes which raided J.mlikath from the north. By his very origins this yabghū must have been opposed to the Khallukh encroachments, and this may explain the state of tension round the neighbouring Barskhān, at which our source hints under § 15, 11. On the *Yabghū*-pass see note to § 15, 5.

11.-17. called "stages" (*manzil*) must belong to the routes in the northern region of the Toghuzghuz possessions, partly in the T'ien-shan and partly in the Ili basin. The order of enumeration is obscure. See **Maps i** and **v**.

11. تنراغ probably ترابغ *topragh* "earth" to suit the explanation that the mountain was "earthen". Situation uncertain except that the "stage" lay by a pass.

12. Our ماينج situated by a large river very likely corresponds to Kāshgharī's (iii, 277) يافنج *Yafinj*, "a town situated near the Ili". Juvaynī, *GMS*, ii, 88, records the limits of the Qara-Khitay empire as stretching from Ṭarāz to ماسح (or ماسح), which must represent the same name. On Kāshgharī's Map the name *Yafinj* is inscribed south of the Ili. However, at another place (i, 58) he says that the town of Iki-Ögüz (*v.i.* 16.) is situated between the rivers Ili and *Yafinj* and the name of this Iki-Ögüz is inscribed north of the Ili. It is not clear whether *Yafinj* is an independent river or an affluent of the Ili but for the reasons quoted below one might take *Yafinj* for the Qara-tal flowing to the Balkhash lake north of the Ili. [On Idrisi's Map, *Bib. Nat. Paris*, MS. arabe 2221, f. 178v., a ماسح is shown on the right bank of the river سرماسح (*Sh.rmākh*?) flowing to the lake *B.rwān*.]

14. A name parallel to our سدنك كول is سدنك كول *Sidink-kul*, as according to Kāshgharī, iii, 99 and 273, a lake was called near Qochingar-bashī (> *Qochgar-bashī*) but the latter place, see Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 81, lay on the upper Chu and consequently could not belong to the Toghuzghuz territory as described in our source. [*Sidink* < *sid*- "to urinate" may refer to the climate of our 14., *v.s.*, p. 95.]

16. In view of 12. the name ايركوزكوك most probably represents (with adjunction of *-kat* "town") Kāshgharī's frontier place (*baldatum bil-thaghr*) ايكى اوكوز *Iki-ögüz*, *i.e.* "(situated between) the two rivers", namely the Ili and *Yafinj*. Near Iki-ögüz lay the township of Qamlanchu, *ibid.*, 184.

<sup>1</sup> Kāshgharī, iii, 99, mentions a lake Yulduz-kül, situated on the frontier (*thaghr*) between Kuchā, *Kyk.t.*, and

Uyghur. The name *Kyk.t.* is suspect and may be identical with *Kingūt* mentioned on the Uyghur frontier, iii, 268.

As mentioned above, Iki-ögüz appears on the Map to the east (north) of the Ili, and to the west (south) of Kümi-Talas (*v.s.* 8.). Rubruquis (A.D. 1253-5) quotes the name in the amusing Latin disguise of *Equius* (<*iki* [or *eki*]-*ögüs*), see *Recueil de voyages*, iv, 1839, p. 281. After having crossed the Ili, probably near the present-day crossing at Iliysk, Rubruquis entered a valley where a ruined castle could be seen. "Et post hoc invenimus quandam bonam villam qui dicitur Equius, in qua erant Saraceni loquentes persicum. Longissime tamen erant a Perside. Sequenti (*sic*) die, transgressis illis alpibus que (*sic*) dependebant a magnis montibus qui erant ad meridiem ingressi sumus pulcherrimam planitiem habentem montes altos a dextris, et quoddam mare a sinistris sive quemdam lacum qui durat XXV dietas in circuitui (*sic*). Et illa planicies tota irrigatur ad libitum aquis descendantibus de montibus que (*sic*) omnes recipiuntur in illud mare. In estate redivimus ad latus aquilonare illius maris ubi similiter erant magni montes. . . . Invenimus ibi unam magnam villam nomine Cailac (Coilac) in qua erat forum et frequentabant eam multi mercatores." F. M. Schmidt, *Über Rubruks Reise in Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1885, xx, 203, places Cailac (\**Qayaliq*) between Kopal and the Balkhash lake, and Equius to the south-east of it near the mountains (Dzungarian Ala-tau). Barthold, *Report*, 70, locates Equius near Chingildi which is the first stage after the crossing of the Ili (at Iliysk). Perhaps it would be better to take Iki-Ögüz (Equius?) one stage farther east to Altun-Emel which is an important junction of the roads from the south-west (Almata = Verniy), east (Jarkant), and north (Kopal). Altun-Emel lies at the southernmost source of the Qara-tal and (if this river is Yafinjl) can without much exaggeration be said to correspond to Kāshgharī's description of Iki-Ögüz. Another possibility would be to derive the name of the town from the two sources of the Qara-tal between which it lay. This, however, would be contrary to Kāshgharī's text.<sup>1</sup> See Map v.

17. Ighrāj-art occurs several times in our text as the name of the Central T'ien-shan, see note to § 5, 7. At this place evidently only some important pass is meant. The detail about its "never being free from snow" may refer to the Muz-art ("Ice-pass") skirting the Khan-Tengri peak. In Kāshgharī only the name *Ighrāq*, *v.s.* 10., approaches our Ighrāj. Cf. also the mysterious عراق where according to Gardīzī, 84<sub>9</sub>, the Kimāk used to take their horses in winter. But then the \*Ighrāq (instead of 'Irāq) comprised some warm valleys!

### § 13. The Yaghmā

Gardīzī, 84, recording some older traditions<sup>2</sup> says that a party of Toghuzghuz having separated from their tribe joined the Khallukh who by that time had succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Hayṭāl of

<sup>1</sup> I now see that the explanation of this passage, *Komanen*, 13-15, thinks that their source is Ibn al-Muqaffa' whom Gardīzī quotes among his authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Marquart who has commented on

Ṭukharistān.<sup>1</sup> The Turk-khāqān [of the Türgish] felt some uneasiness at this combination and directed the above-mentioned Toghuzghuz to settle between the Khallukh and the Kimāk, where they were reinforced by some other people from among those who lived "to the left of China".<sup>2</sup> As the Khallukh and the *shad-tutuq* of the Kimāk oppressed the new federation the latter moved to the neighbourhood of the khāqān. The name of the chief of the Toghuzghuz in question was Yaghmā and now the khāqān called him *tutuq* in order to spite the Kimāk chief (who had a similar title).

In the *H.-Ā.* we find the Yaghmā (*Yaghmiyā*) living astride of the Ighraj-art (Central and Western T'ien-shan) and occupying both the region south of the Khatlām river, *i.e.* Narin (§ 6, 21.) and the north-western corner of the present-day Chinese Turkestan.<sup>3</sup> We do not know how the Yaghmā came to occupy this region.<sup>4</sup> § 13, 1. suggests a previous struggle between the Chinese, the Khallukh, and the Yaghmā. From the fact that Kāshgharī, i, 85, mentions on the river Ilā (Ili) the tribes of Yaghmā and Tukhsī and a clan of the Chigil, we may infer that the Yaghmā known to Gardīzi's source had split into two. The presence of some Yaghmā near the Ili basin may be inferred from § 12, 10., but the important group of the tribe must have centred round, and north of, Kāshghar. The *Mujmal al-tawārikh*, Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 20, definitely says that "the king of the Yaghmā is called *Boghrā-khān*". The title undoubtedly points to the first Turkish Muslim dynasty<sup>5</sup> which in A.D. 999 put an end to the Samanid rule in Transoxiana and which has been differently designated under the names of *Āl-i Afrāsiyāb*, "khans of Turkestan", Ilāk-khans, Qara-khanids (see Barthold, *Ilek-khans* in *EI*). Our source insists on the esteem enjoyed by

<sup>1</sup> Possibly referring to the infiltration of the Khallukh into Upper Ṭukharistān (see note to § 23, 69.). Under A.H. 119 Ṭabari, ii, 1412, line 9, mentions the *jabghūya al-Tukhārī* and *ibid.*, line 16, calls him *jabghūya al-Kharlukhī*.

<sup>2</sup> The region "between" the Khallukh and the Kimāk would lie somewhere near the Sari-su (cf. § 18). This would render possible a contact between the Toghuzghuz and the Altai tribes to which evidently the text refers, as may be inferred from the items on the situation "to the left of China" and the "Chinese sable-martens" coming from their country (*s.mujnī* restored by Marquart as *samūr-i chīnī*), cf. note to § 5, 8. [Eventually the legend may refer to the earlier seats of the Khallukh near the Tarbaghatai, *v.i.*, p. 286.]

<sup>3</sup> Very puzzling is the mention of the Khūland-ghūn (§ 6, 3. and § 12, 5.) as the southern frontier of the Yaghmā. Does Khūland-ghūn stand here for the

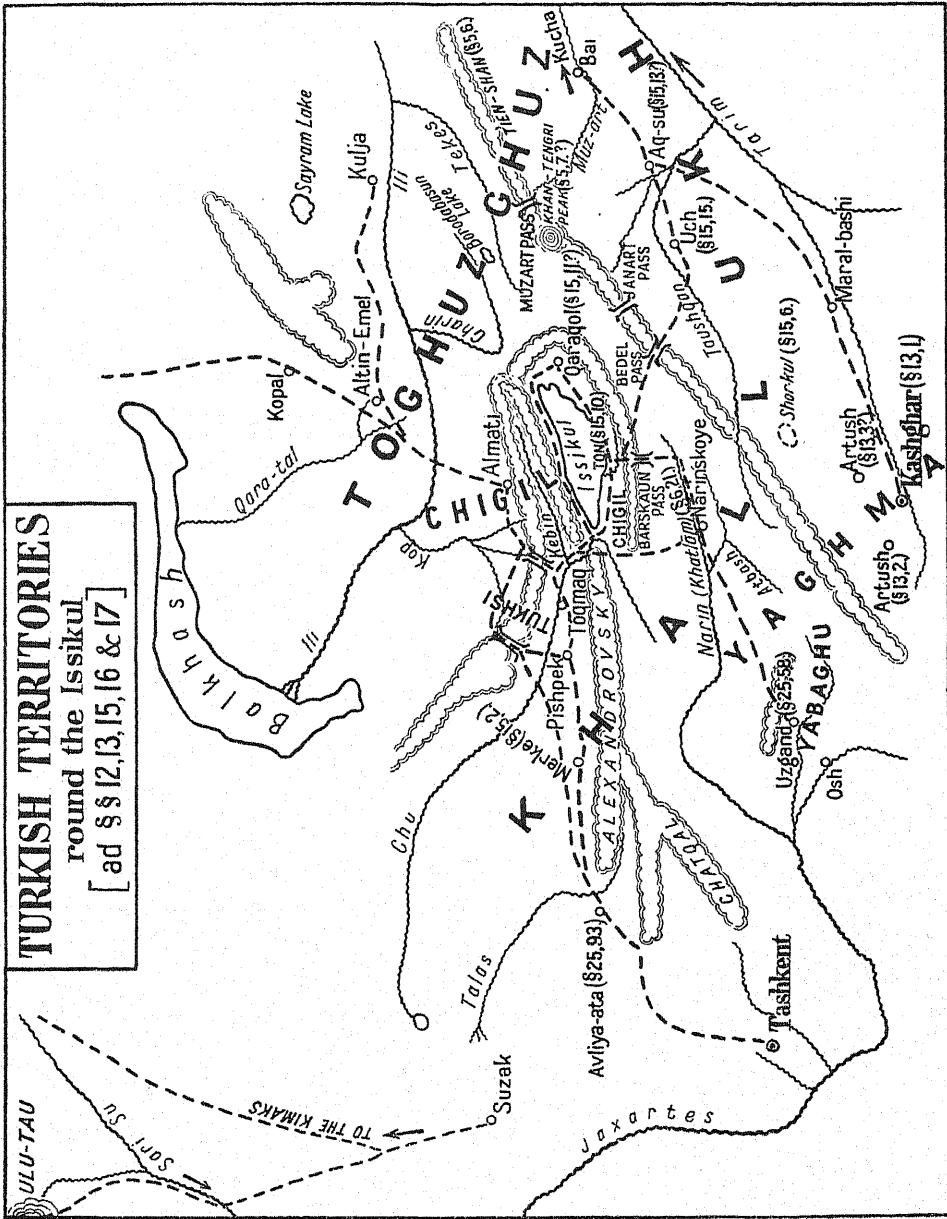
Aq-su and its western tributaries (Taushqan)? The name \**Taghushkhān* or \**Tawushkhan* is found in Gardīzi (see p. 296) but is omitted in our § 6, 3. Our author may have substituted for it the name belonging to the more easterly Muzart. In this case, the Yaghmā occupied in the westernmost T'ien-shan (see p. 96, line 11) the corner between the Narin and Taushqan, whereas the valley of the Taushqan and the salt lake south of it (§§ 3, 17. and 15, 6.) were held by the Khallukh (§ 15).

<sup>4</sup> Did the khāqān establish them there simultaneously with giving their ancestor the title of *tutuq*?

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the name of the founder of the dynasty: Satuq Boghra-khan. Marquart, *Guwainis Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uiguren*, in *Sitz. Berl. Akad.*, 1912, xxvii, 491, has shown that Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhallil (cf. note to § 9) while speaking of the shī'a tribe *بنو شيعه* refers to the dynasty of Boghrā-khān, *v.i.* i.



Map v



the Yaghmā kings among their subjects. The composition of the Qara-khanid army may be still a moot question, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 254,<sup>1</sup> but there is hardly any doubt that the ruling dynasty arose from the Yaghmā group (a branch of the Toghuzghuz).<sup>2</sup> In our source we find the Yaghmā at their beginnings before they spread north into the Chu and Jaxartes basins. According to Nizām al-mulk, *Siyāsat nama*, ed. Schefer, p. 189, some "infidel Turks" conquered Balāsāghūn (in the Chu valley) a short time before A.D. 943. If Barthold's surmise is right, *Semirechye*, 20, that this people "in all probability was identical with the one from which the Qara-khanid dynasty arose", the date would form the *terminus ante quem* of our author's original source. It is also noteworthy that Ūzgand which was destined to become an important centre of the Qara-khanids is still reckoned (§ 25, 58.) to Transoxiana. In the south the Qara-khanids waged war on the kings of Khotan (§ 9, 18.) and the mention of the Toghuzghuz (= Yaghmā?) on the road from Kāshghar to Khotan (§ 11, 20.) may be a portent of the final absorption of the latter place toward A.D. 1000.

1. On Kāshghar (in Chinese *Shu-lê*, *Sha-lê*, *Ch'ia-sha*, in Tibetan *Shulig*) see Chavannes, *Documents*, 121, Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 47-72, H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab invasion of Kāshghar in A.D. 715*, in *Bull.SOS*, ii, part iii, 467-74 [the author doubts the fact of the invasion], Barthold, *Ilek-khan and Kāshghar in EI*. At the time of the earlier Chinese dominion Kāshghar was one of the "Four Garrisons" (cf. § 9) though it possessed a dynasty of its own.<sup>3</sup> Towards A.D. 676-8 it was subjugated by the Tibetans. In 728 China again entered into relations with the "king" of Kāshghar. After a new struggle in which the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Turks, and the Arabs took part, Kāshghar, to judge by our source, was annexed by the Khallukh but became a bone of contention between the latter and the Yaghmā. Marquart, *Guvainis Bericht*, &c., p. 492, has shown that Mis'ar b. Muhallil mentions the Yaghmā kingdom twice over: once under the name *Bughrāj*, and a second time under that of *Khargāh*, "the tent" (?), corresponding to the Turkish *Ordu-kand*, "the Army cantonments". Bīrūnī in his *Canon* (6th climate) clearly says that "*Ordu-kand* is Kāshghar". *Khargāh* as the name of a country lying somewhere near India

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the mention of a multitude of clans composing the Yaghmā federation. As regards the B.lāq (Y.lāq?), Kāshgharī, i, 317, mentions a tribe Alkā (*sic*) Bulāq (الكا) but the fact that it was subjugated by the Qifchaq points to its much more northern situation. [Separately, *ibid.*, i, 57, is mentioned an Oghuz clan called *القا* \**Alqabölük*.] As a mere guess, could one take the B.lāq "mixed with the Toghuzghuz" for the group of the Yaghmā living on the Ili where they could be in touch with the Toghuzghuz?

<sup>2</sup> So Barthold, *Semirechye*, 21, but later, *Vorlesungen*, 77, he expressed himself in favour of the Kharlukh origin of the dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> Kāshgharī, i, 9 and 31, says that in the districts of Kāshghar a non-Turkish language was spoken, called *kānjākī*. In the town itself the *khāqānī* Turkish was used. [In later times a place called *K.nj.k* is often mentioned in the neighbourhood of Talas, cf. Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, ed. Hammer, i, 22. It may have been a colony of the same tribe.]

is mentioned in the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, p. 782, note 7, and p. 787, note 7. Rustam speaks to Kay-Khusrau of a land belonging to Zābulistan which Manūchihr had freed from the Tūrānians but which was again seized by the latter under Kay-Ka'ūs:

*Mar ān marz Khargāh khwānad ba-nām*  
*ʿJāhān-dīda dīhqān-i gustarda-nām.*  
*Za-yak nīma bar Sind dārad guzar*  
*Ba Qinnauj-u Kashmūr-u ān būm bar;*  
*Dīgar nīma rāhash su-yi marz-i Chīn*  
*Bī-payvast bā marz-i Tūrān-zamīn.*

Kay-Khusrau sends Rustam for the deliverance of

*Zamīnī-kī payvasta-yi marz-i tu-st:*  
*Za Khargāh tā būm-i Hindūsitān*  
*Za Kashmūr tā marz-i ʿJādūsitān.*

2. Instead of *Bartūj* one must read \**Artūj*. Kāshgharī, i, 87, mentions two villages of the name *Artūj* in the Kāshghar region.<sup>1</sup> Both (now called *Artish*) are still extant beyond the hills north of Kāshghar. The Upper Artish lies some 35 Km. to the north-west of Kāshghar and the Lower Artish some 45 Km. to the north-east of it. Near the two villages exist interesting Buddhist remains, cf. Petrovsky (former Russian Consul General in Kāshghar) in *Zap.*, vii, 295 and ix, 147. The founder of the Qara-khanid dynasty Satuq Boghra-khan lies buried in Artish, see Jamāl Qarashī, *Mulhaqāt al-Ṣurāḥ* in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i (texts), 132: *māta Satuq Bughrā khān al-ghāzī fī sanat 344 wa mashhaduhu bi-Artūj min qurā Kāshghar, wa [huwā] al-yaum ma'mūr wa mazūr*, cf. Grenard, *Jour. As.*, January 1900, p. 6. The legendary details on the decay of Artūj are likely to refer to the time before Satuq Boghra-khan's burial in 344/955 (?) because Islamic tradition would hardly have allowed the resting-place of a famous champion of Islam to become a ruin.

3. The easiest solution is perhaps to identify *Khīrmkī* inhabited by \*Artūjians with the second of the two villages mentioned. On the other hand, Idrīsī, tr. by Jaubert, i, 492, mentions a town and a fort of جرمق situated at four days from *Bākhwān* (see note to § 15, 14.), at 10 days from Barskhān and at 14 days from the "town of Tibet" (= Khotan?). As the duty of the governor of this place was to repel the attacks of the "Tibetan princes" one would think that J.rm.q lay to the south or to the west of Aq-su. As a mere guess one could identify the town with the important Maral-bashi (according to Kuropatkin, *circa* 232 Km. west of Aq-su) which in former days was called *Barchuq* (Kāshgharī, i, 318: برحق). In a similar way our خیرمکی could be another mutilation of the same name [?]. The fact that the village was inhabited by Artūjians (evidently considered as a special tribe) may be connected with what Kāshgharī, i, 9 and 31, says about the *kānjākī* (*v.s.*, p. 280, note 3).

<sup>1</sup> He says that *artūj* means "juniper-tree" ('ar'ar), i.e. probably the tree called in Turkestan *archa* "Juniperus polycarpus".

## § 14. The Khirkhiz

Marquart, *Komanen*, 65-8; Barthold, *Qirghiz* in *EI*, and *Kirgizi, istoricheskiy ocherk*, Frunze = Pishpek, 1927 (an important historical essay written by Barthold at the request of the Qirghiz Soviet Republic in which the data of the *H.-'Ā.* have also been utilized).

This very ancient people, first mentioned by the Chinese in 201 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> lived north of the Sayan mountains on the Upper Yenisei. To judge by the appearance of the Qirghiz (Qirγiz), as described by the Chinese and Muslim sources (blue eyes, red hair, white skin)<sup>2</sup> they did not originally belong to the Turkish race and were probably Turkicized "Yenisei Ostiaks". Towards A.D. 710 the Turkish (T'u-chüeh) rulers of Mongolia undertook a victorious campaign in the Qirghiz country, but the real conquest took place only in 758 after the power in Mongolia passed to the Uyghur Turks. In 840 the Qirghiz rose against their masters, expelled the Uyghurs from Mongolia and founded a new nomad empire which lasted till about 917, when the K'itan (Qitay) united under their aegis Northern China and Mongolia. The qaghan (khāqān) of the Qirghiz returned to the old residence on the Yenisei, and Muslim reports on the Qirghiz must have in view this stage of the Qirghiz history. [But see § 3, 1. and p. 94, l. 11.]

Gardīzī, 86, describes a road from the Toghuzghuz to the Khirkhiz which may be divided into four sections: (a) From Chinānjkhath to Kh.s.n, thence to Nūkhb.k, and thence to K.miz-[art]; the journey lasts 1-2 months in a grass-steppe and 5 days in a desert. (b) From K.miz-art to Mānb.klū,<sup>3</sup> 2 days among hills, after which begins the region of forests; then come steppes, springs, and hunting grounds until the high Mānb.klū mountain is reached, which is wooded and abounds in sable-martens, grey squirrels, musk-deer, and game. (c) From Mānb.klū to Kōkmān (Kōkmān), by a road along which grazing grounds, pleasant streams, and abundant game are found; in 4 days the traveller reaches the Kōkmān mountain which is high and very wooded; here the road grows narrow. (d) From Kōkmān to the Khirkhiz encampment (*hāyīṭa*): 7 days by a road on which one finds steppes, verdure (*sabzī*), water, and trees growing so close to one another as to prevent an enemy from passing. The road is like a garden until it reaches the said encampment where the army quarters (*lashkargāh*) of the Khirkhiz are situated.

The distances indicated are vague. As mentioned in the note to § 12, 8.,

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese transcription (*Ch'ien Han-shu*) of the name Qirghiz *Kien-k'un* is explained by Pelliot as imitating the (Mongol?) singular form: *Qirgun* corresponding to the plural *Qirgiz*, see *Your. As.*, April 1920, p. 137. L. Ligeti, *Die Herkunft des Volksnamens Kirgiz*, in *Körösi Csoma-Archivum*, i, 1925, pp. 1-15, takes *Qirg-iz* for an old Turkish plural of *qirg* "forty".

<sup>2</sup> Gardīzī, 85, reports a legend according to which the founder of the Khirkhiz tribe was a Slav(!): "the signs of Slav origin are still apparent in the Khirkhiz, namely their red hair and white skin".

<sup>3</sup> In the Camb. MS., fol. 182a, these four last names have respectively the forms: نجس or سحس and خنن (?); Nūkhik; K.mīrāz and K.miz; Mān.nkbū and Mātīklū.

K.miz-art may lie on the southern skirts of the Tarbaghatai range. Mānb.klū would *grosso modo* correspond to the Altai mountains. Kōkmān, known also in the Orkhon inscription, cf. Thomsen, *Les inscriptions*, p. 149, n. 24, is more likely the Tannu-ola (south of Uriankhai)<sup>1</sup> than the Sayan mountains (north of Uriankhai). The khāqān's residence must have lain on the upper Yenisei, in the Minusinsk region known for its excellent climate and picturesque nature. See Map i.

Gardīzī mentions three roads from the Khirkhiz territory: (a) following a north-to-south direction (just described in the opposite direction); (b) a western road leading to the Kimāk and Khallukh; (c) a road leading eastwards to the great tribe of Fūrī (*v.i.* 1.).

In our source the Khirkhiz territory is represented as extending down to the Northern Uninhabited Lands and the Eastern Ocean (§ 3, 1.). On the west a mountain separated them from the Kimāk (§ 5, 12. and § 18). As the Kimāk lived on the Irtish the mountain must be the Altai (= Mānb.klū, *v.s.*). In § 6, 41. it is said that the "Ras" river rises from the same mountain [or its continuation?]. The *Tūlas* (Tölās, Tölös) mountain where the Khirkhiz were also found (§ 5, 8.) may be another name for the Altai, borrowed from a different source and wrongly placed north-west of the Issik-kul (cf. §§ 16 and 17).<sup>2</sup> Some isolated groups of the tribe must have wandered even into the Tarim basin: they are mentioned in the neighbourhood of Kāshghar (§ 13, 1.) and more definitely in B.njūl (§ 15, 12.) which, to believe our author, formed a Khirkhiz enclave in the Khallukh territory.<sup>3</sup>

1. Gardīzī, 86, gives much more information on the Fūrī. The eastern road from the Khirkhiz, says he, has two variants of which the one runs in the desert and is 3 months long, and the other, more to the north, only 2 months long but more difficult, for the narrow path has to cross forests, marshes, and numerous streams. In the marshes<sup>4</sup> live wild people who do not mix with others and do not understand their languages. They are clad in skins and feed on game, their religion forbids them to touch other people's clothes. Their families accompany them in their campaigns. They destroy the booty and only keep the enemy's arms. If the Khirkhiz take them prisoners they go on hunger strike. They suspend their dead on trees in order that their bodies should decay, &c. The text could be literally taken as indicating that the said wild people were found on the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Samoylovich, in *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie de l'U.R.S.S.*, 1934, No. 8, p. 633.

<sup>2</sup> The name is evidently that of the well-known Turkish federation (Tölās, Tölis, Tölös, in Chinese *T'ieh-lē*, Thomsen, *Inscriptions*, 61, Chavannes, *Documents*, 87) to which the Uyghur originally belonged. At a later date, Eltarish qaghan (Bilga qaghan's father) organized the Tölās and Tardush tribes (Thomsen, *Inscriptions*, 103, ZDMG, 1924, 147)

which Thomsen, *ibid.*, p. 174, considers as "the two great tribes, or rather administrative sections of the Eastern Turks".

<sup>3</sup> This statement need not necessarily be connected with the epoch of the Qirghiz Empire, see Barthold, *Preface*, p. 28. The B.njūl group could be only a colony of the tribe.

<sup>4</sup> Gardīzī, 84<sup>22</sup>, read: *āb-gir* as two lines down!

way to the Fūrī, but then it would be strange that Gardīzī gives no separate description of the latter "great tribe". According to our author the Fūrī were exactly the wild men in question. The Fūrī must be located near the Baikal. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, in *Trudi VORAO*, vii, 168, mentions in the neighbourhood of this lake the tribes: Qūrī (قوری, cf. our افوری), Burghut, Tūmāt, Bāylūk "which are some of the Mongol tribes".<sup>1</sup> Barthold, *Kirgizi*, 23, identifies the Qūrī with the *Ku-li-kan* whom the *T'ang-shu* reckons to the Tölös federation of Turkish tribes (to which the Uyghurs also belonged, § 9, *v.s.*, pp. 196, 266, n. 1) placing them north of the Han-hai and south of the Baikal lake.<sup>2</sup> In the Orkhon inscriptions the name of Qurīqan twice follows on that of Qirqiz.<sup>3</sup> This identification is somewhat complicated by the existence in some Muslim sources of the tribal name قون. The chief authority for it seems to be Bīrūnī, see *Tafhīm*, ed. Wright, p. 145: "the Sixth Climate begins from the territory of the Eastern Turks, such as Qāy, Qūn, Khirkhīz, Kimāk (spelt *Kumak*), and Toghuzghuz, and (in it lie) the Turkoman country, Fārāb, the country of the Khazar, and the northern (part) of their sea".<sup>4</sup> The Syriac map described by A. Mingana (*v.s.*, p. 182) also mentions at the eastern extremity of the Sixth Climate: "Qarqir (\**Qirqiz*); Qāi and Qūn; the country of the Turks and Mongols". 'Aufī (who wrote after 620/1231) mentions a Turkish tribe مرق, also called قون, whom the scarcity of grazing grounds forced to leave the country of Khitā. Then they were attacked by another tribe Qāy and went to the land of Sārī.<sup>5</sup> Thereby further movements were occasioned: the people of Sārī

<sup>1</sup> Not "die zum Teil Mongolstämme sind", as Marquart translates in *Komannen*, 135.

<sup>2</sup> See *T'ang-shu*, transl. by I. Bichurin, i, 439, cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, 87-8. According to Barthold in the later *Yüan-shi* a people Ku-li is placed near the Angara river (flowing out of the Baikal). Cf. also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i, 24, where Yeh-lü Ch'u ts'ai's report is quoted (towards A.D. 1224) saying that the land *Ko-fu-ch'a* was called *Ku-li-han* under the T'ang. Bretschneider thinks that *Ko-fu-ch'a* refers to the *Dasht-i Qipchaq* (?) but the ideas of Chingiz-khan's minister about *Ko-fu-ch'a* (lying north of Yin-du = Hindustan!) have hardly been transmitted accurately. [Marquart, *Arktische Länder*, 281, places the *Qurīqan* to the east of the Baikal.]

<sup>3</sup> Thomsen, *Inscriptions*, 98: "Tabghach, Tüpüt, Apar, Apurim, Qirqiz, Üch-Qurīqan, Otuz-Tatar, Qitay, Tatabi"; *ibid.*, 102: "Qirqiz, *Qurīqan*, Otuz-Tatar, Qitay, Tatabi", cf. Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 147. On these

names see now Schaeder, *Iranica*, 1934, p. 39. [In the *Oghuz-nāma* the word *qurīqan*, or \**qorighan* seems to have the meaning of "tent", see Pelliot in *T'oung-Pao*, 1930, p. 290. One can hardly say whether this word is connected with the tribal name so long as we are not sure of the pronunciation of the first vowel *u/o*. For the abbreviated form \**Qurī* (<*Qurīqan*) the testimony of the *Yüan-shi* is interesting.]

<sup>4</sup> The same text, evidently borrowed from *Tafhīm*, stands in Yāqūt, i, 33. Cf. Wiedemann, *Geographisches von al-Bīrūnī*, in *Sitzungsb. d. Physikalisch-med. Societät zu Erlangen*, Band 44 (1912), p. 18. It is, however, noteworthy that the names *Qūn* and *Qāy* do not occur in the description of the "Climates" in Bīrūnī's *Canon*.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the Sārī-su basin is meant, in the region between the Irtilsh and Jaxartes, *v.i.*, § 18. I.Kh., 29, and Qudāma, 206, mention a village of Sārigh 4 farsakhs west of the town of the Türgish-khaqan, *i.e.* probably west of the Chū. As is known the Türgish

went to the Turkoman land and the Ghuz (*i.e.* Turkomans!) into that of the Pechenegs near the Armenian sea (*v.i.*, notes to § 19). After the *Marqa-Qūn* 'Aufī mentions the Khirkhiz who lived between the "aestival east" (*mashriq-i sayfi*) and the Kimāk (living north of the Khirkhiz). There is no doubt that قون and قوری refer to the same people, and Barthold in his edition of 'Aufī's text quotes the variants: قری قون (Br. Mus. Or. 2676) and قون. Marquart adopts the reading *Qūn* and boldly makes it the starting-point of a series of far-fetched hypotheses having in view to prove the identity of the *Qūn* with the later *Qoman* (in Hungarian *Kún*), see *Komanen*, 77<sup>30</sup>. Linguistically *Qūn* cannot account for *Qoman* which still awaits an explanation. Consequently the reading *Qūrī*, as found in the older source from which both the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī derived their information, and having good parallels in Chinese and Old Turkish sources is preferable in the present state of our knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

In Bīrūnī, on the Syriac map, and in 'Aufī the name *Qūn* is coupled with the name of another people قای (Yāqūt: قاني) which several times occurs in Kāshgharī, whose enumeration (i, 28) of the outer belt of Turkish tribes (running west to east) is as follows: Pecheneg, Qifchaq, Oghuz, Yimāk, Bashghirt, Basmīl, Qāy, Yabāqū, Tatār. On the map the Qāy are shown on the left bank of the Yumar (Obi), and south of them are found the Jumul (of the inner [north-to-south] belt of tribes). Further (i, 30) Kāshgharī says that Jumul, Qāy, Yabāqū, Tatār, and Basmīl have languages of their own (perhaps dialects?) but at the same time speak good "Turkish". In Chinese sources and the Orkhon inscriptions the name Qāy has not been found and one might suppose that this tribe did not originally belong to the earlier federations (Tölös, Türk, Uyghur). In Kāshgharī's time the Qāy seem to have shifted to the west, perhaps subsequently to the displacement of the *Qūrī/Qūn* of whom no trace is found in the *Dīwān lughat al-turk* composed A.D. 1077.<sup>2</sup>

As the easternmost Turkish (?) tribe our source regards the *Fūrī* < \**Qūrī*. Meanwhile in the description of the provinces of China are found the names: نای (§ 9, 2*d*) and قوری (§ 9, 2*h*). It is tempting to identify the first of them with قای (as located in Bīrūnī) and take the latter as a mere repetition

were divided into "Black" and "Yellow" (in Turkish *sarıgh* > *sarı*) clans. Both *Sari-su* and *Sārigh* may be connected with the latter appellation, the village being probably but a colony of the "Yellow" clans, of whom greater numbers occupied the Sari-su valley(?).

<sup>1</sup> As regards the other appellation of the *Qūn/Qūrī* in 'Aufī, namely قه (variant: مردمی "a people") which is not found in other sources, one may keep in mind two villages on the Lena (south and north of Yakutsk) called *Markha* and the lake *Marka* [*Marqa*?]-kul (35 ×

15 Km.) lying in the southern Altai, north of Zaisan. The lake could possibly indicate one of the stages in the peregrinations of the \**Marqa* tribe.

<sup>2</sup> Kāshgharī makes a distinction between the *Qāy* and the *Qayigh* (i, 56), the latter being one of the 22 clans of the Oghuz. This distinction was insisted upon by M. F. Köprülü-zade, *Ilk mutasavvifler*, Istanbul, 1919, p. 146. The names have been often confused, and even Yāqūt's قاني (i, 33) reflects \**Qayigh* rather than *Qāy*.

of فوری (§ 14, 1.) easily explained in an enumeration made in an opposite direction (*i.e.* east to west). Should this surmise prove acceptable, the rest of the enigmatic "Chinese" provinces (§ 9, 2.) would also have to be explained from Turkish and cognate languages.

2. The town كجك *K.m.jkath*, according to Barthold, may correspond to *Mi-ti-chih-t'o* mentioned as the royal camp of the Qirghiz in the *T'ang-shu*, Schott, *Über d. ächten Kirgisen*, 1865, p. 434. Then our name ought to be accordingly restored as \*مكجك. [Idrīsī, i, 500, calls the principal river of the Khirkhiz country, *i.e.* evidently Yenisei: منخاز which may be a mis-spelling of the name of the capital.]

3. Judging by the traits of likeness between the *K.saym* (كسم) and the more westerly tribes, they must have lived to the west of the Khirkhiz proper. A possible restitution of this name would be \**Kishtim* (كشتم), a people which was conquered by Chengiz-khan simultaneously with the Qirghiz. Aristov, *Notes on the Ethnical Composition of the Turkish Peoples* (in Russian), in *Zhivaya starina*, vi, 1896, p. 340, sees in them some Turkicized Yenisei tribe (Chinese: *Ting-ling*); in Russian seventeenth-century documents the Turkicized tributaries of the Qirghiz are indiscriminately called *Kishtim*. [A. Z. Validi reminds me of the Turkish town of کرشیم mentioned in the Mashhad MS. of Ibn al-Faqīh, but its whereabouts are not quite clear to me.]

### § 15. The Khallukh

The *T'ang-shu* translated by Bichurin, *Sobraniye svedeniy*, i, 437, and by Chavannes, *Documents*, 85; Tomaschek's review of de Goeje's *De Muur van Gog en Magog*, in *WZKM*, 1889, iii, 103-8; Barthold, *Semirechye*, pp. 14-20; Barthold, *Ču, Issik-kul, Karluk, Türk*, in *EI*.

The original name of the tribe is *Qarlūq* (in Chinese transcription *Ko-lo-lu*) but more frequently the earlier Muslim authors use the forms *Qarlukh* and *Khallukh* of which the latter (خَلج) is very easily confused with *Khalaj* (خَلج < Qalach), cf. § 24, 22. and § 23, 69.

According to the *T'ang-shu* the *Ko-lo-lu* originally belonged to various clans of the *T'u-chüeh*. They lived to the north-west of *Pei-t'ing* (§ 12, 2.) and to the west of the *Kin-shan* ("Golden mountain" = Altai), astride of the river *Pu-ku-chen* (Black Irtysh?). Their territory included the mountain *To-ta* [perhaps *Tarbaghatai*?], Chavannes, *Documents*, 85, note 4.<sup>1</sup> In the south the *Qarlūq* were the neighbours of the *Tu-lu* group of the Western *T'u-chüeh* which lived to the east of the *Issik-kul* in the *Ili* basin. In A.D. 742-5 the *Qarlūq* helped the *Uyghurs* to destroy the federation of the Eastern *T'u-chüeh*, after which they considered themselves as candidates to the succession of the Western *T'u-chüeh* (at that time under the leadership of the *Türgish* clan) and gradually moved westwards. At the time of the famous battle of *Talas* (133/751) the *Qarlūq* revolted against the Chinese

<sup>1</sup> This fact may explain § 5, 8. (p. 196). Cf. also p. 278, n. 2.



and joined the Arabs thereby securing the latter's victory, Chavannes, *Documents*, 143, 297. Towards 766 the Qarluq occupied Süyāb (§ 17, 2.) and Talas (§ 25, 93.), i.e. the habitat of the western (Nu-shih-pi) group of the Western T'u-chüeh, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 286, 297.<sup>1</sup> It is very possible that to this initial expansion of the Qarluq refer the two curious passages in Jāhīz (*v.s.*, p. 267) who ascribes the decline of Toghuzghuz valour to the influence of Manichaeism and adds that formerly "the Toghuzghuz excelled the Khallukh even if the latter were in double numbers (*wa kânū yataqaddimūna al-Kharlukhiyya wa-in kânū fil 'adad ad'āfahum*).<sup>2</sup>

In Muslim literature two curious reports are found on the earlier events in the Khallukh history. The one by Gardīzi, 84, suggesting some contacts between the Khallukh and Yabāghū is still obscure (*v.i.*, p. 288). The other by 'Aufī (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 99-100, and Marquart, *Komanen*, 40) is much nearer to the Chinese version: "Another tribe of Turks are the Khallukh. Their habitat lay at the Yūn.s mountain which (produces) gold. The Khallukh were the subjects of the Toghuzghuz but having revolted against them invaded the land of Turkistān [perhaps: *Türgishān*?] and some of them came (even) to the lands of Islām. There are nine clans (of them): three *Yigilī*, three *H.skī*, one *N.dā* (*B.dvā*), one *K.vālin* and one *T.khsin*." The name of the mountain *ونس* must stand for \**تولس*, i.e. exactly Altai (Kin-shan) on which see note to § 5, 8.<sup>3</sup>

When after A.D. 840 the Uyghurs, ousted from Mongolia by the Khirkhīz, occupied the eastern part of the T'ien-shan, they evidently pressed the Khallukh from the east. The struggles in the region between the Ili and Issik-kul must have been carried on with alternate success. Our source suggests that the Khallukh had occupied or recaptured the important town of Barskhān (*v.i.* 11.), but on the other hand lost Jāmghar (*v.i.* 12.).

The Qarluq might possibly have gathered round themselves a new strong federation but for a new move of Turkish tribes led from the south by the Qara-khanids (see § 13). Our source (§ 13, 1.) hints at some previous struggles between the Khallukh and Yaghmā for the possession of Kāshghar. Finally (towards A.D. 943) the Qara-khanid lords of Kāshghar (see § 13) penetrated into the Chu valley (which our author still describes as being in the possession of the Khallukh and Chigil) and invaded Transoxiana. The Khallukh as the rest of the tribes of the region were then merged in the kingdom of the new lords.

Another group of Khallukh, under their own *yabghū* lived south of

<sup>1</sup> In spite of these events several tribes of the latter federation seem to have maintained their independence in various degrees (see notes to §§ 16, 17, and 19).

<sup>2</sup> *V.i.*, line 16, where 'Aufī's term *Toghuzghuz* most probably refers to the Western T'u-chüeh (= *Türgish*). Qudāma, 262, speaking of the people of Upper Barskhān (who undoubtedly

had belonged to the T'uchüeh), calls them "the bravest among the Turks" and adds that ten of them could fight 100 Kharlukh. But *v.i.* 11.

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that in the 13th century a later Qarluq principality still existed north of the Ili (probably near Kopal), i.e. in the neighbourhood of the original Qarluq home, cf. Barthold, *Qarluq* in *EI*. [Cf. p. 94, l. 21.]

the Oxus in Upper Tūkhāristān, Ṭabarī, ii, 1604. Gardīzī's record of the friendly relations between the Khallukh and the "Hayṭāl of Tūkhāristān" (see note to § 13) may echo the penetration of the Khallukh into that province; quite possibly the Khallukh themselves established in Tūkhāristān are understood under the name of their Hephtalite predecessors (in Arabic *Hayṭāl*). Our source (§ 23, 69.) confirms the presence of the Khallukh in Tūkhāristān, and even now the name *Qarluq* survives in one of the Uzbek clans of Northern Afghānistān, cf. Barthold, *Turks in EI* and Kūshkakī [see note to § 24, ivā], p. 200 (Shahr-i Buzurg) and p. 203 (Rustāq).

The item on the title of the Khallukh ruler (*jabghū* or *yabghū* يابغو, often mis-spelt يابغو) may have been borrowed from I.Kh., 16, who says that the kings of the Turks, Tibetans, and Khazars are styled *khāqān*, "with the exception of the Kharlukh king (who is) called *jabghūya*". According to Kāshgharī, iii, 24, *yafghū* was a title two degrees lower than *khāqān*.<sup>1</sup>

The title *yabghū* (Kāshgharī, iii, 24: *yafghū* < *yapghū*) must be distinguished from the name of the tribe Yabāghū which is placed by Kāshgharī, i, 28 and *passim*, considerably more to the east between the Qāy and Tatār. In Gardīzī's (p. 82) still obscure report on the origin of the Khallukh *Yabāghū* is the nickname<sup>2</sup> of a man who having run away from the "Turks" (to whom the original Khallukh belonged) came to the land of the Toghuzghuz. The *khāqān* of the latter placed him as a chief over the Khallukh living in his possessions who were accordingly surnamed *Khallukh-i Yabāghū*. Later on a part of Yabāghū's tribe was induced to migrate to Turkistān (\**Türgishān*?) and was settled by the *khāqān* of the latter who gave them a *jabūy* (< *jabūya*?).<sup>3</sup> Finally the people of Turkistān (\**Türgishān*?) rose against the *khāqān*\* Khutoghlan (خوتلان) who was killed and whose kingdom passed to (the) *Chūnpān* (clan?) of the Khallukh.<sup>4</sup> The first Khallukh ruler who sat on the throne was Īlmālm.s.n \**jabūya* (اليمالمسن sic). It is likely that under the "Yabāghū Khallukh" are understood the Khallukh who stayed at their original home in the Altai. The migration of some of the "Yabāghū" westwards is supported by the fact that the Ūzgand river "rising from behind the mountain of the Khallukh" (§ 6, 17.) is called \*Yabāghū (§ 25, 58.), and Kāshgharī, iii, 27, confirms this name: *Yabāghū-suwi*. This would indicate that the "Yabāghū Khallukh" were settled south of the original bulk of the Khallukh federation on the western headwater of the Jaxartes near the pass leading to Kāshghar

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Chiu T'ang-shu* the T'u-chüeh used to give the title *shē-hu* and *t'e-lē* (which Chavannes, *Documents*, 21, identifies respectively with *jabghū* and *tekin*) to the sons, younger brother, and relatives of the *khāqān*. However, at another place I.Kh., 40, merges the two titles into one: *jabghūya-khāqān*, probably referring to the earlier times, for according to Chavannes, *Documents*,

38, note 5, the kings of the Western T'u-chüeh were called *jabghū-qaghan*.

<sup>2</sup> *Yabāqū* according to Kāshgharī, iii, 27, means "felted wool" (*al-qarada min al-šuf*).

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the slightly simplified form *jabūya* contained some particular shade of meaning. Cf. Persian *pādshāh* > Turkish *pāshā*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *infra* pp. 300-1.

("to Tibet" according to our author's ideas, § 25, 28.). From § 6, 21. one should conclude that the valley of Yabāghū was already hemmed in by the Yaghmā whose frontier with the Khallukh reached the more northerly Khatlām (*i.e.* Narin) river. The Yabāghū group may have been specially used by the Khallukh as a wedge between themselves and the aggressive Yaghmā (§ 13).

As usual in our source the bearings of the Khallukh territory are quoted as if the author was facing east instead of north. *Grosso modo* the Khallukh occupied most<sup>1</sup> of the Chu basin, both north and south of the Alexandrovsky range,<sup>2</sup> as well as the region stretching south of the Issik-kul and overlapping the T'ien-shan into Chinese Turkestan along the Aq-su valley. The enumeration begins with the places mentioned under Transoxiana (§ 25, 93.) as the "Gate of the Khallukh". 1.-3. (and 4.?) are situated along the road from the Jaxartes to the Chu basin (north of the Alexandrovsky range); 7.-9. in the Chu valley (?); 10.-12. south of the Issik-kul [12. perhaps much farther east]; 5.-6. and 13.-15. south of the T'ien-shan, the first two lying to the north-east of Kāshghar and the rest on the road connecting the Chu and Issik-kul basins with Kuchā (§ 9, 10.) and the towns of the Toghuzghuz (§ 12, 5. 4. 3. 1.). See Map v.

1. 2. Cf. I.Kh., 28, Qudāma, 205-6, and Maq., 275 (the latter with different details). Kūlān corresponds to the present-day Tartī, and Mirkī is still known under its old name. As regards the tribes A. Z. Validi writes to me (17. ix. 1932): "Berīsh seems to be still in existence; Bystān is perhaps related to *Bwzyān* in the Stambul MS. of Maq."

3. After Mirkī we find here Nūn-kat, whereas under § 25, 93. Mirkī is followed by N.vīkath. I.Kh., 29, gives the following itinerary: Kūlān, 4 farsakhs to B.rkī (= Mirkī); thence 4 f. to Asbara (\**Ashpara*); thence 8 f. to Nūzkat (var. *Nūnkat*!); thence 4 f. to Kh.r.nj.wān (several variants); thence 4 f. to Jūl; thence 7 f. to Sār.gh; thence 4 f. to the town of the Türgish khāqān; thence 4 f. to Navākat; thence 3 f. to K.bāl (var. *K.nād*); thence 15 days to \*Barskhān. So Nūnkat must be distinguished from Navākat, the former lying west of the Chu and the latter apparently east of it. According to Gardīzī, 89, from a place called Tūmkat (تومكت)<sup>3</sup> started a road running in a south-easterly direction and leaving Issik-kul to the left (*i.e.* north), while (*ibid.*, 102), from a place called N.vīkat started a road leaving the basin of the lake to the right (*i.e.* south). Barthold, *Report*, p. 114, simply substitutes the reading نيك for تومكت (and, *ibid.*, 32, identifies N.vīkat with Kōk-muynaq), but in view of the facts just quoted this is surely a mistake and one must distinguish between تومكت (= I.Kh. *Nūnkat*)

<sup>1</sup> Sūyāb is quoted under § 17, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Meant under the "Khallukh mountain" from behind which the Parak river (= Chirchik) is said to rise (§ 6, 22.). On the other "Khallukh mountain" (Yasī pass), *vi.* note to 11.

<sup>3</sup> More rightly from the more easterly

Kūmb.rkat. Tomaschek, *WZKM*, 1889, although he did not know Gardīzī, already restored the name of *Nūnkat* as \**Tūnkat* or *Tūmkat* in view of the Chinese name of the stage lying 50 li (= 28.8 Km.) east of A-shih-pu-lai (\**Ashpara*), namely *Tun-kien*, cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, 10.

and نوكت (= I.Kh. نواكت).<sup>1</sup> Our author (who did certainly use I.Kh.) says that *Nūnkat* "was a town". But both I.Kh. and Qudāma call *Nūzkat*/*Nūnkat* simply "large village" (*qaryatun 'aẓīmatun*), while Navākat is styled by Qudāma, 206: "a large town (*madīnatun kabīratun*), from which a road leads to Barskhān".<sup>2</sup> As in our § 25, 93. Mirkī is followed by Navīkat, we may suppose that in the present paragraph *Nūnkat* has been given the characteristics of Navīkat. Our author, evidently mistaken by the similarity of the two names, simply skipped from Mirkī to Navīkat leaving out the places lying to the west of the Chu. If such is the case, the mountain *Ūrūn-Ārj* must correspond to the range forming the watershed between the Chu and Ili. On the eastern side of the difficult Kastek pass (8,470 feet high) by which a road crosses this mountain lies the station Uzun-Aghach (اوزون اغاج "the long farsakh, or stage") which provides a very satisfactory correction for the impossible اوزون عارج. Gardīzi's report (p. 102) on a mountain in the same region by which the Turks took oath and which they considered as the abode of the Almighty undoubtedly refers to the same range. Tabarī, ii, 1593 (year 119/737) confirms that the khāqān possessed near Navīkat a mountain and a meadow which formed a forbidden zone reserved for commissariat purposes in case of expeditions.<sup>3</sup> See Map vi.

4. غنكسر is obscure. If the interpretation of 5. and 6. is right, it may represent the starting-point of a southern route.

5. and 6. As the Khallukh bordered on the Yaghmā in the south-west (*v.s.*, p. 278, n. 3), 5. *Tūzūn-bulaq* must be looked for near the Western T'ien-shan. If the *Tūz-kūl* corresponds to the *Shūr-kul* (§ 3, 17.) *Tūzūn-ārj* lay in its neighbourhood. All three names: *Tūzūn-bulaq*, *Tūzūn-ārj*, and *Tūz-kūl* may contain the same Turkish element *tuz* "salt",<sup>4</sup> whereas a similar element -*ārj* under 3. has been restored by us as \**aghach*. In spite of the outward likeness of اوزون عارج and توزون عارج it is impossible to identify them in view of the geographical details.<sup>5</sup> The element *aghach* (*yighach*) "farsakh, stage" is common in Turkish names. Kāshgharī, i, 77: *Ala-yighach*; i, 108 *Qara-yighach*; iii, 118: *Bay-yighach*. [Cf. also note to § 5, 7.]

<sup>1</sup> Very often old Iranian *ē* is rendered alternately by *ē* and *l*, the latter to be read with *māla*: *ä*. [*Tūmkat*=*Toqmaq*?]

<sup>2</sup> The importance of the Navīkat results from the facts that it was the seat of a Nestorian bishop, Assemani, *Bibl. orientalis*, ii, 458 (Kasimghar [Kāshghar?]) and Navakath) and iii/2, p. 630 (Chasingarah and Nuachet), cf. Yule, *Cathay*, p. 179 (2nd ed. ii, 24) and that Manichaeans were particularly numerous in it, *Fihrist*, i, 338: *Nūnkat*, but ii, 125: *Navīkath*. The *Fihrist* has chiefly in view the situation in the early 10th century but it also records the previous emigration of Manichaeans to Turkish lands.

<sup>3</sup> The same mountain is also men-

tioned in the *T'ang-shu*, Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 10: "to the north of the Sui-shih town is the Sui-shih river. At 40 *li* to the north of the river is situated the Kie-tan mountain; there the qaghan of the Ten Tribes (*i.e.* of the Western T'u-chüeh) has the habit of making appointments of the chiefs." Hirth, *Nachworte*, 73, seems to give a better sense: "Hier ist der Ort, wo der Kakhan der zehn Stämme zum Führer erhoben zu werden pflegt."

<sup>4</sup> I admit that grammatically the form *tuz-un* from *tuz* is not easy to explain. However see Kāshgharī, i, 92, *tolu* "full" and i, 336, *tolun ay* "full moon". [Cf. also p. 195, l. 30.]

<sup>5</sup> Taking the text as it stands.

7.-9. seem to have been read off a map in a north-to-south direction starting on the right bank of the Chu in the neighbourhood of 3. \*Navikat and following the Chu (upstream!) and then the southern bank of the Issik-kul. Such a purely mechanical system of enumeration cutting itineraries into disconnected sections is frequent in our author (*v.i.* 13.-15.).

7. Gardīzī, 102, describes a route from Navikat to the "Chigil and Tūr-gishī", *i.e.* running from the Chu basin north of the Issik-kul.<sup>1</sup> Gardīzī says that following this road one must travel from Navikat towards Panjikat,<sup>2</sup> close to which lies the village زک. To the left (north?) of this village three other villages are situated: (a) \*Sūyāb (the text is not quite in order), (b) خوتکیال and (c) دلوغچ of which the first and the third lie at the foot of the mountain whereas the lord of the second lives in the steppe. After the third (c) village comes the pass ('aqaba) over the mountain venerated by the Turks.

Gardīzī's text is closely connected with Qudāma, 206. Both are in a very sad state but they mutually complete one another. Qudāma (much more complete than I.Kh., 29, *v.s.*, p. 289) says that the road Navākat-Barskhān goes (first) to B.njikat (2 farsakhs), close to which (at a distance of 1 farsakh) lies the village called زک.<sup>3</sup> At 2 farsakhs from B.njikat lies Sūyāb to which [cf. the variant السویاب read: [السویاب] belong two villages کال and ساغورکال and from the latter the road continues to Barskhān. It is obvious that Sūyāb with its two villages corresponds to Gardīzī's three villages lying "to the left" of Panjikat. These preliminaries facilitate the explanation of our text, which starts in the north with the village called in Qudāma ساغورکال and corresponding to Gardīzī's خوتکیال (and جورکال of the *Mujmal al-tavārikh*, Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 20). One of the remaining three villages mentioned together with Kūkyāl (?) ought to be Sūyāb but our author quotes the latter as belonging to the Tukhs (§ 17, 2.). Therefore it is not impossible that both اتلغ and اولغ may be two different readings of the same difficult name which Gardīzī transcribes دلوغچ. (The *Mujmal*, *l.c.*, mentions a village ائلغ but the title of its prince suggests its identity with § 17, 3.). See Map vi.

8. زک and ملجک stand for زک and بنجیک (*v.s.*). In Gardīzī's text, 102 (lines 16 and 17), the word او is found twice; the second of these او is superfluous and may belong to زک (*ibid.*, line 15) < او زک though زک seems to be an old form for it stands in Qudāma's received text, *v.s.* 7.

9. As Navikat had already been mentioned by our author in his west-to-

<sup>1</sup> This route is quoted separately from that starting from Tūmkat and running south of the lake, Gardīzī, 89.

<sup>2</sup> Entirely different from § 12, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Gardīzī enables us to check de Goeje's edition: زک دعی does not refer to the road to Barskhān but to the village near B.njikat. Read: \*زک. Qudāma's passage is full of explanatory notes

(formerly written on the margin and later incorporated by the scribes?).

<sup>4</sup> It is very tempting to associate this —Sāghūr—with the later Balā-Sāghūr. According to Kāshgharī, i, 337, sāghūr was the title of the Qarluq nobles. Cf. Barthold, *Balāsāghūr* in *EI*, and his *Vorlesungen*, 81.

east enumeration, Kirmīn-kath quite naturally follows on 8. It undoubtedly corresponds to كمرارو which Qudāma quotes immediately before (*i.e.* south or west of) Navīkat and to كمبركت through which Gardīzī traces the road running from Tūmkat to the south of the Issik-kul. It is probable that the two roads leading from Talās to Barskhān separated at this point (see notes to § 16). The name of the tribe *L.bān*, as pointed out by Barthold, looks non-Turkish, but *Mujmal*, *l.c.*, gives the title of the "king of *L.bān*" *Q.tkin-i L.bān*, probably \**Qut-tegin* which is good Turkish.<sup>1</sup> [A possible restoration of the name لَان would be \*الان (cf. similar mis-spellings in § 10, 46. and § 17, 1.) *albān*, in Mongol "tribute, service". Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, v, 259, mentions a tribe called *Albāt* (in Mongol *albāt* is a plural of *albān*). Another derivative of the same word is *alpāghūt* or *alpā'ūt* "the subjects, estate-owners", which occurs in the Russian Annals as well; it is attested as early as the end of the eighth century in the Saka document edited by F. W. Thomas and S. Konow, line 27, where *imjuva* and *adapahutti* should be respectively read \**injū* ("the tribe belonging to the chief's house-hold"?) and \**alpaghut* ("the men bound to pay a tribute or to take service"). Our \**Albān* would refer to a similar class of men.]

10. Of these two names the first is found in Gardīzī on his southern road. Our author drops out the two stages: Jīl [explained as "narrow" = Jīl-ariq at the entrance of the Buam<sup>2</sup> defile] and Yār, which Gardīzī mentions between Kūmb.rkat (?) and Tūng. Barthold, *Report*, 56, 114, has identified تونك with the present-day Ton (< *Tong*) valley, on the southern bank of the Issik-kul. The name undoubtedly refers to one of the four sons of the legendary Turk: Tūng (\**Tong*), Chigil, Barskhān, and Īlāq as enumerated in the *Mujmal al-tavārikh*, *Tabāqāt-i Nāširī*, tr. Raverty, 872, and Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 9 (quoted in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 19).

11. This Upper (*i.e.* farther distant) Barskhān<sup>3</sup> is to be distinguished from the Lower (*i.e.* nearer) Barskhān which, according to I.Kh., 28, lay at 3 farsakhs east of Ṭarāz (Maq., 275: only at 3 *ṣiḥa*, each equal to half a farsakh). The situation of the Upper Barskhān had been much discussed, though the road leading to it from Farghāna and described in I.Kh., 30 (Qudāma, 20)<sup>4</sup> was rightly explained by Tomaschek.<sup>5</sup> I.Kh., 29, and Qudāma, 262, describe the northern road leading to Barskhān from the Chu valley. Gardīzī and the *H.-'Ā.* complete these data and describe a third route along the southern bank of the Issik-kul, see Barthold, *Report*, 32, and our notes to § 15, 3., 7.-9., and § 16. On the fourth road from Barskhān to the South over the T'ien-shan, *v.i.* under 15. According to

<sup>1</sup> See it used as a personal name in Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāzim, p. 41 (?).

<sup>2</sup> The official Russian "Buam" is said to be a mis-spelling for *Ulam* (?).

<sup>3</sup> The reading of the name Barskhān (and not *Nūshjān*) was already clear from the *Mujmal* (*v.s.* 10.) which after Tūng (\**Tong*) names another son of Turk:

Barskhān. The name is confirmed by Kāshgharī, iii, 308: *Barsghān* (*sic*).

<sup>4</sup> Qubā-Ōsh-Ūzgand, then 1 day to the 'aqaba (Yasi pass leading into the Narin valley); thence 1 day to Atbash (*At-bashi*, in the Narin basin); thence 6 days to Barskhān.

<sup>5</sup> *V.s.*, p. 286, l. 25.

Qudāma, 262, the Upper Barskhān (or rather its district) consisted of 4 large towns and 5 small ones.<sup>1</sup> The fighters of Barskhān, 20,000 strong, lived in the town situated on the bank of a lake surrounded by mountains. Our source leaves no doubt that the lake in question is the Issik-kul. Tomaschek placed Barskhān in the Barskaun valley drained by a river which flows south-west into the Narin. However, both Qudāma and the *H.-'Ā.* are positive in placing the town in the basin of the Issik-kul, *i.e.* north of the Barskaun watershed, most probably near the present-day Przhevalsk (Qara-qol). As the Barskaun valley begins close to the southern bank of the lake it may have received its name from Barskhān simply because it led up to this town. This would find a parallel in our § 25, 58., where one of the two rivers of Ūzgand is called *Barskhān* and is said to come from the Khallukh country. This eastern river of Ūzgand can be only the one coming down from the Yasi pass (I.Kh., 30, *al-'aqaba*) which forms the watershed between Ūzgand and the Narin valley. On the other Ūzgand river (\**Yabāghū*), *v.s.*, p. 288. This short stream is very remote from the presumed position of Barskhān and it could have received its name only because the road to Barskhān from Farghāna followed it up to the pass (I.Kh., 30). Our author only says that the dihqān of Barskhān was a Khallukh. Gardizī, 90, gives him the title of *منع* (\*M.n.gh) which Barthold compares with the name of the Turkish [Soghodian!] ambassador *Maviāx* found in Menander, see *Fragm. histor. graec.*, iv, 225, but this seems doubtful. One would rather think of the title *manaf* (منف) common among the Qirghiz. The *Mujmal* calls the king of Barskhān *tabīn*. [See Appendix B.]

12. \*Jāmghar, as the name and description shows, must be the westernmost (?) of the "Five Villages" lying north of the "Tafqān" mountain (§ 12, 2.). Following the order of enumeration in the present paragraph Jāmghar lay east of Barskhān at the extreme limit of the Khallukh territory. Tentatively one would place it in the region of Manas. Jāmghar, isolated from the later possessions of the Khallukh, may have been their outpost at the time when they lived south of the Altai (*v.s.*, p. 286).

13.-15. After Jāmghar, lying east or south of Barskhān on the Toghuzghuz frontier, our author seems to return to Barskhān from the south-east by the road starting from the Toghuzghuz country. Following his habit he splits that road into political sections and quotes K.msīghīya, S.tkath, and Ark under the Toghuzghuz (§ 12, 3.-5.), and Kuchā under China (§ 9, 10.). Skipping all these stages he now starts with B.nchūl (which Gardizī, see note to § 12, 3., mentions between Kuchā and Barskhān) and then mentions Aq.rāq.r and Ūj (of which Kāshghari, i, 329, says that the Badal-art, *i.e.* Bedel pass, separated it from Barsghān). That 13. B.nchūl was more remote from the main territory of the Khallukh is shown by the fact that it had first belonged to the Toghuzghuz and that at the moment to which our source refers it was occupied by some Khirkhīz. On the other

<sup>1</sup> See Idrīsī, i, 495: "ville . . . forte, entourée de bonnes murailles et c'est là que la majeure partie des Turks qui

habitent la contrée viennent se réfugier et se procurer les objets dont ils peuvent avoir besoin."

hand, the author insists on 14. A.qrāq.r and 15. Ūj being still in Khallukh possession.<sup>1</sup> This evidence leads to the conclusion that the author has in view the following sequence of stages: Kuchā-B.nchūl-A.qrāq.r-Ūj-Badal-art-Barskhān, and consequently B.nchūl must have lain south of Ūj.

In his earlier *Semirechye*, p. 9, Barthold identified B.nchūl with the town of Aq-su, evidently on the ground of some phonetic resemblance of the names: *B.nchūl* and Chinese *Wen-su*. Here is the abstract of the original Chinese itineraries (from the *T'ang-shu*, &c.) quoted in Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 8-10: 60 li west of Kucha the river Pai-ma-ho was crossed; 180 li farther the stone desert of Kū-p'i-lo was entered and after another 120 li the town of Kū-p'i-lo reached. Thence 60 li to A-si-yen; thence 60 li to Po-huan (also called *Wei-jung*, or *Ku-mo* district). Thence in the north-western direction the middle course of the Po-huan river was crossed; thence 20 li to Siao-shih, thence 20 li to the river Hu-lu of \*Yü-chou; thence 60 li to "Ta-shih also called Yü-chou, or also district of Wen-su"; thence 30 li north-west to Su-lou-fêng; thence 40 li to the Po-ta-ling, i.e. Bedel pass.

So far as the distances go Chavannes's first identification of Yü-chou (Ta-shih, "Wen-su district") with Aq-su could not be maintained and under the influence of F. Grenard he finally took *Po-huan* for Aq-su,<sup>2</sup> the *Hu-lu* for the Taushqan river, and *Yü-chou* [so instead of the impossible Yü-t'ien = Khotan!] for Uch, see *Les Pays de l'occident d'après le Wei-lïo*, in *T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 553. More in detail the question was studied by Pelliot in his *Notes sur les anciens noms de Kučā, d'Aq-su et d'Uč-Turfan*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1923, p. 126. Pelliot identifies Aq-su with *Ku-mo* of the Han epoch, *Pa-lu-kia* of Hsüan-Tsang, *Po-huan* of the T'ang epoch and Idrîsî's باخران. On the other hand, he identifies Uch with *Hi-chou-kia* < *Hechuka* (sixth century), *Wen-su* (Han period), and *Yü-chou* (T'ang period), and seems to connect the names *Wen-su* (< Ūrsük, Ūrchük) with *Yü-chou* (< Ūchük, *Hechuka*).

These then were the reasons for Barthold's hypothesis on the identity of Ūj and *B.nchūl* which, however, goes counter to our text. In his recent note in *T'oung-Pao*, 1931, p. 133, Pelliot takes exception even to the eventual connexion of the names *B.nchūl* and *Wen-su* for the latter in older times sounded \**Uən-sjuk* with final *k*). This consideration makes, however, no insuperable difficulty for سحول in the *H.-Ā.* and Gardîzî may stand for \*سحول \**B.nchūk* (a very usual confusion in Arabic script).

In any case the Chinese itinerary still presents some difficult points and it is enough to say that the distance from Yü-chou to the Po-ta-ling pass (70 li = 40.3 Km.) is too short for the distance from Uch to the Bedel pass.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Yāqūt, i, 397, also confirms that Ūj belonged to the Khallukh.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Pelliot, *La Ville de Bakhouan dans la Géographie d'Idrîçî*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1906, pp. 553-6, but the origin of the form *Bākhuvān* is still somewhat mysterious, v.i., pp. 295, 297.

<sup>3</sup> From Uch-Turfan to Aghacha-qul where the ascent only begins there are 78 versts (= 83 km.), see Kuropatkin, *Kashghariya*, 1879, p. 306. [On a similar uncertainty of distances in the Chinese itinerary from Aq-su to Kāshghar see Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, p. 839.]



Then, so far as the text of the *T'ang-shu* is available in Chavannes's translation, *o.c.*, 9, it seems to suggest that *Ta-shih* or *Yü-chou* at that time was the centre of the Wen-su district, but the situation might have been different both at the earlier periods and at the time to which our author refers.<sup>1</sup>

Our 15. Üj (lying in the mountains) remains the firm point and certainly corresponds to Uch-Turfan. It is followed by 14. اوارق which, if read \**aqar-aqar*, could mean in Turkish something like "watershed" (usually: *aqar-baqar*) and refer to a divide between the Khallukh and their neighbours. More probably the name is distorted. Following on Üzgand, Balāsāghūn, Qochqar-bashī, Barskhān, At-bashī, Ordū (= Kāshghar), and Yārkanḍ, Bīrūnī, *Canon*, quotes at the very end of the 6th climate:

	long.	lat.
Üj	99°20'	45°0'
احمه	100°40'	43°30'
بارمان	101°40'	44°15'
كحانه	102°20'	44°50'

Of these the second (and the southernmost) is said to be the *qasaba* of Khotan and the fourth must refer to Kuchā. In any case \*Bārmān must be placed to the south-east of Üj. Kāshgharī, iii, 272, says: "يُكُو (Yüngü?) is the name of a large river flowing past the township (*bulaida*) of Bārmān built by Afrāsiyāb's son<sup>2</sup> on its bank." In view of these two authorities it is not impossible that in Idrīsī's usually inaccurate text باخوان stands simply for بارمان. Jaubert's translation, i, 491, runs as follows: "Bakhwan . . . est une ville dépendante du \*Toghuzghuz et gouvernée par un prince appartenant à la famille du khāqān de cette contrée. Ce prince a des troupes, des places fortes et une administration; la ville est ceinte de fortes murailles; il y a des bazars où l'on fait toutes sortes d'ouvrages en fer avec une rare perfection; on y fabrique aussi diverses espèces de ? [three words left out by Jaubert].<sup>3</sup> Bakhwan est bâtie sur les bords d'une rivière qui coule vers l'orient. . . De Bakhwan à f.rm.q<sup>4</sup> on compte 4 journées. . . De

<sup>1</sup> To quote a parallel: *Zeitsch. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde*, xx, 1885, p. 75, recording the contemporary changes in Chinese administrative terminology states that the tao-t'ai of Aq-su had under his authority four districts: *Wen-su chow*, i.e. the territory of Aq-su ("engeres Stadtgebiet von A."), *Kucha*, *Kharashar*, and *Wu-shih-ch'êng*, i.e. former Uch-Turfan.

<sup>2</sup> The person in question is certainly Bārmān, brother of Pīrān, son of Vīsa (Ṭabarī: *Vēsaghān*). The two brothers were only commanders in Afrāsiyāb's army. Pīrān was the prince of Khotan. See *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, i, 338, ii, 58, iii, 564, 573, 584, Ṭabarī, i, 600 and 610,

and Tha'ālībī, *Ghurur akhbār mulūk al-Furs*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> MS. arabe 2222 of the Bib. Nat. in Paris, fol. 120v. reads at this place: يصنع بها من الحديد (الحديد؟) كل غريبة من جميع الصنائع من انواع العود و (\*) الحار (التجارة؟) وغير ذلك. Consequently the specialities of *Bākhwān* were objects in iron and wood. The former were exported as far as Tibet and China. Idrīsī adds that round the town lay the fields and pastures of the Turks, and in its mountains musk deer were found.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 13, 3. The distances in Idrīsī are usually too short.

*Y.r.m.q* à Barskhan la supérieure 10 journées." I presume that our *B.njūl* and اوارق, as well as *Bārmān* and *Bākhwān* must somehow refer to the same locality which can be identified with the neighbourhood of Aq-su.<sup>1</sup> But which Aq-su? The "New Town" (*Yāngi-shar*) of Aq-su lies at some 6 Km. from the left (northern) bank of the important river after which it is called and which must be Kāshgharī's *Yüngü*. Another Aq-su lies also near the left bank of the river upstream from Yāngi-shar. Finally to the north-east of these two towns, on the Qizil-üstäng (left tributary of the Aq-su now not reaching the latter), there is a *Kone-shahr* "Old Town", see Sir A. Stein's map in *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 1912. On Map 23 which accompanies the same author's later work *Serindia*, 1921, the *Old Town* is not indicated, but to the west of the Qizil-üstäng is found *Pāman-üstang* of which the name strongly reminds one of our *Bārmān* [local Turks drop *r* before a consonant, e.g., *apa* < *arpa*, see G. Jarring, *Studien zu einer Osttürkischen Lautlehre*, Lund, 1933, p. 114]. Therefore our 13. and 14. may correspond to different avatars of Aq-su. *Kone-shahr* (as well as the *Pāman-üstang*) lie nearer to the mountains and thus better satisfy the conditions of our 14., while for 13. we must maintain a situation to the south or to the east of 14. The reading of our \**B.nchūl* (*B.nchūk*?) and its origin cannot yet be finally settled, though, in view of the considerations presented above, the possibility of \**B.nchūk* < *Wen-su(k)* cannot be discarded. Gardizī does not mention our 14. and it must have been borrowed by our author from another source which can be traced also in Bīrūnī (cf. § 10, 41., § 11, 9., &c.). Kāshgharī relied of course on his personal information.

With regard to this section of the road connecting Barskhān with Aq-su, Kuchā, and Chīnānjath, Gardizī, 91, *infra*, one must also consider Gardizī's passage, 90 *supra*, on the T'ien-shan passes: "To the right (*i.e.* the south?) of Barskhān there are two passes, one called Bayghū (\*Yabghū) and the other ازار Azār (cf. note to § 12, 5.); and the river called T.f.skhān flows eastward to the limits of China. And this pass (Yabghū?) is very high so that the birds coming from the direction of China cannot fly over it." Kāshgharī, iii, 23, also mentions a village and a pass of Yafghū in the neighbourhood of Barsghān. One of the two passes must stand for the Bedel pass and as Kāshgharī separately speaks of *Bādāl-art* and *Yafghū-art* one must conclude to the identity of ازار with بدل (palaeographically the former may be a mere mis-spelling of the latter). The Yabghū pass would then be either the *Janart* or *Muzart* pass, and more probably the *Janart* which lies in the Kok-shaal-tau (in Central T'ien-shan) to the east of the Bādāl-art near the source of the Aq-su river, while the Muzart lies much farther to the east and only indirectly (through the Ili basin) connects the Issik-kul with Chinese Turkestan. The name of the river تفسخان can be best restored as \**Taghushkhan*<sup>2</sup> > *Taushqan* (in Turkish "hare"). In which case it is the important western affluent of the Aq-su along which the road leads up to the Bedel pass. Consequently the name of our

<sup>1</sup> See note 4 on page 295.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Tawushkhan*, see the Index!

\* *Yabghū*-pass refers to the original *yabghū* of the Khallukh inside whose possessions it lay on the road from Barskhān to the Aq-su region.<sup>1</sup>

[*Additional note.* Our اوار most probably stands for بارمان attested in two independent authorities (Bīrūnī and Kāshgharī) and confirmed by the present-day name of *Pāman-üstāng*. The explanation of the name from the *Shāh-nāma* is fantastic but it confirms its pronunciation by the Muslims and may merit more attention than the Chinese *Po-huan*. The question is how the form باخوان got into Idrīsī's compilation. Does it attempt to reproduce the Chinese form, perhaps on the authority of the mysterious Jānākh b. Khāqān al-Kīmākī whom Idrīsī quotes among his sources (cf. Jaubert, i, p. xii)? In the latter case, why did the son of a Turkish chief use a Chinese (?) form distinct from that current among the Muslims of the eleventh century? After all باخوان may be a mere mis-spelling of بارمان (the group -رما- having been wrongly transcribed as -حوا- if the original ر was written too closely under ما). [See also Appendix B.]

As regards the exact relation between *Wen-su* (= our \**B.nčūk*) and *Yü-chou* (= our *Üj*) the question is perhaps not so much of their phonetic identity as of their belonging to the same historical site.]

### § 16. The Chigil

Barthold, *Semirechye*, 90; *Türk in EI*; *Vorlesungen*, 75.

The real form of the name چگل appears from the Persian popular etymology (*in chi gil*?) quoted in Kāshgharī, i, 330. The name often occurs in Persian poetry, see *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, ii, 3149, iii, 4131; Ḥāfiz, ed. Brockhaus, i, 318, says: *ba-mushk-i Chīn-u-Chigil nīst bū-yi gul muhtāj*.

Our author's data on the Chigil are scarce and contradictory. In § 16 the Tukhs (whose centres lay on the northern bank of the Chu) are placed east (?) and south of the Chigil, but in § 17 west (*sic*) and south of them; under § 3, 18., the author says that the Issik-kul separated the Chigil from the Toghuzghuz.<sup>2</sup> The fact that some Khirkhiz are mentioned west of the Tukhs and north of the Chigil is evidently to be explained by the wrong conception of the Tūl.s mountains (§ 5, 8.).

Gardizī has two passages on the Chigil. P. 89: "The road<sup>3</sup> to (Upper) Barskhān from Tūmkat goes to Kūmb.rkat (which lies) on the Chigilī road; thence to Jil which is a mountain and the explanation (*tafsīr*) of *jīl* is "narrow" [Buam defile through which the Chu flows]; thence 12 farsakhs to Yār which is a village turning out 3,000 men and in it are found the tents of the Taksīn's Chigil<sup>4</sup> among whom there are no villages (*ābādānī*). To

<sup>1</sup> I have finally given up my first idea that T.f.skhān reflected the name of the Tekes river (left affluent of the Ili flowing to the east of the Issik-kul.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kāshgharī, *v. i.* and § 17. Under § 6, 5. our author confuses the Issik-kul with the Balkhash.

<sup>3</sup> For the beginning of the passage *v.s.* note to § 15, 3.

<sup>4</sup> MS. چگل مکین, restored by Barthold as چگل نکین which means "the Chigil of the taksīn" rather than "the taksīn of the Chigil" (cf. *taksīn-i Yigil*, as the *Mujmal al-tawārikh* calls the king

the left of the road lies the lake of Īsigh-kul &c.” This text ought to be immediately followed by the description of the “road to the Chigil and Türgish” which through some misunderstanding is given only on p. 102. The description starts at Navīkat (*v.s.*, note to § 15, 3.) which was the next stage to the east of Kūmb.rkat,<sup>1</sup> the latter evidently being the point from which the two roads separated: the one “to Barskhān” passing south of the lake and the other “to the Chigil and Türgish” north of the lake.

On the situation on the right bank of the Chu (west of the Kastek and Kurday passes) some light is thrown by the following list of rulers which will be examined in more detail under § 17, 2.:

	<i>Gardīzī</i>	<i>Mujmal</i>
Navīkat	?	Khāsakī
B.njikat	Kūlb.qār	Kūl.nqān.sh
Z.kāt	separate dihqān	?
Sūyāb	Bayghū's brother	Y.lān-shāh
Khūtkiyāl	B.ghlīla (a Türgish)	M.ghlīgha

The situation behind the mountain, *i.e.* east of the Kastek pass, is described by Gardīzī as follows: “When you have crossed the pass, to the left of it (*i.e.* the road?) lies the country of Turkestān (\**of the Türgish*) consisting of the Tukhs and \*Az. There lies a village turning out 1,000 men. Close by lies a village Biglīgh where the \**jabūya*'s brother lives. . . . Five hundred men mount with him, and if necessary 1,000 men. In the neighbourhood lies a village whose dihqān of local origin (از آنجا راست) is called B.dān-Sānkū (or Dān-Sānkū); (the village) turns out 7,000 men. And near this pass (Kastek or Kurday?) there is a river (*āb*) beyond which appear the Chigil (and their) tents and felt huts.” [Cf. Appendix B.]

A close study of these two texts shows that both slopes of the watershed evidently belonged to the subdivisions of the Türgish (§ 17) and only beyond a river<sup>2</sup> lay the region of the nomadic Chigil whose other group is mentioned south of the Issik-kul round Yār; the latter region, according to our author, would rather belong to the Khallukh zone of influence, but we must not forget that the nomad tribes of the same Turkish origin could live in great promiscuity mindless of the *chassez-croisez* movements which such state involved.

Kāshgharī, i, 330, 354, mentions the Chigil in three places: the nomad Chigil (as well as the Tukhsī) lived near the township of Quyās (\**Quyash*) lying beyond Barsghān and watered by the two Keykān rivers flowing into the Ili, *ibid.*, iii, 132, *v.i.*, p. 301, note 4. Quyash (“Sun” in Turkish) is supposed to have lain on the left bank of the Ili; in Mongol times it was the

of the Chigil). If our explanation is right the tents in question belonged to some of the taksīn's subjects and not necessarily to the taksīn himself.

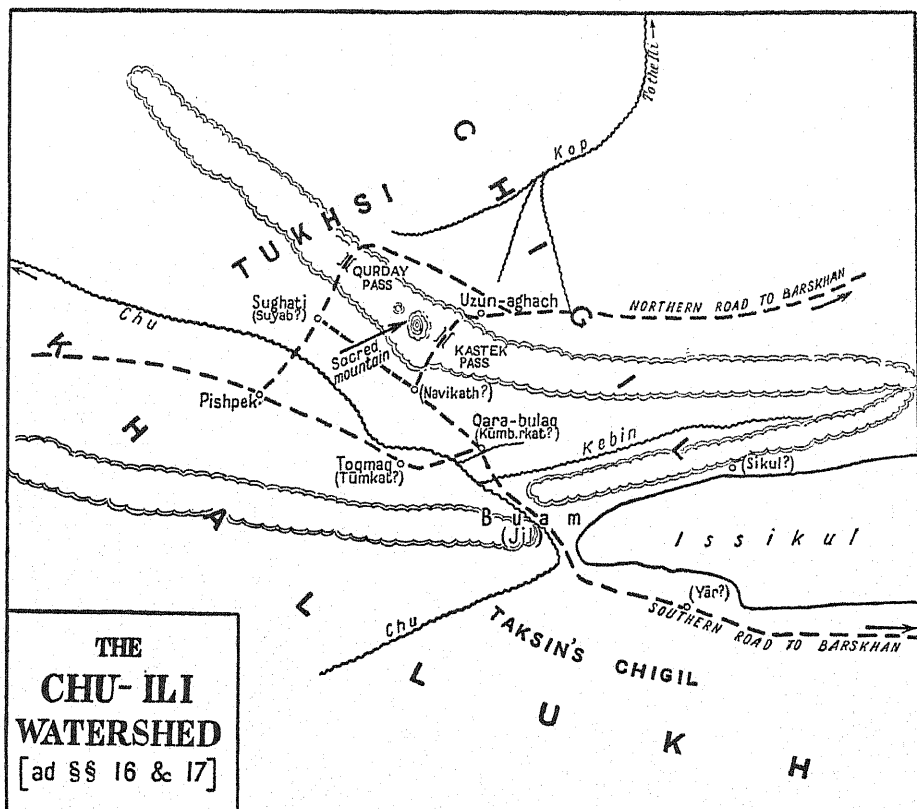
<sup>1</sup> Qudāma, 206, quotes كمررو (= Gardīzī's Kūmb.rkat) immediately before (*i.e.* to the west of) Navākat

(\**Navēkat*).

<sup>2</sup> This river flowing to the east of the pass and consequently belonging to the Chu basin can be either the Uzunaghach, or the more easterly Almata on which Verniy stands.

camping place of Chaghatay, see Juvaynī, GMS, i, 226–7, Barthold, *Otchet*, 66. Another group of the tribe lived in the township of Chigil, near ʿTarāz (Talas), cf. Maq., 274,<sup>1</sup> and a third one in the villages of the same name near Kāshghar.

Map vi



Under the Qara-khanids the Chigil tribe formed the main body of their troops, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 317. Therefore probably Kāshgharī, i, 330, says that the Ghuz used to call “Chigil” all the Turks between the Oxus and Upper China.

1. The town Sikul (\**Isik-kul*) stood probably on the northern bank of the lake, where the *Carta Catalana* (A.D. 1375), too, places a town Yssicol, and where an Armenian monastery seems to have existed, see Barthold, *Issik-kul*, in *EI*. It must be borne in mind that in the north the lake is separated from the Ili basin by a double range of mountains, Kūngey and

<sup>1</sup> Kāshgharī records a legend claiming that originally the name *Chigil* belonged to this town.

Ala-tau, between which flows the Great Kebin, a right tributary of the Chu. This valley situated between the town and the chief seats of the tribe was also presumably in Chigil occupation. The line of communication of the town with the clans living to the south-west of the Issik-kul must have followed the western bank of the lake.<sup>1</sup>

### § 17. The Tukhs

Barthold, *Semirechye*, 16-18; *Otchet*, 31; *Die alttürkischen Inschriften*, 18; *Türk*, in *EI*.

Gardīzī and Kāshgharī spell the name *Tukhsī* and it is possible that our *Tukhs* has been formed on the analogy of such plurals and singulars as *Khirkhīziyān* < *Khirkhīz*, *Khallukhiyān* < *Khallukh*, ergo *Tukhsīyān* < *Tukhsī*! It is not clear whether the original name is of Turkish origin. In an early Soghdian letter (second century A.D.) presumably the same name appears in the form of *Txs'yč* \**Tukhsīch* in which the ending *-īch*, or *-ch* must represent the Iranian suffix of origin. The text, Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschriften*, Heidelberg, 1931, ii, 53 and 59, refers to *Txs'yč* *βntk*, i.e. to a slave whose personal name was T.khsīch or to a T.khsīch slave.

According to our author to the north and east of the Tukhs lived the Chigil, to their south the Khallukh, and to their west a group of the Khirkhīz (on which see § 5, 8. and § 14). All these bearings must be taken with the usual reserve, *v.s.*, pp. 270, 289. Further details show that in our author's opinion the Tukhs lived chiefly on the northern bank of the Chu (intermingled with the Khallukh) and on the eastern slope of the mountain separating the basins of the rivers Chu and Ili.

The point of interest of the Tukhs is that they evidently were the remnants of the great Türgish federation. The Türgish (in Chinese *Tu-k'z-shih*)<sup>2</sup> were one of the five clans composing the Tu-lu group of the Western T'u-chüeh. One part of the Türgish lived in the Ili valley and the other to the west of the Ili, Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 271. Towards the end of the seventh century the Türgish Wu-chih-lé spread his power to the west and is said to have possessed two residences, one north of the Ili and the other on the Chu, *ibid.*, 43, 77, 282. A much more important man was the Qara-Türgish Su-lu who may be regarded as the restorer of the Western Turkish power. In A.D. 716 he proclaimed himself khāqān of the Türgish, *ibid.*, 44, 81-6. The Arabs nicknamed this doughty opponent of theirs Abū Muzāhim, Ṭabarī, ii, 1593, Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 187, Gibb, *Arab conquests*, pp. 60-85.

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, apart from the great Issik-kul lake, there are two small lakes and a locality of the same name in the hills to the south-east of Almata (Verniy), see Prince Masalsky, *Turkestan*, p. 777. These lakes (called by the Qirghiz *jasıl* "green") lie at the altitude

of resp. 5,450 and 5,866 feet and can serve only as a summer camping ground.

<sup>2</sup> For the pronunciation *Türgiř*, cf. F.W.K. Müller, *Uigurica* ii, 1911, p. 95, and O. Hansen, in *Jour. Soc. Finno-ougrienne*, xlv/8, 1930, p. 20: *turkyř* (in Soghdian).

In 738 Su-lu was assassinated by the lord of the Yellow Türgish called Kül-chur (Ṭabarī, ii, *passim*: *Kūr-šul*). After a period of troubles<sup>1</sup> the Qarluq (towards 766) extended their power to the Chu valley and subjected both the Black and Yellow Türgish, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 46, 85.

The advent of the Qarluq meant not only the passage to them of the political leadership but undoubtedly also the occupation by them of the better pasture lands. However, the tribes of the Türgish federation could not be destroyed; some of them migrated westwards (§ 19), but some maintained their more remote haunts and probably even enjoyed some autonomy.<sup>2</sup> I.Kh., 31, still knows the Türgish tribe and, p. 29 (= Qudāma, 206), places the town of the [former?] Türgish khāqān<sup>3</sup> at 4 farsakhs to the west of Navākat. In the tradition going up to Balkhī (*i.e.* in Iṣṭ. and I.H.) the Türgish are no more mentioned (perhaps in view of the fact that they were comprised under the Kharlukh and Ghuzz), but the authors depending most likely on Jayhānī (*i.e.* in the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī) include some additional details on the destinies of the Türgish. As suggested by Barthold and Marquart, in several passages in Gardīzī (81<sub>25</sub>, 84<sub>16</sub>, 102<sub>23</sub>) one must read *Türgishān* instead of *Turkistān*. The paragraph on the Khallukh (see notes to § 15) contains the story of how the Khallukh came to live on the territory of the Türgish khāqān and how the power finally passed to them. In the paragraph on the Yaghmā (see notes to § 13) Gardīzī tells how the latter were exploited by the khāqān (of the Türgish) as an offset against the Khallukh, Hayṭāl, and Kimāk. Finally, in the description of the route to the "Chigil and Türgish" (see notes to § 16) Gardīzī mentions in the Chu valley two (?) dihqāns of Türgish origin and says that to the east of the [Kastek or Kurdai] pass lies the country of "the Türgish (who consist) of Tukhsī and ٲان". A parallel of these names is found only in the *H.-'Ā.* (*v.i.* 1) while the first (Tukhsī) is known to the *H.-'Ā.* (the whole § 17 is devoted to them), to the *Mujmal al-tavārikh* (the king of نجسين \*Tukhsī (?) is called *Qūtegin*, cf. *supra*, p. 292), to 'Aufī (who includes them together with Chigil, &c. in the Khallukh federation, *v.s.*, § 15), as well as to Kāshgharī. It is curious that the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī who know very little about the Ili (§ 6, 5.) speak of the Türgish and Tukhsī only in the neighbourhood of the Chu, whereas Kāshgharī, whose ideas of the Chu (iii, 305, 307: *Shū*) are vague, mentions, i, 85 and 342, the Tukhsī tribe (*qabila*) on the Ili, where according to him it lived together with the Yaghmā tribe and a clan (*tā'ifa*) of the Chigil.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the fate of Kūr-šul the Arabs and Chinese give different reports, see H.A.R. Gibb, *o.c.*, 91. [Cf. *supra*, p. 288.]

<sup>2</sup> According to the *T'ang-shu*, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 85-6, apart from the tribes subjected by the Qarluq some tribes joined the Uyghurs; a certain T'ê-p'ang-lê became *yabghu* of Qarashar (§ 12, 10.) and the rest of the tribes (200,000 men strong) retained their independence in

the Kin-so mountains (according to Chavannes, north of Urumchi?).

<sup>3</sup> مدينة خاقان التركشي (var. التركي). Ṭabarī, ii, 1613, strangely transcribes the name with *q* الترقشي. Perhaps this place is identical with Sui-shih = Toq-maq (?).

<sup>4</sup> See also *ibid.*, i, 28 (in a north-to-south enumeration: Chigil, Tukhsī, Yaghmā); iii, 129: Quyās (\*Quyash?) is

1. East of the watershed range Gardīzī mentions "the Türgish (consisting) of Tukhsiyān and اران". Our author evidently takes the Tukhs for the successors of the Türgish and the latter's name no more occurs in the *H.-Ā.* Of the لازنه and فراخيه who are mentioned as the clans of the Tukhs the first most likely represents the same name as اران; لازنه (as well as its companion فراخيه) reflects an Arabic form (لازنية\*) while ازيان\* *Aziyān* gives the name in Persian garb (cf. *Tukhsiyān*, *Khallukhiyān*, &c.). A name beginning with an *l* is unlikely in Turkish; therefore لازنية\* must be further improved into الازنية\* *al-Aziyya*.<sup>1</sup> Already in his earlier *Semirechye*, 15, and *Die alttürkischen Inschriften*, 18, Barthold compared this name with the one found in the Orkhon inscriptions where the combination *az budun* occurs in two different meanings: "a small people" (I, E29) and "the people of Az", as is particularly clear in the following passage (I, N2): *az budun yaghi qaldı; qara-költä sünüšdimiz . . . Kül-tegin . . . az-eltäbärig tutdı; az budun anda yoq qaldı*. "the Az people proved to be in revolt; we fought at the Qara-kül lake . . . Kül-tegin captured the *eltäbär* of the Az; on this occasion the Az people was broken (annihilated)". This interpretation has been accepted by Radloff, Melioransky, and finally by Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, p. 154. It makes clearer the other passage which comes earlier in the inscription (I, E19) and refers to the revolt of the Türgish qaghan and its repression; immediately after it stands an unfinished sentence in which Bilgä qaghan says: "in order that our ancestors' land should not remain lordless [I] organized the Az people (*az budunigh itip yaratiıp*)".<sup>2</sup> This quotation is particularly interesting as it establishes as it were some link between the Türgish and their Az successors.<sup>3</sup> [*budunigh*—definite accus.].

On the other hand, according to the Chinese sources, Chavannes, *Documents*, 67, 271, 307, there were two divisions of the Türgish: *So-ko Mo-ho* and *A-li-shih*. One knows also the fatal struggles between the Yellow and Black clans of the Türgish, *ibid.*, 83–6. As the Yellow clans were descendants of So-ko, their Black rivals (to whom the famous Su-lu belonged) might be identical with the group called *A-li-shih*, though of course the line of clan scissure could be more complicated! Our الازنية\* لازنه might perhaps have a connexion with *A-li-shih* in which case Gardīzī's \**Aziyān* would be due to the wrong treatment of initial *al-* (as in *al-Lān* < *Alān*) taken for the Arabic article. This supposition is, however, less probable

the country of the Tukhsī and Chigil; to it belong three castles: *Säbligh Q.*, *Urung Q.*, and *Qara Q.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 10, 46. البرز for لجر.

<sup>2</sup> Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, 148, seems to hesitate here between "Az people" and "small people" but the former is better as preparing I, N2. Cf. also, *ibid.*, I, E20, where the organization of the Az [and?] Qirghiz peoples is mentioned. Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 37, compares the Az who "oft [? V. M.]

zusammen mit den Kirgizen erwähnt werden" with the "Yenisei Ostiaks" who call themselves *Kott* or *Assin*, but this hypothesis going counter to the association of the Türgish and Az is not conclusive.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the passage I, E38 mentioning a dignitary called *az tutuq* in connexion with another war with the Türgish cannot be discussed here. See Barthold, *Die historische Bedeutung*, p. 34, Melioransky, *o.c.*, 124.



in view of the fact that the representation of the Black clans could be better associated with the other name *قراجه* easily restored as *قراچی* *Qarājiya* < *Qaraja* or *Qaraji*. In the Orkhon inscriptions (I, E38) the Qara-Türkish are specially mentioned.

2. In Ṭabarī, ii, 1594, Sūyāb is quoted as the starting-point of the expedition of the khāqān Abū Muzāḥim (*i.e.* the Türkish Su-lu), and connected with Navākat and the sacred mountain situated near the latter. According to Gardīzī (see note to § 15, 7.) Sūyāb belonged to the group of three villages of which one (*Khūtkiyāl*) is distinctly said to have a Türkish lord (*va ū Türkishī-st*). With regard to the dihqān of Sūyāb Gardīzī's text is out of order unless the passage *و دهقان او برادر بیغو باشد با کسی او* be restored as: *va dihqān-i ū barādar-i \*yabghū bāshad \*va ū Turgishī-st*. The last four words would then run exactly as in the case of *Khūtkiyāl*, and this would be further confirmed by the inclusion of Sūyāb in our § 17 dealing with the Tukhs (regarded as the remnants of the Türkish). *Bayghū* as a personal name is possible but here the reference is rather to a rank and *bayghū* in Arabic script is a constant mis-spelling for *yabghū*. It must be remembered, however, that this title is usually associated with the Khallukh (cf. § 15) and not with the Türkish (cf. also *infra* 3.). The number of warriors in Sūyāb (20,000) greatly exceeds that given in Gardīzī (500), and possibly our author roughly sums up the forces of all the villages enumerated by Gardīzī on the way to the Chigil (25,300).

According to Gardīzī the Sūyāb group of settlements lay to the left (*i.e.* north) of Navīkat, evidently on the right bank of the Chu. This Muslim *Sūyāb*<sup>1</sup> cannot be identical with the Chinese *Sui-shih* which the *T'ang-shu*, &c. mentions on the road from the present-day Chinese Turkestan to Ṭarāz (Talas). It lay to the south of the Chu river (whereas the sacred mountain Kie-tan lay beyond the river at a distance of 40 *li*); Chavannes, *o.c.*, 10, identifies this town *grosso modo* with Toqmaq. Cf. also Barthold, *Otchet*, 31 and *Christentum*, 9 (not very clear). The archeology of the Chu valley is still in a rudimentary state and only systematic excavations will bring certainty in identifications.

3. According to Gardīzī this village lay to the east of the watershed range, perhaps on the river Kop which is the north-westernmost of the Ili headwaters and rises on the eastern side of the Kurдай pass. The details can be tabulated as follows:

	<i>Ḥ.-'A.</i>	<i>Gardīzī</i>	<i>Mujmal</i>
name	Bigliligh	Bigligh	Athligh (?)
prince	*Yinal-beg-tegin	brother of the <i>j.nūba</i>	Yinal-tegin
forces	3,000	500 to 3,000	?

<sup>1</sup> Barthold, *Semirechye*, 18, identifies it with Qara-bulaq, but if by the latter is meant the stage lying near the Great Kebin on the road from Toqmaq to Jilariq this position does not suit Gardīzī's indication ("to the left" of the road). I should suggest for Sūyāb a position in

the direction of the Kurдай (*qurday* "pelican") pass over which the Russian wheel-road crosses the mountain and which lies north of the Kastek pass. [See on the Map vi the position of the Sughati station.] [As *yāb* < *āb* means "water", *Sū-yāb* = "the Chu canal"?]

Gardīzī omits to give the title of the prince and only indicates his family relations to some *جنوبه*,<sup>1</sup> as he also calls the lord of Sūyāb (*v.s.* 2.) *bayghu*'s brother. Both these forms may reflect the same title *yabghū* and indicate that Sūyāb and Bigliligh were under the control of the same family. In our source both places are quoted under Tukhs (= Türgish) and we are placed before an alternative: either the Türgish-Tukhs rulers enjoyed a title similar to *yabghu/jabghu* of the Khallukh, or Gardīzī introduces some later data suggesting the gradual absorption of the Tukhs by the Khallukh.<sup>2</sup>

The alternative Soghdian name of Bigliligh indicates the presence there of a Soghdian colony, cf. Barthold, *On the Soghdian and Tokharian languages* (in Russian) in *Iran*, 1926, i, 35. Our Bigliligh looks entirely different from the five villages also inhabited by Soghdians and also ruled by a Bek-egin, but mentioned (§ 12, 6.) under Toghuzghuz.

4. According to the order of enumeration this village ought to be the easternmost of the Tukhs possessions. Gardīzī speaks of a village lying in the neighbourhood of Biglīgh whose dihqan *B.dān Sāngū* was of "local" origin. This would suit our description according to which the village only lay "between" two Tukhs villages. However, the number of its warriors (7,000) is in sheer contradiction with our author's statement. The alternative is to take our *Ūrkath* for a repetition of *Ūskath* (§ 15, 8.).

## §§ 18-22. The north-western Turks

After the description of the south-eastern Turks our author begins the series of the more northern tribes. He proceeds east to west and, more especially, §§ 20-22, refer to the Ural region. This system explains some important points in our text (see § 22).

### § 18. The Kimāk

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 79, 340; Marquart, *Komanen*, 89-113, 171-2, 205, and *passim*; Barthold, *Kimāk* in *EI*; V. P. Semenov (editor), *Kirgizskiy kray*, SPb., 1903, with Map (vol. xviii of *Rossiya. Polnoye geograf. opisanie*). [Marquart, *Die Iki Imāk*, in *Ostas. Zeit.*, 1920, viii, 293-6.]

The legend quoted by Gardīzī, 82-3, shows that the Kimāk were supposed to have separated from the Tatār. The eponyms of the original seven clans were: Īmī, Īmāk, Tatār, Bayāndur, Khifchāq, \*Nilqāz,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The same form *j.nūba* (\**jabbūya*) stands in Gardīzī, 82<sub>9</sub>, as the title of the first Khallukh chief who succeeded to the last (Türgish) khāqān. Just before, 82<sub>5</sub>, the title given to the Khallukh ruler is spelt *جنوبی*. On the different forms of *yabghū* see Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 247, *Wehrōt*, 143, *Provincial capitals*, 10: the Middle Persian text gives *Yabb(ū)-*

*khakān*. Cf. also Armenian *Jebu-khak'an*. [*V.s.* note to § 15.]

<sup>2</sup> The latter assumption would contradict our emendation of the text \**va ū Turgishī-st*.

<sup>3</sup> So instead of *L.niqāz*; the clan Nilqaz is still known among the Shāh-sevān of Sāwa; see Minorsky, *Sāwa* in *EI*.

Ajlād (?). Our source seems to suggest that there were eleven divisions of the tribe.<sup>1</sup> The name Kimäk (to be pronounced Kimäk), according to Marquart, is an abbreviation of *Iki-Imäk* "the two Imäk" (probably with reference to the first two clans of the federation). Kāshgharī no longer knows the Kimäk, but only the *Yamäk* (\**Yimäk*), of whom he says, iii, 22, that "with us they are (considered as) Qifchāq, but the Qifchāq Turks consider themselves as a different group (*hizb*)"; this statement shows that the process of regrouping the remnants of the Kimäk federation had already been accomplished under the leadership of the new influential tribe, the Qipchaq (§ 21).

It is no easy task to locate the Kimäk territory. The confusion and fluctuation of our sources may reflect some historical displacement of the habitat of the tribe or the seasonal movements of its clans from the winter quarters (*qishlaq*) to the summer pastures (*yaylaq*), cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, 162 and 101. The chief geographical error of the source common to our author and Gardīzī was that not knowing the lower course of the Irtish, it presumed its junction with the Volga in the region where the left affluents of the former and the left affluents of the latter almost dovetail into one another. Consequently the Ishim, too, flowing inside the supposed bend of the Irtish was thought to flow westwards and confused with some of the rivers disembodying into the north-eastern corner of the Caspian. Finally, it is possible that Gardīzī who is our chief authority for the route to the Kimäk has amalgamated several variants of the itinerary.

As regards the frontiers our source says that the eastern neighbours of the Kimäk are the Khirkhīz (confirmed under § 14), whereas 'Aufī (cf. note to § 14), locates the Kimäk north of the Khirkhīz. In fact, with the Kimäk, our author, too, launches on the description of the northernmost belt of Turkish tribes: Kimäk, Ghūz, Pecheneg, Khifchakh, and Majgharī, and we shall see the important conclusions to be drawn from this arrangement with regard to the location of the Majgharī (§ 22): That the "Artush" and the "Ätil" are placed south of the Kimäk only means that the Kimäk lived beyond these rivers. [Moreover آتل at this place may be a simple misunderstanding for اسس/رس.]<sup>2</sup> The bearing of the Khifchakh and the Northern lands, both located "to the west of the Kimäk", must be taken as meaning north-west. All seems to indicate that the principal territory of the Kimäk lay in Western Siberia, north of the Irtish, say up to the Obi.<sup>3</sup> Gardīzī says that the land of the Kimäk is very cold and that in winter their horses are taken to the place اركتاغ (Ük-tagh) in the country عراق (perhaps اغراق, cf. note to § 12, 17.). On the other hand (§ 5, 19.), a mountain, apparently the Ural, is said to stretch "between the end of the Rūs frontier and the

<sup>1</sup> Or twelve if the khāqān had a clan of his own.

<sup>2</sup> See however note to § 6, 43. on the Volga rising from the Altai (!).

<sup>3</sup> On Kāshgharī's Map the rivers (from south to north) Ilā, Art.sh, a nameless river, and Y.mār are represented as

emptying into a lake. The Y.māk (*Yimäk*, a clan of our Kimäk) are shown on the left bank of the Art.sh, and the J.m.l and Qāy on the nameless river. \*Yumār = Obi, cf. Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 96.

beginning of the Kimäk frontier", which evidently means that the two peoples adjoined the opposite extremities of the range without being direct neighbours of one another. This may indicate that the Kimäk (or at least their Khifchäkh branch, § 21) extended, at some time, to the southern part of the Ural. The raiding activities of the Kimäk covered a still larger area, for under § 12, 10. J.mlikath, in the Toghuzghuz country is mentioned as exposed to their attacks.

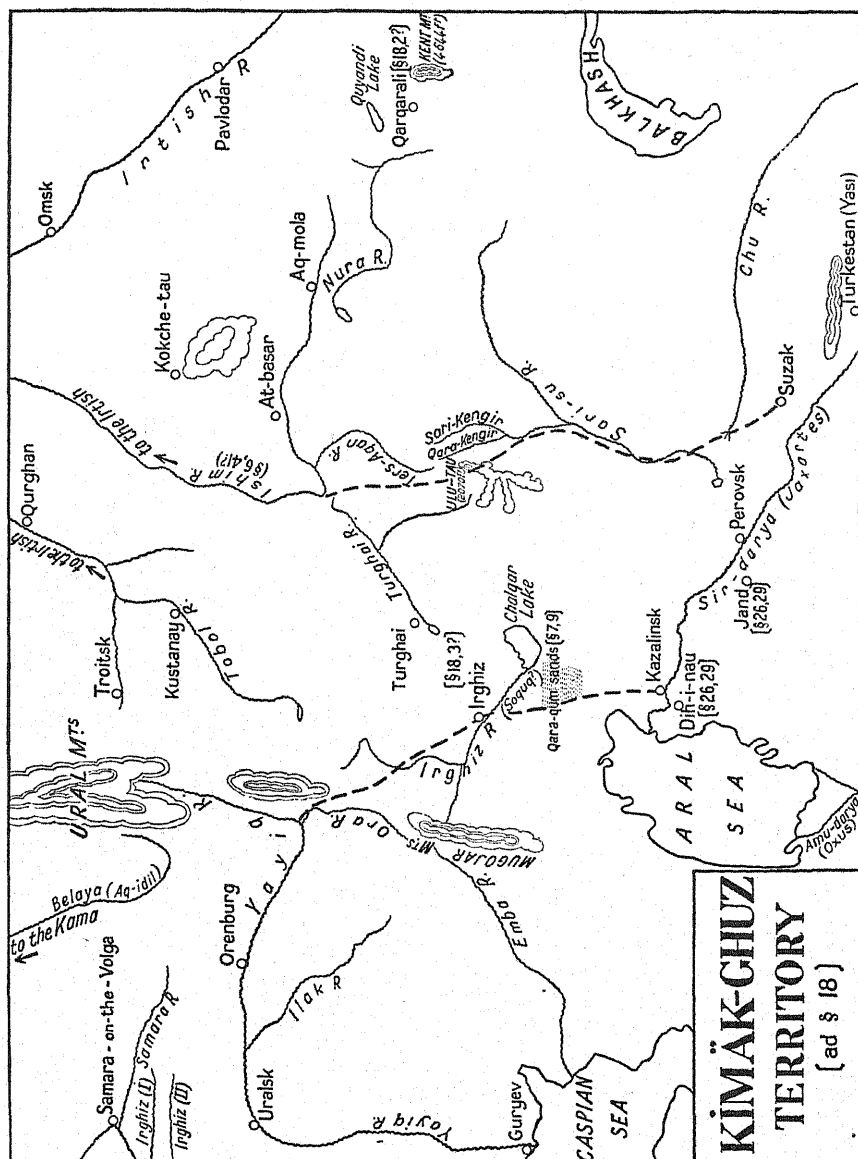
In § 6, 42. the Artush is described as flowing between the Ghūz and the Kimäk, but in § 18 the Ghūz are not mentioned among the immediate neighbours of the Kimäk, though the latter are said to visit in winter the country of the former. This last detail may explain Maq., 274, where, in the enumeration of the dependencies of Isfijāb (§ 25, 84.), Saurān (= § 25, 90. Šabrān) is said to be a frontier post (*thaghr*) against the Ghuzz and the Kimäk, and Sh.ghl.jān a frontier post in the direction of the Kimäk. According to these indications, in the second half of the tenth century the region along the right bank of the Jaxartes also bordered on the Kimäk territory.

Passing now to the roads leading to the Kimäk we must register, in the first place, the indication of the earlier I.Kh., 28, and Qudāma, 209, who make Ṭarāz (§ 25, 93.) the starting point of the route to the residence of the Kimäk king. The position of the first stage on the road (کوکات, or کویکت), and consequently the initial direction of the route, are still dark, but Qudāma, 205<sub>10</sub> and 262<sub>16</sub>, distinctly says that to the left, i.e. north of the road Ṭarāz-Külān lies a sand desert which stretches up to the territory of the Kimäk. The fact that the traveller before setting out from \*Kuvēkat had to lay in stores of food (I.Kh.) for a journey lasting 80 days also suggests a northward direction through the steppes. In any case the road to the Kimäk ran entirely separate from that linking up Ṭarāz with the Semi-rechye, see notes to §§ 15-17 and § 25, 93. The itinerary of Mis'ar b. Muhalhil, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 79, and that of Idrīsī, Marquart, *Komanen*, 111-12, are very confused and still of no practical help. The only detailed description of a route to the Kimäk is found in Gardīzī, 83. It started from an entirely different point (some 850 Km. to the north-west of Ṭarāz as the crow flies) and its successive stretches were as follows:

- a. from Pārāb (spelt باره اب, cf. § 25, 88.) to Dih-i Nau (§ 26, 29.);
- b. a river and the sands called اوروقمن (or اولوقمن) are crossed;
- c. the river سقوق (or سقوق) is crossed beyond which begins a salt desert (cf. § 7, 81.) leading up to the K.ndāv.r-tāghī (§ 5, 12.);
- d. the wooded banks of the "same" river (S.qūq) are followed up to the source of the river which rises from the large mountain K.ndāv.r;
- e. from this mountain the road, for 5 days, descends through woods to the river اسس (§ 6, 41.) of which the waters are black and which flows from the east to the Ṭabaristān (Caspian) sea;
- f. from the Asus to the following river ارتش (§ 6, 42.) where the Kimäk frontier begins. This river is large and its waters are black.

Marquart, *Komanen*, 205, takes سقوق for the Sarī-su, which flows from

Map vii



north to south and disappears in the sands to the north-east of the town of Perovsk; he identifies \*Kundāvar with the Ulu-tau and the اسس with the Ishim \*ايشيم and finally traces the road to the Irtish ارتش in the direction of Pavlodar. This is a very ingenious suggestion. The identification of K.ndāv.r (perhaps \*Känd-ür for Kändür) with the Ulu-tau ("Great Mountain", cf. § 5, 12.) which is a prominent land-mark (2,070 feet) is very tempting. Moreover, the names of the two sources of the Sari-su coming from this mountain: Sari-Kängir and Qara-Kängir have some remote likeness to \*Kändür.<sup>1</sup> However, we must bear in mind the fact that the starting-point of Gardizi's route is Dih-i Nau = Yāngi-känd = Qaryat al-hadītha which lay near the present-day Kazalinsk, some 280 Km. downstream from Perovsk! To follow the Sari-su there would have been no need to descend the Sirdarya to the neighbourhood of its estuary. If we accept Gardizi's initial point we must rather trace the route northwards of Kazalinsk, taking the first river (b) for the Irghiz, and the \*Suquq (c) for the Turghay;<sup>2</sup> having crossed the latter the road would follow its western (right) bank to its source; the K.ndāv.r would be the watershed between the Turghay and the western elbow of the Ishim, where the two rivers come very near to one another; beyond the Ishim the road, probably still following the course of this river, would reach the Irtish. This alternative suggestion has a considerable disadvantage in the fact that the watershed between the Turghay and Ishim is formed by insignificant heights (northern continuation of the Ulu-tau) and I do not know how to conciliate Gardizi's data unless by supposing that in his description he somehow merged the data belonging to two different roads to the Kimāk. In the present state of our knowledge we should not easily sacrifice the identification of the K.ndāv.r with the Ulu-tau.<sup>3</sup>

Until now we have proceeded on the supposition that ارتش stands for the Irtish, contrary to the description of the course of the *Asus* in Gardizi, and of the رس and ارتش in our author, where these rivers are represented as

<sup>1</sup> V.s., note to § 5, 12. Near Qarqarali (§ 18, 2) stands the peak of Kend (4,644 feet), but it is difficult to fit in Qarqarali into our route. [For K.ndāv.r v.i., p. 324, and the Russian and Georgian family name Кандауров]

<sup>2</sup> [As in Abul-Ghāzi's text (v.i. 3) ساق designates the Irghiz-Turghay region, *Sāvuq* evidently refers to the Turghay river which is not otherwise mentioned in this detailed enumeration. It is very tempting to compare the name *Sāvuq* "cold" with Gardizi's سقوق which already Marquart interpreted as a Turkish word for "cold". In this case the probability of my explanation of Gardizi's itinerary (as running along the Irghiz and Turghay rivers) is con-

siderably increased.]

<sup>3</sup> Semenov, *o.c.*, 354-5, mentions a road connecting Atbasar situated on the Upper Ishim (still at *circa* 450 Km. from the nearest point of the Irtish) with the Ulu-tau (*circa* 400 Km.), and then running in a southern direction to the village of Suzak lying to the east of the Jaxartes, more or less in the direction of the ancient Tārāz (another 625 Km.). Some 50 Km. to the south of the Ulu-tau are situated three tombs of the 19th-century Khans of the Qazaq (*i.e.* "Qirghiz" according to the terminology used before 1917). This Atbasar-Suzak road is a very interesting parallel to the "Kimāk road", at least as described by the earlier geographers.

flowing *westwards*. In this latter case the two rivers would eventually be the Iläk and the Yayıq (see notes to § 6, 41. and 42.) and the route should be imagined as running north-westwards.<sup>1</sup>

1. 2. "Andar az Khifjāq" formed evidently the north-western march of the Kimäk territory, while Qarqarkhān (?) was the southern march of it. If the words about the Irtish flowing "between" the Kimäk and the Ghūz are not to be interpreted too strictly, one may think of Qarqarali, lying in a mountainous region south of the Irtish, and *circa* 350 km. to the SW. of Semipalatinsk. In the translation (*v.s.* p. 100) I tentatively interpreted the term as "Cis-Khifchaqia", but if *az* replaces here an *idāfat* the term may mean "The inner (part) of Khifchaq". [Cf. *H-Ā*, fol. 3a<sub>13</sub>].

3. The location of Y.ghsūn-yāsū depends upon the identification of the two rivers. The real Irtish and Volga lie too wide apart. Moreover in § 18, 3. ايرتیش, through a graphic mistake, may stand for the river mentioned in § 6, 41.

[Additional note. The complex يغسون ياسو to some extent resembles the names of the two northernmost peoples known to the Muslims respectively as يور (or يورغ) and ويسو (or ايسو), see references in Marquart, *Arktische Länder*. In Bīrūnī's *Canon* the two peoples are mentioned at the very end of the table of co-ordinates, after the 7th climate. بلد السر (read: \*بلد ايسو) has the caption: "the Bulghārī trade with them", and the other people is described as follows: *ghiyād Yūra wa hum mutawahhishūn yutājirūna mu'āyanatan* "the forests of the Yūra, who are wild and trade by bartering the objects placed on sight".

The *Wisū* are usually identified with the Finnish Ves' (see note to § 44), and the *Yūghra* with the Ugrian Ostiaks and Voguls (*v. i.*, § 22).

In the year A.D. 1216 Khwārazm-shāh Muḥammad led an expedition against Qadir-khan, leader of the Qanqlī.<sup>2</sup> Gūzgānī, as available in Raverty's translation, p. 267, says that he "penetrated as far as *Yighur of Turkistān*, so far to the north that he came under the North Pole and reached a tract where the light of twilight did not disappear at all from the sight", &c. The passage is evidently inspired by the stories about the northernmost lands which since Ibn Faḍlān's report (Yāqūt, i, 755-6) were current among the Muslims.

Whether the Khwārazm-shāh really went so far north is another question. Of the authors speaking of the same campaign Nasawī, ed. Houdas, p. 9, mentions on this occasion ما ارغز "river Irghiz", and Juvaynī, i, 101, speaks of the Qara-qum occupied by the Qanqlī قراقم که موضع

<sup>1</sup> On the source of the possible confusion of the routes, *v.s.*, p. 305, line 11.

<sup>2</sup> Br. Mus. Add. 25. 785 (fol. 145a) *ki bi-sar-i \*Qanqliyān-i Tatār būd*. The Qanqlī were closely associated with the Qipchaq, cf. Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, 114 and 116. The latter formerly belonged to

the Kimäk federation which according to Gardizi included a Tatār division (to be distinguished from the later Mongols!). Therefore the combination of names in Gūzgānī is quite plausible. On the connexion of Qadir-khan with the "Yimäk" cf. Raverty, p. 1097.

اقامت قنقلیان بود and of two rivers قیج and قلی. Nasawī's *Īrghīz* cannot be one of the more northern Īrghīz rivers flowing to the Volga downstream from Samara; in Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, p. 10, Shīban's *ulus*, of which the western limits were the Yayīq and the Sīr-daryā, comprised both the *Īrghīz-Savūq* and the *Qara-qum* which must respectively correspond to the names quoted by Nasawī and Juvaynī and refer to the same locality.<sup>1</sup>

One thing is certain, namely that some connexion existed towards the end of the twelfth century between the Qifchaq (of whom the Qanqlī were probably a clan) and some tribe called *Yighur* or *Yughur*. In a document of 578/1182 emanating from the Khwārazm-shāh's chancery, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 370, (and texts i, 79) the Khwārazm-shāh records the submission of Alp-Qara ارران with all the Qifchaq tribe, adding that he sent to the king's camp his eldest son with a large number of یوغور زادگان (var. یوغور اذکان). Very probably another reference to the name is found in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 213, where describing the Black and White Irtish flowing to the Caspian (v.s., § 6, 42.), he remarks that on them lay the kingdom of کیماک بیغور. Instead of Marquart's restoration \**Kimāk-yagbhuy* (going counter to Gardīzī, 83, who calls the chief of the Kimāk *shad-tutuq*) I should restore this name as \**Kimāk-Yighur* (بیغور) and compare it with Guzgānī's یوغور<sup>2</sup> and the یوغور just quoted.

According to Mas'ūdī's text this was the name of a Kimāk territory, or of a Kimāk division. The expression *Yūghūr-zāda* (= \**banū Yūghūr*) is in favour of the latter supposition. Some confusion on the part of our author is of course possible but it is certain that this Kimāk tribe had nothing to do with the northern *Yūghra*.

The fact that our یغسون یاسو is described as lying between the Ātil (\*Asus?) and Irtish (Artush) is reminiscent of the natural conditions described in the *Murūj*, i, 213, and at least our § 6, 42. is identical with one of Mas'ūdī's rivers. The first element یغسون can very easily be improved into یغور\* (the س may have been mis-read from a longish joint between غ and و). More difficult is یاسو. As in Turkish *yası* means "broad, wide", could it have stood here for "a plain"? The fact is that *Yası* is attested as the name of a town on the Yaxartes since at least the twelfth century, see Barthold, *Vorlesungen*, p. 141.]

4. very probably یماکیه *Yimākiya*? For the distance of 80 days see I.Kh., 28, who counts from ٢اراز to کو بکت 7 farsakhs and thence 80 days to the residence (*maudī*) of the Kimāk king, *ditto* in Qudāma, 209, 262.

5. Dih-i Chūb (§ 6, 42. and 43. *Dih-i Chūbīn*) "the Wooden Village"; on its position, v.s., § 6, 43. Mis'ar b. Muhallil speaks of the town of the Ghuzz built of stone, wood, and reeds.

<sup>1</sup> The Qara-qum sands lie to the south-west of the Chalqar lake into which the Īrghīz disembogues.

<sup>2</sup> Raverty does not give the Arabic spelling of *Yighur* which he found in

some of his MSS. but seeing that in the Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 26. 189 (fol. 129b) and Add. 25. 785 (fol. 145a) stands one تا بقهر (?) ترکستان . . . برفت . . . one would think that the original had یوغور\*.



## § 19. The Ghūz

Houtsma, *Die Guzenstämme*, in *WZKM*, ii, 1888, pp. 219-33; Barthold, *Ghuzz* and *Türk* in *EI*; *An Historical Sketch of the Turkmen People* (in Russian), in a volume by several authors *Turkmeniya*, Ashqabad, 1929 [quoted: *Turkmeniya*], 5-69; *Vorlesungen*, 101; Marquart, *Die Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschr.*, 10, 24; *Komanen*, 25-6, 34, &c.; A. Z. Validi, *Meshhed-skaya rukopis' Ibn al-Faqih*, in *Bull. Acad. des Sciences de Russie*, 1924, 237-48; Köprülü-zade Mehmet Fuat, *Oğuz etnolojisine dayir tarihi notlar*, in *Türkiyat mecmuası*, Istanbul, 1925, i, 1-20.

§§ 19-22 describe a special group of northern "Turkish" tribes adjoining the Ural region. See Map vii.

The Ghūz (Arabic transcription *Ghuzz*) as their name suggests were a part of the people called *Oghuz* in original Turkish sources (*v.s.* notes to § 12, and *Kāshgharī*, i, 56-8). The infiltration of Turkish (*Oghuz*) tribes in the direction of Transoxiana and Khorāsān began before Islam: the steppes in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea were occupied by the Turks probably in the sixth century A.D. (prince Šül of Dihistān, cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 73, Barthold, *Turkmeniya*, pp. 12-13); on a similar early migration of the Khalaj see note to § 24, 22. An important movement of the Ghūz (*Oghuz*) was caused by the Qarluq occupation of the territories previously possessed by Western Turks (*Türgish*), see note to § 17. According to the *T'ang-shu* the Qarluq transferred their residence to the Chu valley after A.D. 766, and in a remarkable passage explaining the origin of the Ghuzz of the Balkh region who captured Sulṭān Sanjar, Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 117 (year 548/1153), says: "Some historians of Khorāsān have given much more definite data about them. They say that these Ghuzz came over to Transoxiana from the region of the marches (*var.* 'from the Toghuzghuz country'), from the remotest Turkish (lands), in the days of the caliph Mahdī (A.D. 775-85); they accepted Islam and helped al-Muqanna', the doer of miracles of jugglery, until his end came. When the army marched against him they abandoned him, as they were wont to do in every kingdom in which they were. Such used to be also their practice with the Khāqānian kings but the Qarluq punished them and expelled them from their seats." Though this passage refers chiefly to the Balkh Ghuzz, the disruption of the Western T'u-chüeh must have occasioned many similar migrations.<sup>1</sup> Later the Ghūz were chiefly known under the name *Türkmān* of which the most likely interpretation is that offered by Jean Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, 1921, p. 326, according to which *Türk-mān* is formed with the "augmentative" suffix *man/mān* having in Turkish an intensifying or aggrandizing sense (*qoja-man* "huge"); according to this theory *Türkmān* would mean something like "Turk *pur sang*" or in Italian "Turcone".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is also characteristic that the Russian chronicles specially apply to the Ghuz (*Oğ*) the name *Tork* < *Türk* connected with the T'u-chüeh. Cf.

Aristov, *Zametki*, in *Zhivaya Starina*, 1896, p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> This explanation fully agrees with the story quoted by Barthold from

Our author represents the Ghuz country as stretching, roughly speaking, between the Irtish, the Volga, the Caspian Sea, and Transoxiana. In § 6, 42. he says that the Irtish (Artush) down to the Wooden Village (§ 18, 5.) separated the Kimäk from the Ghūz, but he adds (§ 18) that in winter the Kimäk visited the Ghūz territory.<sup>1</sup> Gardīzī, 107, also places the Kimäk country beyond the Irtish but without any reference to the Ghūz. It is difficult to see how the Volga could constitute the frontier of the Ghūz both in the west and *north* (?) but it is clear from § 50 that the Khazar had very little control over the territories beyond the Volga, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 49, positively mentions the Ghuzz raids across the Volga when the river freezes over. A similar (but clearer) definition of the Ghuzz territory is found in Iṣṭ., 9, who places it between the Khazar, the Kimäk, the Kharlukh lands, the Bulghār, and the Islamic lands along the line Jurjān (Gurgān)-Fārāb-Ispijāb.

The historical situation in the steppes stretching between the Irtish and Volga is still insufficiently known. On the way from Gurgānj to the Pechenegs running west of the Aral Sea Gardīzī, 95, omits to mention the Ghuz but he does not mention any other tribe either. On the other hand, Ibn Faḍlān, who in the spring of A.D. 929 travelled approximately the same way from Khwārazm to Bulghār, found the Ghuzz in the region between the Ūst-yurt (plateau between the Aral Sea and the Caspian) and the river Jām identified by A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 246, with the Emba.<sup>2</sup> Beyond the Jām the traveller found the Bāshghurt patrols.

In § 19 the author says that the Ghūz have many chiefs and possess no town, forgetting that under § 26, 29. he mentions Dih-i Nau on the Jaxartes as the winter residence of the Ghūz king. The source of this latter passage may be common with that of I.H., 393. Ibn Faḍlān, see A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 245, styles the king of the Ghuzz *yabghū* and his viceroy *kūdārkin* (?).

The source of the characteristics of the Ghūz is uncertain. Gardīzī, 81, who has no special chapter on the Ghūz, only mentions their eponym *ج* and says that the original rain-stone was in their possession. Our author omits this detail, but perhaps his item on the power of the "doctors" (*i.e.* Turkish sorcerers *qam*) is somehow connected with this story. According to Mis'ar b. Muhallil, in Yāqūt, iii, 448, the rain-magnet (*hijāra wa hiya maghnāṭis al-maṭar*) belonged to the Kimäk.

## § 20. The Turkish Pechenegs

V. G. Vasilyevsky, *Byzantium and the Pechenegs* (in Russian) in the author's *Trudi*, SPb., 1908, i, 1-175; P. Golubovsky, *The Pechenegs, Torks,*

Juvaynī, cf. printed edition, ii, 88 (where *Ilak-Turkmān* must be substituted for *Ilak-Trkān*); cf. also Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāzim, p. 8519.

<sup>1</sup> In Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 213, the Ghuzz are placed on the Black Irtish

and the White Irtish, though the latter is described as the territory of the \*Kimäk-Yighūr (*v.s.*, p. 310).

<sup>2</sup> Abul-Ghāzī, p. 92, has *ج* for the Emba.

and Polovtsi before the Mongol Invasion (in Russian) in *Kiev. Universit. Izv.*, 1883-4 (not found in London or Paris libraries); Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 63; Marquart, *Komanen*, 25-6, 98-9, &c. A short survey in English is given in C. A. Macartney, *The Pechenegs*, in *The Slavonic Review*, viii, 1929, pp. 342-53. J. Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, in *Bib. Orient. Hungarica*, ii, Budapest, 1932 (inscriptions found on vessels dating, as it appears, from the beginning of the tenth century; the author attributes them to some princes of the Pechenegs, who shortly before that time settled in the present-day Hungary, and it is curious to read in Gardizī that the Pechenegs possessed numerous gold and silver vessels). D. A. Rasovsky, *The Pechenegs, Torks, and Berendeys in Russia and Hungary* (in Russian), in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Prague, 1933 (concerns later times; very complete Russian and Hungarian bibliography).

§§ 20 and 22, as well as 43-4 and 48-52, find close parallels in the respective chapters of I.R., Gardizī, Bakrī, and 'Aufī who all depend on one principal source and vary only in details.

Our author speaks of the Pechenegs in two chapters: under § 20 is described the old Pecheneg country and under § 47 their new habitat. Taking his information from two distinct sources he presents the two consecutive stages of the Pecheneg peregrinations as existing simultaneously.

The fullest presentation of the facts is found in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 37, which Marquart, *Komanen*, 25, calls the "basis of the historical ethnology of Southern Russia". The Byzantine author says that the seats of the Παζαβακίται were first between the Volga (Ἀργήλ) and Yayıq (Γεήχ, the "Ural river") where they had for neighbours the \*Majars (Μαζάρους)<sup>1</sup> and the Oghuz (Ούζ). Fifty-five years before the composition of the book (written A.D. 948)<sup>2</sup> the Khazars and the Oghuz simultaneously attacked the Pechenegs and drove them out of their country, which was occupied by the Oghuz. The Pechenegs settled in a new country (namely that formerly occupied by the Magyars)<sup>3</sup> from which the distances were as follows: 5 days both to the Khazars and the Oghuz, 6 days to Alania (cf. § 48), and 10 days to Mordia (cf. § 52). In chap. 42 of his work Constantine explains that at a later date (after the expulsion of the Magyars from Atelkuzu, § 22) the Pecheneg possessions extended from a place opposite Distra<sup>4</sup> on the lower Danube to Sarkel (a Khazar fortress on the Don). These events of the end of the ninth century are known to İşt., 10, who says: "A tribe of Turks called Bachanāk (Pecheneg)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ibn Faḍlān on the Bāshghurt = Majghār, *v.s.*, p. 312, line 19.

<sup>2</sup> In 889, according to *Reginonis Abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon*. Cf. Németh, *o.c.*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> More precisely the region which Constantine calls Αεβεδία and which must be located somewhere north of the Azov sea, its river Χιδμός *alias* Χιγγουλούς being sometimes identified

with the Chingul (?) river flowing into the Molochnaya. The Magyars moved to the country called *Atelkuzu* ("between the rivers"?) stretching between the Dniepr and Sereth. A new advance of the Pechenegs made the Magyars move across the Carpathians into their present land (shortly before A.D. 900).

<sup>4</sup> Distra = Durustulum = Silistria.

having been ousted from its land settled between the Khazars and Rūm. Their place is not their ancient home, but they have come to it and occupied it." In our author the seats of the Pechenegs near the Azov Sea are described under § 47, and in that connexion we shall have occasion to examine 'Aufi's interesting text on the further migrations of the tribes.

Our § 20 undoubtedly has in view the situation before A.D. 893 (or 889). It is true that Const. Porph., *o.c.*, admits that until his own time (μέχρι τοῦ νῦν) some of the Pechenegs (τινὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν) stayed on under the Ghuz, but according to our author the Turkish Pechenegs were at war with their neighbours which shows that they were still independent. This is still clearer from the parallel text of Gardīzī who uses the same source. He describes the Pechenegs at the zenith of their power possessing herds, horses, precious vases and girdles, battle-trumpets in the form of bulls' heads, and plenty of arms. Gardīzī, 95, describes a road from Gurgānj (in Khwārazm) to the Pechenegs which touched the Khwārazmian mountain<sup>1</sup> and left the Aral Sea to the right. After a journey in the desert, where water was found only in wells, on the tenth day a more pleasant country was reached with springs and abundant game. The whole journey to the Pechenegs took seventeen days. Their country stretched for 30 days and their neighbours were: towards the east the Qipchāq, towards the southwest (at 10 days' distance) the Khazars, and to the west the Slavs (*sic*). This picture is entirely different from what Ibn Faḍlān as an eye-witness found in 922. He met the Pechenegs to the south of the river *ج* (A. Z. Validi: \**ḡayikh* = *Yayīq*) and he opposes their poverty (undoubtedly a result of the events of A.D. 893) to the wealth of the Ghuzz. A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, p. 246, thinks that these Pechenegs belonged to the class of nomad "proletarians" (*jataq*) adding that they, too, shortly after crossed the Volga in a westerly direction.<sup>2</sup>

Our author considerably embroils the description of the Pecheneg frontiers. He does not say that their lands reached the Uninhabited Northern Zone, but the comparison with the Kimāk country shows that the Pechenegs lived in a very cold region. Under § 44 it is said that east of the Rūs lay the Pecheneg mountains under which only the Ural mountains or their (western) spurs can be understood.<sup>3</sup> Under § 6, 43. the Itil downstream of Bulghār separates the Turkish Pechenegs from the "Burtās" by which, owing to some mistake, our author (see § 51) usually means the Volga Bulghārs. In our § 20 the Burtās and Barādhās are mentioned to the south of the Pechenegs. In § 19 the Ātil (Volga) forms the western and northern frontier of the Ghūz while according to § 20 the western neighbours of the Ghūz were the Turkish Pechenegs. Did, then, our author think that the Pecheneg territory somehow stretched from the Urals down to the right (western) bank of the Volga? Still more embarrassing is § 6, 45.,

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the *Chink* of the Ūst-yurt. Bakrī, 42, places the mountain at 10 farsakhs from Gurgānj.

<sup>2</sup> But *v.s.*, Const. Porph., *o.c.*, cap. 37.

<sup>3</sup> At its northern and southern extremity respectively the Rūs and the Kimāk were supposed to live, cf. § 18.

according to which the enigmatic Rūtā river (flowing westwards!) rises from a mountain on the frontier between the Pechenegs, Majgharī, and Rūs. Such an involved idea would be comprehensible to some extent only if the author imagined that the Pechenegs and Majgharī, or a part of them, were found to the south-west of the great bend of the Volga (in the region of Kazan).<sup>1</sup> The Rūtā was evidently considered as the frontier between the Pechenegs and Rūs (cf. § 42).

It is curious that neither in § 20 nor in § 50 are the Turkish Pechenegs and the Khazars explicitly considered as neighbours, though from Const. Porph. we know that the Pechenegs were ousted from their former seats by the concerted action of the Ghuz and Khazar. Gardīzī's text (*v.i.*) is also clear in this respect.

### § 21. The Khifchākh (Qipchaq)

Marquart's *Komanen* is a special study on the origin and destinies of the Komans-Qipchaqs; though containing a prodigious mass of rare materials and many valuable suggestions it remains in the author's own words, p. 206, only spade-work ("Pionierarbeit"); cf. important critical remarks by Pelliot in *Jour. As.*, avril 1920, pp. 125-86, and by Barthold, *Russ. istor. zhurnal*, vii, 1921, pp. 131-56. See also Barthold, *Qipčak* in *EI*, A. Bruce Boswell, *The Qipčak Turks*, in *The Slavonic Review*, vi, 1927, pp. 68-85 (popular article), and D. Rasovsky, *Polovtsi*, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, vii, 1935, pp. 1-18 (to be continued) with a very good European bibliography [part ii, *ibid.*, viii, 1936, pp. 19-40].

The name *Khifshākh* < *Khifchākh*, *Qipchaq* is already attested in I.Kh., 31. The Russians called the Qipchaq *Polovtsi* (from *половый* "yellowish, sallow") to which name in western languages correspond the terms: *Pallidi*, *Falones*, *Valani*, *Valwen*, &c. This group of names has no correspondence in Muslim literature.<sup>2</sup> Another name under which the Qipchaq were known in the Byzantine empire and Western Europe is *Κόμανοι*, *Comani*, *Commani*, which is also found in Idrīsī, who (perhaps quoting from a European source)<sup>3</sup> calls the Qipchaq *القمانين* and their land *قمانة* (Jaubert's translation, ii, 395, 399, &c.). The identity of all these appellations is clear from Rubruquis (Paris, 1839, p. 247): "Commani qui dicuntur Capthat

<sup>1</sup> If the Pechenegs lived north of the Burtās (*i.e.* Bulghār) and Barādhās, how could they neighbour on the Ghūz along the Volga, unless under *Ātil* we have to understand the Kama? But this surmise would create new difficulties. According to Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 160, the operation zone of the Pechenegs extended (at some time?) down to the Aral Sea.

<sup>2</sup> But *v.i.*, p. 317, Barthold's interpretation of *Sārī*.

<sup>3</sup> One must, however, keep in mind the still insufficiently explained names *اولوقمن* (or *اولوقمن*) which Gardīzī quotes on the road to the Kimāk (see note to § 18) and *قمن آتی* (variants *قمن آتی* and *قمن آتی کوز*) given by Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, *Trudi V.O.*, vii, 162, as the name of the tenth tribe of the Uyghurs, cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, 91 and 58.

[\*Qipchaq]; a Teutonicis vero dicuntur Valani [read: *Falani*] et provincia Valania [read: *Falanía*]." The origin of the names *Coman-*/*Qoman* remains dark (cf. note to § 14, 1.). The name قون (still suspect!) to which Marquart attaches such an exceptional importance might explain the Magyar form *Kún* but it does not account for *Qoman*. Even without taking قون into consideration we can imagine the derivation of Magyar *Kún* from *Qoman* but there is no explanation for the expansion of an earlier \**Qūn* into *Qoman*, simultaneously with its supposed survival (?) as *Kún* in Magyar.

Like the Khirkhīz, Kimāk, and Rūs the Khifchākh are represented in our source as living in the immediate neighbourhood of the Northern Uninhabited Lands. To their south<sup>1</sup> are placed the Turkish Pechenegs. Our source (§ 6, 44.) adds that the Rūs river (Volga above its junction with Kama?) skirted the Khifchākh confines.<sup>2</sup> Were then the Qipchaq imagined to live down-stream from the Rūs on the left bank of the upper course of the Volga? This, however, would be an entirely imaginary construction due exclusively to our author, for Gardīzī, who uses much the same materials, distinctly says that the Khifchāq lived to the east of the Pechenegs. Having substituted *north* for *east* our author fitted in the peoples into his scheme without much care for the actual situation.

Gardīzī, 82, mentions the Khifchākh as one of the seven tribes of the Kimāk. Our author seems to refer to a later stage of the Khifchākh emancipation: he admits the vassal dependence of their king upon the Kimāk but considers the Khifchākh as a special tribe, maybe separated from the Kimāk by the territory called *Andar az Khifchākh*. To what an extent the form of association of the Qipchaq with the Kimāk was changed towards the end of the eleventh century is witnessed by the quotation from Kāshgharī (iii, 22), *v.s.*, p. 305, which shows the Yimāk, *i.e.* presumably one of the two original clans of the Kimāk, as a kind of poor relatives of the Qipchaq. In A.D. 1318 al-Warrāq quotes the Yimāk as a clan of the Qipchaq, cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, 157.

Marquart, *ibid.*, 100, must be right in assuming that the Qipchaq first profited by the victory of the Ghūz over the Pechenegs. To characterize the further succession of nomad tribes in southern Russia suffice it to mention<sup>3</sup> the following facts: in 1036 Yaroslav of Kiev inflicted the final crushing defeat on the Pechenegs. Under 1054 Russian chronicles for the first time mention the appearance both of the Torks (= Ghūz) and the Polovtsi (= Qipchaq). The former were evidently fleeing under the pressure of the latter. Henceforth for 170 years up to the Mongol invasion

<sup>1</sup> Read: *west* (?), cf. Gardīzī on the Pechenegs, *v.s.*, p. 314, line 20.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the *northern* boundary of the Turkish Pechenegs was the mysterious river Rūthā (§ 6, 45.) which is not mentioned in connexion with the Khifchākh. We may imagine then that, on our author's Map, the Rūthā divided the Rūs and Pechenegs

only on the right bank of the Volga. [Or should we read *eastern*, instead of *northern*, boundary, cf. *supra* note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Here we cannot discuss the migrations farther south and west. See now Rasovsky, *o.c.* [The first attack of the Pechenegs on Kiev is recorded in the Russian Chronicle under A.D. 968.]

(A.D. 1224) the Qipchaq remained masters of the steppes down to the Caucasus.

Explaining the process of formation of the Qipchaq tribe Marquart assumes three gradual stages of its mongolization(?). According to Gardizi the original Kimāk separated from the Tatār (following Marquart, *o.c.*, 95, in the seventh century); for a second time the Qūn, a clan of the Mongolian Marqa mentioned in 'Aufī (see note to § 20) put into movement the original tribes in the beginning of the 11th century, *o.c.*, 55, 57; for a third time the foundation of the Qipchaq (in the *Yüan-shih*: \**Kin ch'a*) state is explained by the arrival towards A.D. 1120 of some princes whose original habitat was near Jehol in Northern China, *o.c.*, 115, 117, 137. Many of these facts still need confirmation and their interpretation by Marquart is subject to considerable caution (see the reviews of Marquart's book by Pelliot and Barthold and the latter's *Vorlesungen*, p. 114).

It remains to mention here that in 'Aufī's much discussed passage the chain of moves among the nomadic tribes is opened by the invasion of the Qūn (*Q.rī*) into the Sārī land (*samīn-i Sārī*). The inhabitants of Sārī (*ahl-i Sārī*)<sup>1</sup> press the Ghuz-Türkmen and the latter move into the southern seats of the Pechenegs (§ 47). Barthold in his review of Marquart's *Komanen* thinks that by *Sārī* the Qipchaq are meant, and this hypothesis is certainly supported by the fact that the Qipchaq were the people who drove before them the Ghuz (Узгы Овзго) and gave their own name (*Dasht-i Khifchākh*) to the steppes formerly associated with the name of the Ghuzz. Barthold even suggests that *sārī* < *sari*, in Turkish "yellow", is not an unsuitable name for the people known in the west under the names: Polovtsi, Pallidi, &c. [One wonders whether the original group of the Qipchaq had something to do with the "Yellow" clans of the western T'u-chüeh, *v.s.*, § 17.]

Against Barthold's hypothesis is the fact that in 'Aufī's text *ahl-i Sārī* can only be interpreted as "people of [the territory called] Sārī". However, the name of the *Sari-su* could form a connecting link with some "Yellow" tribe (*v.s.*, p. 284, n. 5). Moreover, on the road supposed to lead to the Sari-su (notes to § 18) lay the sands called by the Turks اروقمن (*v.s.*, p. 315, n. 3). Had this latter name anything to do with the Qomans it would pave the way to the demonstration that the "people of Sārī" were not different from the "Qomans" (= Qipchaq).

## § 22. The Majghari

Chwolson, *Izvestiya . . . Ibn Dasta* (read: *Ibn Rusta*), pp. 101-23; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 27-74 and *passim*; Dietrich, *Byzantinische Quellen*, Index *sub verbis*: Mazarer, Ungarn; B. Munkácsi, *Die Urheimat der Ungarn*, in *Keleti Szemle*, vi, 1905, pp. 185-222; Barthold, *Basidjird*, in *IEI*; J. Németh, *Magna Hungaria*, in *Mžik, Beiträge*, pp. 92-6; Németh Gyula,

<sup>1</sup> The text as it stands does not suggest any leadership of the Qūn over the people of Sārī.

*A honfoglaló Magyarság kialakulása*, Budapest, 1930 (a short résumé of this important work is *La Préhistoire hongroise*, in *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, Budapest, June 1932, pp. 460-8, the communication of which I owe to the kindness of the author); C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, Cambridge, 1930 (a painstaking revision of Byzantine and Oriental sources, the latter being used in translations; Gardizi's text accepted in Marquart's earlier interpretation); J. Moravcsik, *Zur Geschichte der Onoguren*, in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, x, Heft 1-2, 1930, pp. 53-90. See Map xii.

The question of the remote Hungarian (Magyar) origins depends chiefly on linguistic evidence and more especially on that of loan words in Magyar and its cognate idioms. As the nearest of kin to the Magyar are the Voguls (on both slopes of the Northern Ural) and the Ostiaks (in the Obi basin), it was formerly admitted that the original home of the Magyars must be sought in Siberia. So Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 53, located the "Ursitze" of the Magyars in "southern Yugria, in the neighbourhood of the Ishim and in the Baraba [steppe east of Omsk]". More usually, following the indications of the Muslim authors (*v.i.*), the seats of the early Magyars were placed in the neighbourhood of the Volga Bulgars, *i.e.* near the present-day Bashqir territory. Munkácsi in his *Urheimat der Ungarn*, p. 212, while criticizing these theories took an entirely different view, to wit that the region where the Magyar language underwent the influence of the [older] Turkish and Caucasian languages<sup>1</sup> lay in the northern Caucasus and that accordingly this was "das Urgebiet des Bildungsprozesses des Magyarentums"; and if some Magyars were found near the Volga this must be explained by some emigration from the Caucasian home in the northward direction.

Turning now to Muslim sources we must recognize that under Majgharī, Basjirt, and other similar names<sup>2</sup> Arab and Persian authors speak of two distinct groups, *viz.* the Uralian "Bashqirs" (whether Turks or Finno-Ugrians) and the Magyars (Hungarians) in their earlier country north of the Black Sea.

According to Prof. Németh's latest researches, the Bashqirs are originally a Hungarian tribe, which probably together with the Volga Bulgars had migrated from the northern Caucasus northwards, cf. Munkácsi, *o.c.*, 221.<sup>3</sup> The name of the Bashqirs<sup>4</sup> mixed with that of the Hungarians living near

<sup>1</sup> For traces of former contact of the Magyars with the Ossets see now Hannes Sköld, *Die ossetischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen*, in *Lund Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F., Avd. I, Bd. 20, No. 4, 1925 (where the Magyar-Osset contacts are placed *circa* A.D. 600-800). In principle it is hazardous to associate the Iranian (*i.e.* Alān > Osset) elements in Hungarian exclusively with the Caucasus for the Alāns once stretched well to the neighbourhood of the Aral Sea. [The theories on the earliest home

and migrations of the Magyars are necessarily very controversial.] [Cf. Appendix B.]

<sup>2</sup> See their enumeration in Chwolson, *o.c.*, 112, and Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 68-9.

<sup>3</sup> Moravcsik, *o.c.*, 89, thinks that this migration took place simultaneously with the westward trek of the Onogundurs (§ 53) about the middle of the 7th century.

<sup>4</sup> Németh explains it as \**bāsh-ghur* "Five tribes" [?].



the Black Sea (*Mod'eri*) resulted in the form: *Mojgher*. This, together with the common origins of the two peoples, led to a situation under which the two were indiscriminately called now *Bashghird*, and now *Mojgher*. Those Hungarians who had travelled from the Caucasus to the north carried along with them some Turks, and later became turkicized by other Turks coming from Western Siberia. Kāshgharī considers the Bashqirs as Turks speaking a dialect akin to that of the Kimāk, but the Dominican Julian who, in search of the lost Hungarian tribes, visited the region of the Volga in 1235 found a "Magna Hungaria" near the "Magna Bulgaria" (*i.e.* the Volga Bulghārs). Moreover, some of the clan names of the Hungarians mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (A.D. 948) coincide with those of the present-day divisions of the Bashqirs (Κουρτουγεργμάτων = Hung. *Kürt* + *Gyarmat* = Bashq. *Yurmatu*; Γεράχ = Hung. *ženő* = Bashq. *Yeney*). See Németh, *Magna Hungaria*.

The clearest and simplest presentation of the case in Muslim sources is found in Iṣṭ., 225, who says: "there are two classes of Basjirt (بسجرت). The one is found at the farther end (*ākhir*) of the Ghuzz behind the Bulghār (*alā zahr B.*) and they are said to be about 2,000 men<sup>1</sup> and to be protected by impassable thickets (*mashājir*); they obey the Bulghār.<sup>2</sup> The other class of them borders on the Pechenegs; both they and the Pechenegs are Turks and they border on Rūm."<sup>3</sup>

Much more entangled is the group of sources represented by I.R., 142, Gardizī, 98, and Bakrī, ed. Rosen, 45, who under the name Majgharī mechanically string together the information referring to two different territories and most probably derived from different sources (Muslim al-Jarmī, Hārūn b. Yahyā, &c., cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 28) as if the Uralian territory stretched without interruption down to the Black Sea.<sup>4</sup> The introductory paragraph (A) of these authors places the Majgharī in the north

<sup>1</sup> In the curious legend on the formation of the Khirkhīz, Gardizī, 85, says that their ancestor after having been obliged to leave the court of the Khazar-khāqān joined Bashjirt who "was one of the Khazar nobles and with 2,000 men lived between the Khazars and the Kimāks".

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that I.Kh.'s (p. 31) الجفر quoted in the series Toghuzghuz-Kharlukh-Kimāk-Ghuzz-ج.ف.ر-Bajanāk-Türgish stands for المجفر rather than for الجفر supposed by de Goeje and Marquart to represent *Chigil*. The same consideration may apply to Mas'ūdī's (*Murūj*, i, 288): الجعري (?). On other passages in Mas'ūdī relative to the Magyars see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, and our notes to § 53. [In principle I. Kh. 31, could hardly mention the little-

known Čaqir, or render Čigil by \*Čighir].

<sup>3</sup> In another passage Iṣṭ., 227, reckons from the Pechenegs to the Inner Basjirt 10 days, and from the latter to Bulghār 25 days. This last distance could only refer to the Magyars living north of the Black Sea. A parallel term to *Basjirt al-dākhil* is *Bulghār al-dākhil* (*i.e.* the Danubian Bulghār) mentioned in Iṣṭ., 226 (*v.i.* § 45). In Mongol times the Magyars occupying their present seats in Hungary were still called باشغرت, cf. Juvaynī, GMS, i, 225.

<sup>4</sup> In a convenient form the texts are synoptically presented in Macartney, *o.c.*, pp. 30 and 42. There are, however, some misprints in the translations and Gardizī's text is given without the final sentences.

between the \*Pecheneg [our "Turkish Pecheneg"] country and the Bulghār tribe of *Asgil/Ashkil* (see § 51). In a later part (B) they describe an extensive Majgharī territory reaching down to the Black Sea. However, in a more detailed description of this southern country the three authors disagree. I.R. and Gardīzī (B 1) place the Majgharī between two large rivers disem-boguing into the Rūm Sea, and in connexion with this land Gardīzī particularly names the peoples *N.nd.r* and *M.r.dāt*. On the other hand, Bakrī (B 2) says nothing about the rivers and as the neighbours of the Majgharī quotes the *اين اوعنه* undoubtedly connected with the Caucasus, cf. notes to § 50, 4.<sup>1</sup> Contrary to Marquart<sup>2</sup> I am inclined to think that, even supposing that I.R. (B 1 a) has in view the *Ἀεβέδια* home of the Magyars near the Azovsee, Gardīzī (B 1 b) refers to the *Ἀτεκουζού* stage of Magyar peregrinations when, expelled by the Pechenegs (A.D. 889), they spent some years in the region of the five great rivers emptying themselves into the north-western corner of the Black Sea, cf. Const. Porph., chap. 38, v.s., p. 313, note 3.

[*Additional note.* Only in Gardīzī and in the *H.-'Ā.* we find traces of the additional source (B 1 b) to which we can assign our details on the southern (\*western) frontier of the Magyars, as well as on the *V.n.nd.r* (§ 53), Mirvāt (§ 46), and perhaps the "Christianized Slavs" (§ 42, 17.). The source must originally belong to the very last years of the ninth century. It has nothing to do with Muslim b. Abī Muslim al-Jarmī (see notes to § 42) and one particular detail is in favour of its association with the name of Hārūn b. Yahyā (see note to § 42, 17.).]

The best introduction to our text is Gardīzī's passage which is not only illustrative for the tradition (B 1) but which also contains details (B 1 b) on the neighbours of the Majgharī found nowhere else except in the *H.-'Ā.* Our literal translation follows the text as edited by Barthold, p. 98 (after the Oxford MS.) with the addition of some insignificant variants found in the Cambridge copy (marked C.): "Between the Bulkār [read as in I.R. and Bakrī: \**Pecheneg*, cf. also § 6, 45.] country and that of the *Asgil* who are also of the Bulkār lie the frontiers of the Majgharī.<sup>3</sup> They are a class of Turks and their *sālār* (has) 20,000 horse. They call this *sālār k.nda* and this is the name of their greater king, (whereas) the *sālār* who makes the appointments (*shughlhā khwānad*) is called *jula* and the Majgharī do whatever he orders them. They possess a wide plain all covered with grass. Their country is 100 farsakhs by 100 farsakhs. Their country adjoins the Rūm Sea into which flow two large rivers [instead of *از رود جيحون* read: *دو رود جيحون*] and they live between these two streams [*ميان اين [دو] جوی*] and when (*C. چون*) winter comes those who had gone far from the river (*jayhūn*) come

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Mas'ūdī, *v.i.*, notes to § 53.

<sup>2</sup> Marquart's attempt to identify these two pairs of names (*Streifzüge*, pp. 176 and 496) has been followed by the later writers though Marquart himself finally changed his opinion (see notes to § 53).

<sup>3</sup> This definition of the territory has in view the northern Majgharī, *i.e.* the Bashqirs (item A). The rest of the passage seems all to refer to the real Magyars (item B).

near to it and stay there in winter. They catch fish and live on them. And [with regard to] the river (*jayhūn*) which is to their left [we must add that] towards the Saqlāb (country) there is a tribe of Rūm who are all Christians. They are called N.nd.r. They are more numerous than the Majgharī but weaker than they. And of these two *jayhūns* the one is called Atil (اتل) and the other Dūbā (دوبا) and when the Majgharī are on the bank of the river they see the N.nd.rians. Above (*zabar*; *C. zir*: 'below') these N.nd.rians on the bank of the river stands a large mountain and a water rises (from it) and flows on its side. Behind this mountain a nation of Christians is found whom they call M.rdāt. Between them and the N.nd.r there is a distance of 10 days. They are a numerous nation. Their clothes resemble those of the Arabs and consist of a turban, a shirt, and a coat (*jubba*). They have cultivation and possess vines (*razān*; in *C.* the text is slightly disturbed). Their water flows on the surface and they have no underground canals (*kāris*). And it is reported that they are more in number than the Rūm. They are a separate nation. Most of their commerce is with the Arabs. And that (other) river which is on the right of the Majgharī flows to the Saqlāb and thence to the Khazar lands and that river is the largest of the two (*va ān rūd az īn har du rūd buzurgtar-ast*). The country of the Majgharī is all trees and marshes (*ābgīr* 'lakes'?) and the soil is damp. They always vanquish the Saqlāb and constantly impose tribute on them and treat them as their slaves. The Majgharī are fire-worshippers and raid the Saqlāb and Rūs and bring captives (*barda*) from them. They take them to Rūm for sale.<sup>1</sup> These Majgharī are handsome and pleasant looking. They dress in satin (*dībā*). Their arms are embellished with silver and gold (instead of سیمین آند و دو). They constantly go to sack the Saqlāb and from the Majgharī to the Saqlāb there is a distance of ten days."<sup>2</sup>

The crucial point is the identification of the two rivers which Gardīzī, perhaps misunderstanding the Arabic original (cf. I.R., 142) but following a regular Persian usage, calls *jayhūn* in the sense of "a large river". The author distinctly starts on his location of the N.nd.r from the river flowing "on the left" of the Majgharī, i.e. evidently on their west, because the peoples living beyond it lived in the direction of the Saqlāb, one of the westernmost peoples of Eastern Europe (§ 43). This makes it evident that the river دوبا is one of the rivers of the north-western corner of the Black Sea, and probably Barthold was right in restoring in his text \*دونا (*Dūnā*, "Danube") instead of دوبا.<sup>3</sup> As regards the river flowing "to the

<sup>1</sup> I.R., 143, mentions كج as the point where the Majgharī slave-traders were met by the Byzantine merchants. If this place (cf. § 3, 6. and 8. and § 42 15.) is كج Kerch (at the entrance of the Azov sea) there is an indirect indication that I.R. still referred to the Lebedia home of the Magyars.

<sup>2</sup> I.R., 143, quotes the distance of 10 days between the Pechenegs and Slavs and, *ibid.*, 142, records the Magyar attacks only on the Slavs. Gardīzī's variants may reflect an influence of his special "N.nd.r.-M.rdāt" source (B 1 b).

<sup>3</sup> The Khazar king's letter (which also mentions the name *V.n.nt.r.*, cf. § 46) positively applies the name *Rwnā/Dwnā*

right" of the Majgharī, the mention of the Khazars shows that it must be sought in the eastern part of the southern Russian plain. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 32, quotes the Hungarian chronicler Simon de Keza according to whom the Hungarians called the Don *Etul*.<sup>1</sup> This may be a hint for the identification of Gardīzī's *Atil* which at this place cannot apply to the Volga held at that time by the Khazars. More than this, the Khazars at the zenith of their power controlled the steppes up to Kiev, and so *historically* even the Dniepr would suit the condition of flowing from the Slavs to the Khazar lands. The name *atil* was certainly employed in a general sense as is shown by the term *Ῥατελκουζού* explained as "(the land) between the rivers", see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 33. If the element *κουζού* corresponds to Magyar *köz*, *köze* "terra intermedia", the first element is undoubtedly *atil* taken in the sense of a river (cf. *jayhūn*).<sup>2</sup> As Const. Porph., chap. 38, enumerates the five rivers of Atelkuzu we know that the latter comprised the space between the Dniepr and the Sereth. Might Gardīzī's *Atil* perhaps be an echo of the term *Atelkuzu*?<sup>3</sup>

Coming now to the *Ḥ.-Ā.* we see that its author with regard to the Majgharī territory followed exclusively the tradition A and entirely disregarded the tradition B. He places the Majgharī near the Ural mountains as the last territory in the series of the northern Turkish lands (§§ 18-22, east to west: Kimāk, Ghūz, Turkish Pechenegs, Khifchākh, Majgharī). This disposition of chapters is still more significant in view of the fact that the southern territories of Eastern Europe (§§ 43-9) are described in an opposite direction (west to east: Saqlāb, Rūs, Inner Bulghārs, Mirvāt, Khazarian Pechenegs, Alān, Sarīr) and that the two series of countries are even separated by an intermediary zone of countries (§§ 50-3) enumerated in a sort of *bustrophedon* east to west: Khazar, Burṭās, Barādhās, and V.n.nd.r. Cf. Map xii.

Our author undoubtedly represents the same tradition as I.R., Gardīzī, and Bakrī, and in his sources certainly the two different Majgharī homes were found. As in § 22 he proposes to describe the Bashqir country (A), the question is what he has done with the residue of information relative to the Magyars (B)? In the immediate neighbourhood of the Magyar territory Gardīzī mentions the people *N.nd.r* screened by a mountain from another people *M.rdāt*. These peoples are also described in our text: the Majgharī

to the Danube, cf. Kokovtsov, *o.c.*, pp. 75 and 92, but this document is suspect.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I.Kh., 54, on the Tanais, "the river of the Saqlāliba" which the Rūs merchants follow before reaching the Khazar capital.

<sup>2</sup> See in Volga-Turkish dialects, *Yayiq-itili*, *Vātkā-itili*, *Aq-idil*, &c. Cf. Marquart in *Ungar. Jahrb.*, ix/1, 1929, p. 96. [The word is said to be of Chuvash (<Bulghār) origin.]

<sup>3</sup> If *Dūbā* is the Danube and *Atil* the

Dniepr (or even the Don) it is difficult to call the eastern river the larger of the two. One could perhaps imagine that in the original Muslim report based on Byzantine sources \**Dūnā* as a more familiar name stood for its less known affluent Sereth, cf. a similar confusion of an affluent with the principal river in § 6, 13. [I.R., 142, only says that "one of the two rivers is larger than the *Jayhūn*", which gives a better sense. Cf. 'Aufī, *v.i.*, p. 324.]

are the northern neighbours of the *V.n.nd.r* (§ 53) and the *Mirvāt* (§ 46) live south of the *V.n.nd.r* mountain. Consequently the order of enumeration of the peoples is maintained, but the starting-point being different, the Majgharī, *V.n.nd.r*, and *Mirvāt* are disposed in a north-to-south direction, so that, instead of the Majgharī, the *Mirvāt* come to be the maritime people on the northern coast of the Black Sea. This basic error<sup>1</sup> will be especially considered in the notes to §§ 53 and 46. See sketch on p. 440.

Having ignored the southern Magyars our author transferred to the inhabitants of the northern territory all the characteristics found in the sources with regard to the "Majgharī" and as a matter of fact belonging mostly to the southern Magyars.

Population: 20,000, as in I.R. and Gardīzī.

Country: 150 × 110 farsakhs; Gardīzī and Bakrī: 100 × 100 farsakhs; I.R.: "extensive country".

The King's name: *خلت* (read: *جله*). I.R. and Gardīzī, *کند* principal king, but *جله* real administrative chief; Bakrī, title *جله*.

The Majgharī live on fish. Ditto in Gardīzī, but I.R. and Gardīzī more decisively say that they are fishermen [an important feature for the inhabitants of the region of great rivers].

Rich but vile (?) [not found elsewhere; does the last trait refer to the northern Majgharī?].

Trees and waters, as in I.R. and Gardīzī.

Good-looking, as in Gardīzī.

Victorious wars against "infidel" neighbours. I.R.: dominate over the Slavs (several details on slave trade); Gardīzī: raid the Slavs and Rūs.

Apart from the general epitomizing tendency of our author one seems to discover on his part a desire to smoothe the details not tallying with his general conception (cf. the point on enemies and perhaps fishing).<sup>2</sup> As regards the name of the king, the form *خلت* is explained by the confusion of the final *o* with *z*. The name is certainly *جله* \**jula*, cf. Const. Porph., chap. 40, pp. 174-5: *Γυλάς* and Hungarian *Gyula*. Our author omits the name of the chief of executive power *k.nda* for which Const. Porph. strangely gives *καρχᾶς* (perhaps: *καρχαν*). The title as it stands in Muslim sources may be connected with that of the dignitary who occupied the third place in the Khazar hierarchy: *کندر خاقان* ("k.nd.r khāqān" or "the

<sup>1</sup> On its disturbing influence, cf. note to § 6, 45.

<sup>2</sup> It is true that the Rūs are mentioned as the western and northern neighbours of the Majgharī. In § 6, 45. the river Rūtā rises strangely from a mountain situated between the Majgharī, the Rūs, and the Pechenegs (cf. notes to §§ 20, 47 and 52 on the supposed seats of this people on the right bank of the Volga). [This is a hint at some non-Uralian seats of the Magyars but our author, who does

not say a word on the presence of this people near the Black sea, goes halfway in placing the Magyars somewhere near the Oka (?) and imagining that this territory was connected with the Urals. One of the western sources of the Oka is called *Ugra* (= Hungarian!). According to N. P. Barsov, *Ocherk russkoy istoricheskoy geogr.*, Warsaw 1885, p. 241, Ugra lay on the road connecting the Dniepr with the Volga.] See Map xii.

khāqān's *k.nd.r*"), Yāqūt, ii, 436-40 (after Ibn Faḍlān). Munkácsi, in *Keleti Szemle*, x, 1909, pp. 179-80, compares it with *kündi/kündü* which the Altai Turks in quite recent times used to give to their dignitary next in rank to their ruler (*saysan*).<sup>1</sup>

[Additional note. In his *Streifzüge*, 161, 164, Marquart, misled by the idea that the two pairs of names "*N.nd.r* and *M.rdāt*" and "*Twlās* and *\*Aughaz*" were identical (cf. § 50, 4.) came to the conclusion that the river دوبا was "Kuban". In *Komanen*, 99, Marquart was less categorical and wrote with reference to our دوبا (which he found in Toumansky's translation, *Zap.*, x, 1897): "Auf die Frage, welcher Fluss unter dem دوبا zu verstehen ist, gehe ich hier nicht ein. . . . Die Erörterung dieser Frage, welche bekanntlich für die Bestimmung der älteren Wohnsitze der Magyaren von grosser Wichtigkeit ist, ist zwecklos, so lange die Parallelberichte des Muḥammad-i 'Aufī und der *Hudūd al-'Ālam* nicht veröffentlicht sind."

We have commented on the identity of the names Dūbā/Rūtā/Rūthā (§ 6, 45.) as resulting from the comparison of the *H.-'Ā.* with the other sources and may add that 'Aufī does not contain any important new data on the subject. Here is the passage on the Magyars (mis-spelt محروه) according to Brit. Mus., Or. 2676, fol. 67v.). 'Aufī first quotes the well-known data on the vastness of the Magyars' country (100 × 100 farsakhs), on their 20,000 horse and on the *ra'īs* called *K.nda*, adding that the Magyars own tents (*khargāh*) and wander with their herds. Then he goes on: و زمین ایشان پیوسته است بدربای روم و جایگاه این قوم بر کناره دو دریاست یکی را وفا [روتا دوبا] گویند و یکی را اتل و از جیحون بزرگترند میان ایشان و صقلیایان در دین پیوسته جنگ باشد و ایشان مدام بران جماعت غالب باشند و برده ایشان اسیر کنند و بروم "Their lands adjoins the Rūm [= Black] sea. The haunts of this people are on the banks of two rivers (*daryā*) of which the one is called *W.fā* and the other *Atil* both being larger than the Jayḥūn. Between them and the Saqlāb goes on a perpetual war about religion and they are constantly victorious over the (Slavs), and taking prisoners from them carry them to Rūm and sell them. They are continuously in possession of great wealth on account (of this) trade."]

### § 23. Khorāsān

Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien, I: Die Strassenzüge der Tabula Peutingeriana*, in *Sitz. WAW*, cii, Heft 1, 1883, pp. 213-89; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 47-94 (additions in the author's *Armenische Streifen in Huschardzan (Festschrift . . . der Mechitaristen-Kongregation)*,

<sup>1</sup> In the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, iii, 76, 179, 190, &c., *K.nd.r* is the name of a Saqlāb hero fighting in the Tūrānian army on the right hand of the khāqān. [The name of the mountain کنداور تاغی (§ 5, 12.) may be connected with the

same title. Under § 18 the name was tentatively restored as *\*Kāndūr-taght*, in view of the name of the river *Kāngir*. But should the analogy be sacrificed, the simplest restoration would be perhaps *Kandā'ūr*, *v.s.*, p. 308, n. 1.]

Wien, 1911, pp. 301-2; Barthold, *Obzor*, pp. 4-76; Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 352-63, 382-432 and Map; Barthold, *Irrigation*, pp. 37-71; Herzfeld, *Khorāsān, Denkmalsgeogr. Studien z. Kulturgesch. des Islam in Iran*, in *Der Islam*, 1921, xi, pp. 107-74, Map. See 1 : 2,000,000 Map of Persia.

The influence of the Balkhī tradition (as represented by Išt.) is apparent in this chapter, but numerous details are also common with Maq.<sup>1</sup> who undoubtedly used Jayhānī. Several details find parallels in Ya'qūbī's short but graphic description of Khorāsān, *BGA*, vii, I.R., and Bīrūnī's *Canon*. The interdependence of the authors is difficult to trace in view of the absence of preparatory works on the *BGA* and interpolations in different MSS. Very original is the description of Gūzgān, whose ruler was our author's patron (see notes to § 1).

In the introductory paragraph the bearings of the frontiers are displaced as if the north-east were taken for the north. In this our author follows Išt., 253. By the former kings of Khorāsān (who unlike the Sāmānids did not rule over Transoxiana) the Ṭāhirids and Šaffārids are meant. Among the products of Khorāsān, gold was found in Gharchistān and Badakhshān, and silver in Panjhīr, cf. Maq., 326.

Išt., 253, counts in Khorāsān 4 great provinces: Nishāpūr, Marv, Harāt, and Balkh, and 16 smaller ones (Maq., 295 and 301*b*, goes his own way). Our author's description of the four provinces proceeds from west to east. 1.-8. Nishāpūr; 9.-12. Bāvard and Ṭūs; 13.-19. Kūhistān; 20.-34. Harāt; 35.-36. Gharchistān; 37.-45. Marv; 46.-66. Gūzgān (the author's own country); 67.-77. Balkh and Tukhāristān; 78.-80. region of Bāmiyān. In the east the description of the Balkh province stops short of Badakhshān which comes under § 24, 24. The still more outlying Vakhān is described under Khuttalān (§ 26, 1.-18.) partly following Išt., 253, who joins Vakhkhān to Khuttal though he describes Khuttal under Khorāsān, p. 279.

Very notable is the author's tendency to give the names their true Iranian form as is also the case in the Persian translation of Išt.

### I. The province of Nishāpūr

1. Our author agrees with I.R., 171, who also counts in Nishāpūr 13 rustāqs and 4 "quarters" (*arbā'*), whereas Maq., 300, has 12 rustāqs and 4 *khāna* (*khānāt*).<sup>2</sup>

For 1.-5., 7. cf. Išt., 256-7. As regards 8. Išt. also gives Khūjān but Jarmagān and Sibīnagān have a parallel only in Maq., 300*l* (MS. C) who under the dependencies of Nasā mentions "Isfīnagān, Jarmagān, Afrāva, and Shāristāna". Under § 6, 50. Ustuvā (the district of Khūjān > Qūchān, ancient Ἀστavνη) and Jarmagān are mentioned on the Hirand (Atrak) river.<sup>3</sup> Consequently Sibīnagān and Rāvīnī, coupled with them in our 8.,

<sup>1</sup> Especially with the Constantinople MS. C which contains numerous additions.

<sup>2</sup> The present-day Khorāsānian divi-

sions, such as Sunnī-khāna, 'Arab-khāna may be a trace of the ancient *khānāt*.

<sup>3</sup> *V.s.*, p. 29.

ought to be looked for in the same direction. However, Rāvīnī is probably identical with Khān Ravān (var. *Rāvin*?) which Išt., 257 and 284, mentions at one marḥala from Nēshāpūr on the road to Isfarā'in, and which must correspond to Maq., 300, Rīvand (\**Rēvand*) mentioned as one of the four *khānāt* of Abarshahr (= Nishāpūr). The famous fire temple of Burzīn-Mihr according to the *Bundahishn*, xii, 18, stood on the Rēvand mountain which in a larger sense may refer to the Binālūd range separating Nishāpūr from Tūs, see Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, 1880, pp. 290-1. 6. Jājarm is also found in Maq., 300, but not in Išt.

9. 10. 12. Now in ruins. The town Nasā lay near the village of Bāgīr (Bājīr?), west of 'Ashqābād. Bāvard lay near the present villages of Abivard, at 8 Km. west of the Qahqa station of the Transcaspian railway. Mayhana, now *Me'āna*, lay between the Dūshak station and Sarakhs, to the west of Chahcha. Maq., 300 l, alone mentions Ribāt-Mahna. See Barthold, *Irrigation*, 37, 41, Semenov, *Po Zakaspiyskim razvalinam* ("Along the ruined sites of Transcaspia"), Tashkent 1928, and Semenov and others, *Drevnosti Abiverdskago rayona* ("Antiquities of Abivard"), Tashkent 1931; Minorsky, *Nasā and Bāvard in EI*. According to Isidore of Charax royal Parthian graves (*Βασιλικὰ ταφαί*) lay in *Νισά*. Recent excavations, south-east of Bāgīr, brought to light a building with strong columns of good craftsmanship and a temple by a vast central square (Russian newspapers of the end of July 1934). Later in the year (November 1934) a large building covered on the outside with sculptures of human beings, animals, &c. was discovered. Still later (May 1935) a towerlike construction with a staircase (formerly crowned by a statue) was unearthed.

11. Tūs, see Minorsky, *Tūs in EI*. Išt., 257: Rādhagān (now Rādkān), Ṭabarān, Buzdighūr, and Nūqān. B.nvādha may be a dialectic form of Junāwidh (\**Gunāvidh*) which Maq., 300 l, mentions among the minbars of Tūs (cf. Persian *gunjishk/bunjishk*). This town is different from 13. According to the *Tārīkh-i Nādīrī*, Junābid lies between Tūs and Mashhad. Maq. also mentions among the produce stone kettles (*birām*) and trouser-cords.

#### Ia. Kūhistān.

13.-19. Kūhistān, i.e. the region lying south of Nishāpūr, towards Sīstān. See Le Strange, *o.c.*, pp. 352-63 and Map viii. Administrative limits between Nishāpūr and Kūhistān were certainly confused. In Išt., 256, 273-4, the arrangement is different. Of the places mentioned under 13. Išt. speaks of Turshīz and Kundur under Nishāpūr, p. 256, and of Bunābidh (Maq., 309: *Junābid*, var. MS. C., *B.nābid*, now Gunābād) and Kurī under Kūhistān, p. 273. In our text Kurī is repeated under 16. Instead of *Ṭabasayn* (under 15.) it would have been better to mention only one Ṭabas (the so-called *Ṭabas al-Tamr*, or *Ṭabas-i Gilakī* called after Gilakī b. Muḥammad, ra'īs of Ṭabas, see Nāṣir-i Khusrau, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 94) and let it be followed by 16. and 18. after which ought to come 17. *Ṭabas-i Masīnān* (or *Ṭabas al-'unnāb*). Under 19. are grouped



the places lying in the north-eastern part of Kūhistān towards Harāt,<sup>1</sup> cf. Išt., 256 (Būzajān, Jāymand, Salūmak, &c.). 14., 15., and 18. are described entirely after Išt., 274 (where the last name is spelt *Khausb* < \**Khōsp*).

## II. Province of Harāt.

20. Description of Harē (Harāt) chiefly based on Išt., 264-7. The expression which our author uses with regard to the mosque *ābādhiāntar ba-mardum az hama* exactly corresponds to Išt.'s *laysa masjidun a'maru bil-nās*, &c. Among the products Maq., 324, does not mention manna. To Harāt belong 28. and 34. (details copied from Išt., 266).

21.-23. Būshanj as in Išt., 268 (who mentions 'ar'ar-trees, but not the antidote plant). Nūshagān is hardly a mis-spelling of 19. Būzhagān?

24.-27. Bādghīs, closely following Išt., 268-9 (Kābrūn [\**Kālvūn*], Khujistān, Jabal al-fiqḍa). Kātūn (?) must be Kālvūn (Maq., 298 g: variants *Kābrūn*, *Kālvūn*, *Kālyūn*) which is often mentioned in the *Ṭābaqāt-i Nāsirī*, cf. Raverty's index under Kāl-yūn. Bādghīs was the residence of Nizak Tarkhān, the famous opponent of the Arabs who was said to be a Hephtalite (Hayṭal); therefore Yāqūt, i, 461, calls Bādghīs *dār mamlakat al-Hayāṭila*, see in great detail in Marquart, *Wehrot*, 39-43.

29. Išt., 267: Asfuzār with the towns Adraskar (also in Maq., 298, now *Adraskand*), Kavārān, Kūshk (var. Kūsd), and Kavāshān; the area of the district is 3 marḥalas by 1 marḥala; the Khārijites only in the Kāshkān ward.

30. Sarakhs as in Išt., 272. On the Khushkarūd see interesting details in I.R., 173, who says that it reaches a place called *al-Ajma*, lying towards Abīyard (*ajama* "wood, thicket"?). Marquart, *Wehrot*, 5-7, identifies it with the river *Sind* mentioned in the *Bundahishn*, xx, 30, of which the name was misread in Firdausī as شند (see note to § 3, 27.).

31.-33. Ganj-rustāq lay towards Marvarūdh, cf. Išt., 269. 31. On Babn, cf. Yāqūt, i, 764, who personally visited it and calls it *Babna* and *Babn*. 33. Baghshūr, according to § 5, 9 B c., was separated from Marvarūdh by a mountain. The detail on the wells may explain the name *baghshūr* which, according to Vullers, i, 25, means: "a pool of salt water" (*gav-i āb-i shūr*), see another place of this (?) name in China, § 9, 4. According to Waṣṣāf, in Mongol days the Khorāsānian Baghshūr was called *Mori Shiburghān* (the first element [in Mongol "horse"] still survives in *Qal'a-yi Maur*, the name of the Russian railway station near which Baghshūr was situated), cf. Barthold, *Irrigation*, 64.

35., 36. Išt., 271: *Gharj al-shūr* with two towns Bashīn (*Armenian Geography: Abzhin*) and Shūrmīn. Geographically Gharchistān corresponds to the present-day Firūz-kūh. The *shārs* were faithful vassals of the Sāmānids. Later they submitted to Maḥmūd and in 389 H. (25 years after the composition of the *H.-'Ā.*) 'Utbi, the author of the *Tārikh-i Yamīnī* was sent to receive their oath of allegiance. He speaks favourably

<sup>1</sup> Pūchagān (cf. Le Strange, *o.c.*, 357), *Tārikh-i Nādirī*, in connexion with the Sangān, &c. are mentioned in the operations of 1141 and 1143 H.

of the old shār Abū Naṣr b. Muḥammad and of his son Shāh Muḥammad, but finally in 403/1012 Gharchistān was annexed by Maḥmūd, 'Utbī-Manīnī, ii, 133 and 146 (Persian transl., 337-41). Cf. L. Dames, *Gharchistān* in *EI*, M. Nāẓim, *o.c.*, 60-2. A part of Gharchistān was in vassal dependence upon Gūzgān (*v.i.* 47).

### III. Province of Marv.

37.-45. Province of Marv. See V. A. Zhukovsky, *Razvalinī starago Merva* ("Ruins of the Old Merv"), SPb., 1894 (a very complete survey of sources and archeological description) supplemented by Barthold in his article *K istorii Merva*, in *Zap.* xix/1, 1909, pp. 115-38, cf. also Barthold, *Irrigation*, ch. V: Murghāb, pp. 47-71. Zhukovsky, p. 21, quotes the *H.-'Ā.*

37.-39. District of Marvarūdh, cf. *Iṣṭ.*, pp. 269-70. The spelling مروذ (\**Marrodh*) confirms the Armenian form *Mrot* and the nisba *Marrūdhi*, Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 75. On 38. Marvarūd see Barthold, *Merverrūd* in *ZVO*, xiv, 1901, 028-032 (the author, on the strength of Qudāma, 209, locates it at Bālā-Murghāb rather than at Marūchāq in view of the better climate of Bālā-Murghāb), cf. Barthold, *Obzor*, 25, *Le Strange*, *o.c.*, 404.

40.-45. On Marv-i Shāhijān see in great detail V. A. Zhukovsky, *o.c.*, where the *H.-'Ā.* is also quoted, p. 21. Our author follows *Iṣṭ.*, 258-63, but adds some details (*e.g.* the products).

40. Barakdiz, according to Sam'ānī, was the original name of the village of Qarīnayn (so surnamed on account of its being reckoned now to Marv and now to Marvarrūdh, Zhukovsky, *o.c.*, 41.). Qarīnayn was situated on the left bank of the river near the present day Imām-Bābā railway station. Opposite it, on the right bank, stood \*Logar mentioned in § 6, 26., cf. Maq., 299, *Laukar*, and Yāqūt, iv, 370. By Bih-Āfaridhī is evidently meant the followers of Bihāfaridh b. Māhfarvardīn, who tried to reform the Zoroastrian faith but at the instigation of the mobads was put to death by Abū Muslim (*circa* A.D. 750), see Houtsma, *Bih'āfrīd*, in *WZKM*, iii, 30-8; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 194, note 7. Qudāma, 209, also speaks of the *majūs* in Qarīnayn whom he calls ركن (\**rukni*?). 41. Gīrang, *Iṣṭ.*, 263, Jīranj, though a pun in Anvarī's satire presupposes the pronunciation *kīrang*.<sup>1</sup> 43. *Iṣṭ.*, 263, Sinj, but Maq., 299, سنك عبادى. 44. Maq., 312, says that outside Dandānaqān stood a ribāṭ. 45. *Iṣṭ.*, 263, mentions Kushmayhan, Bāshān (\**Pāshān*), Sausaqān, (Yāqūt, iii, 245: *Shavashkān*) and p. 261, Zarq (with a water-divide). M.s.f.rī is a popular name for Hurmuzfara, Sam'ānī in Zhukovsky, *o.c.*, 42: *Masfara*. Shābirinjī, a village at 3 farsakhs from Marv, *ibid.* 47, and Yāqūt, iii, 225: Shāhbirinj.

### IIIa. Gūzgānān.

46.-71. Gūzgānān (in Arabic *ḡūzjān*). See Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 287; *Iṣṭ.*, 270-1; *I.H.*, 321-2 (criticises the conservatism of the inhabitants of Pāryāb);

<sup>1</sup> *Habbadhāka! qāḍī-yi Kīrang* (?),  
An-ki dārad xi-sang-i khārā nang.

*Rag-i ū ham-chu shākh-i āhū sakht,*  
*Bikhash az muḥkamī chu shākh-i dī-*  
*rakht.*

Maq., 298 (quotes among the towns رزور or رزون, otherwise unknown); cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 80, R. Hartmann, *Djūsḍjān* in *EI*, and Barthold, *Preface*, v.s., pp. 4-6. In the first place this principality occupied the area

Map viii



between Marv and Balkh watered by two rivers, now called Āb-i Qaysār and Āb-i Safīd, which rise on the northern face of Band-i Turkistān and disappear in the sands a long distance short of the Oxus towards which they flow. Yahūdḥān and Pāryāb stood on the two different branches of the Āb-i Qaysār (so spelt in Isfizārī, *Zap.*, xiv, 028-032), and Ankhudh on their joint course; Anbār and Ushburqān stood on the Āb-i Safīd. Moreover,

in the south the sway of the king of Gūzgānān extended over some places situated on the upper course of the Marvarūd (Murghāb) to the east of Gharchistān, and over the locality of Ribāṭ-i karvān (*v.i.* 63.). On the contrary, our author's assertion that Gūzgānān reached the "limits" of Bāmiyān (§ 23, 78.)<sup>1</sup> and that the amir of Ghūr drew his force from the king of Gūzgānān (§ 24, 1.) can hardly be taken *à la lettre*. His statement that the frontier of Gūzgānān extended to the extreme limits of Ghūr and marched with the boundary of Bust must refer only to some vague feudal suzerainty (based, perhaps, on the reception of presents from Ghūr). On the produce of Gūzgānān our author speaks twice under 46. and 51. Our 47.-51. 63. (and probably 64. and 65.) enumerate the southern dependencies of Gūzgānān, while 52.-62., 64., and 65. describe the localities in the drainage area of its two principal rivers.

[*Additional note.* An interesting question is the relation between *Gūzgān* (\**Gōzgān* or *Gōzagān*) and *Gozbon* mentioned in the *Armenian Geography* (eighth century). The meaning of *Gōzgān* is obviously "walnut-trees" and for the moment we know of no ancient tribal name that might have accounted for a more remote origin of the name. As to *Gozbon* (\**Gōzbun*) it was my lamented master R. von Stackelberg's merit, *Die iranische Schützensage*, ZDMG, 1904, pp. 853-8, to have established the reading of the name [cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 9, 93, 138, corrected in *Huschardzan*, p. 31, and *Wehrot*, pp. 14-15] and to have connected it with the legend of the mighty Aryan archer Ārish (Avestan *arəxša*) who shot an arrow to fix the frontier between Īrān and Tūrān.

The event is briefly alluded to in *Yašt*, 8, 6, where the shaft flies from the mountain *Aryō-xšūθa* to the mountain *Xvanvant*, both still obscure.<sup>2</sup> In Muslim times it was admitted that Ārish stood somewhere in Māzandarān (Rūyān, § 32, 15., or Sārī, § 32, 9.) but there was a considerable divergence of opinion about the exact spot which the shaft struck, reflecting the important political interests at issue and the historical fluctuations of the eastern frontier.

According to Ṭabarī, i, 435-6, the arrow reached the river of Balkh. Tha'ālībī, ed. Zotenberg, p. 133, reports that it was about to fall in Bādghīs but an angel carried it on to a place near Khulm (§ 23, 68.) called كوزين which name Stackelberg restored as \*كوزبن *Gōzbun*. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 220, places the goal<sup>3</sup> at the farthest end of Khorāsān, between فرغانه (?) and طبرستان (?). The latter name was improved by Stackelberg as \*طخارستان but I should rather restore it as طالقان (ل) could have been mis-read into a longish ط, *v.i.*, p. 340), and take the impossible فرغانه for فرخار which lies upstream from Ṭālaqān, whereas, between Ṭālaqān and Farkhār, a tributary joins the river from the east and along it lies the small district of Gulfagān separated by a col from the basin of the Badhakhshān rivers

<sup>1</sup> *V.i.* 47. (additional note).

<sup>2</sup> Herzfeld, *Mitt. aus Iran*, 11/2, 1930, pp. 83-4, transfers the exploit to western Persia (Pāṭāq-Alvand), which,

however, is contrary to all the later tradition.

<sup>3</sup> "The root of a walnut-tree" (*aṣṣhajarat al-jauz*).

(Kishm flowing into the Kokcha). This is really the easternmost point of Tūkhāristān (comprised in Khorāsān) for Badhakhshān was often considered as a district of its own (*v.i.*, § 24, 24.). It is possible that some confusion was provoked by the existence of two *Tālaqān*, the one just mentioned in Tūkhāristān (§ 23, 76.) and the other lying on the western threshold of Gūzgān (§ 23, 52.).

Finally Gurgānī in his *Vis-u Rāmīn*, ed. M. Minovi, 1935, p. 366, and Zahir al-dīn, ed. Dorn, p. 18, place the limit of Ārish's exploit near Marv, *i.e.* more or less in the neighbourhood of Gūzgān.

In the light of these data, we shall now consider the two relevant passages of the *Armenian Geography*. In the first, *Gozbon* concludes the list of the districts of Khorāsān, which may merely reflect the general tendency of the legend. Secondly, in the free paraphrasis of Ptolemy's chapter on *Ἀρμενία* (vi, cap. 17) the author winds up by saying that the Persians call this region Khorāsān and reckon to it the provinces of *Komš* (Kūmish), *Vrkan* (Gurgān), *Apršahr* (Nishāpūr), *Mrv* (Marv), *Mrot* (Marvarūd), *Hrev* (Harāt), *Kadšan* (cf. the present-day Kādis in Bādghīs), "*Gozkan*, from where the kingly horses come<sup>1</sup>, *\*Gozbon* down to the river called Arang of which it is said that it carries sulphur, is wide and impassable, and which seems to be the Phison which the Persians call Vehrot.<sup>2</sup> And it is impassable in the sense that it has been rendered so for the . . . Persians and Indians in virtue of a treaty.<sup>3</sup> [Follow *Hrev* with *Vadgēs* (Bādghīs) and *Tukharstan*.] It seems that in that land of *Kozakan* (*sic*) the captive Jews were settled who according to the scriptures settled on the Gozan river." It is curious that in this list, entirely based on Persian sources, the enumeration runs west to east in a straight line (from Kūmish to the Oxus), the last provinces (Harāt, Bādghīs, and Tūkhāristān) forming an additional south-eastern zone. So finally there is a probability that *Gozbon* is to be placed between Gūzgān and the Oxus. As a parallel to the name *Gozbun* (کوزبن)<sup>4</sup> one can quote سنک بن (§ 23, 64.) and *Tunakābun* which Rabino, *Māzandarān*, 153, explains as "below Tunakā".<sup>5</sup> Whatever the origin of the name *Gōzgān* (or *Gōzagān*), *Gozbon* (< *Gōzbun*) might be interpreted as "lying below Gōz[gān]", which would be another reason for locating it in the direction of the Oxus, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Ribāt Afrighūn mentioned by Maq., 347,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the story of the *Qābūs-nāma*, quoted in § 1, *v.s.*, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> This point is confused, Marquart, *Wehrot*, 153, but the system of enumeration appears to me quite clear.

<sup>3</sup> Evidently referring to the agreement between Manūchīhr and Afrāsyāb who made the decision depend on Ārish's shot.

<sup>4</sup> The forms found in Armenian writers are *Gozbon*, *Kazbion*, *Gasbun*. The form *Gozbon*, suggesting in Persian

*\*Gōzbōn*, may have been influenced by the name of the neighbouring *Babn*, *Baun* > *Bōn*, the chief place of Ganj (§ 23, 31.) and later even of the whole of Bādghīs, Yāqūt, i, 461. [?]

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the verse quoted as the first Persian *rubā'ī* in Shams-i Qays's *Mu'jam*, GMS, p. 39, *ghaltān ghaltān hamī ravad tā bun-i gau* "slowly rolling (the walnut in the walnut game) goes down to the bottom of the hole".

between Andkhūdh (§ 23, 61.) and Karkūh (now Karkī on the Oxus), v.s., p. 6.

In any case it would have been only too natural to connect the boundary of Irān with the region of Gūzgān for Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 64, 70, has shown that the eastern frontier of the Sāsānian empire "with few fluctuations lay almost always near Ṭālaqān" ("fast immer bei Ṭalakān"), see our § 23, 52., and in point of fact Gūzgān itself was reckoned to Ṭukhāristān, see I.Kh., 36.]

47. Following the description, R.būshārān (\**Rēvshārān*) lay on the upper Murghāb, downstream of Mānshān and upstream of Gharchistān. Geographically it belonged to Gharchistān, but politically was placed under the suzerainty of Gūzgānān. As regards the name, I.Kh., 40, calls its ruler *malik al-Rīvshārān* (cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 1876), but has a variant *R.būshārān*. One of the vazīrs of the Ghūrid Muḥammad b. Sām was Jalāl al-dīn \*Rīvshārī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, transl., 390.

[*Additional note.* In the revenue list of 217 A.H. quoted by I.Kh., 36, Rīvshārān stands between Siminjān (§ 23, 70.) and Bāmiyān (§ 23, 78.), and under 259 A.H. Ṭabarī mentions the ruler of Rīvshārān alongside with that of Bāmiyān. These hints might favour Marquart's surmise, *Ērānshahr*, 218, that "Rēwshārān must have lain in the neighbourhood of Bāmiyān".<sup>1</sup> However, in support of his theory, Marquart quotes also I. Faqīh (in Yāqūt's description of the Oxus, ii, 171 and v, 146) according to whom the Jayḥūn (Oxus?) flows from a place called Rīvshārān. "It is a mountain bordering on Sind, Hind [the Panjāb?], and Kābul and from it flows a spring rising from the locality of عديميس (var. عديمين)."<sup>2</sup> The place referred to seems to lie much farther east than the sources of the Balkh river for which Marquart, *ibid.*, 219, 227, takes I. Faqīh's "Jayḥūn". It is noteworthy that a place *Andamīn* (now spelt اندمين) exists in the Lesser Pamir and comprises the lake Chilāb (Turkish *Chaqmaqting*). Kūshkakī, p. 163, particularly stresses the fact that the insignificant Andamīn rivulet is the source of the mighty Oxus! Therefore Marquart's interpretation of I. Faqīh seems doubtful. Finally in Bīrūnī's *Canon* Rīvshārān comes in the list of the 3rd climate between \*Panjwāy (§ 24, 16.) and Ghaznīn (§ 24, 19.), and separately from Bāmiyān, Kābul, Lamghān, Kashmīr, &c., mentioned in the 4th climate, viz.

Panjwāy	long. 93°5'	lat. 32°50'
*Rīvshārān	„ 93°30'	„ 33°20'
Ghaznīn	„ 94°20'	„ 33°35'
Kābul	„ 94°20'	„ 33°45'
Bāmiyān	„ 94°50'	„ 34°15'

<sup>1</sup> Even the second argument is specious. Ṭabarī, iii, 1875, records some operations in Khūzistān where, on the side of the governor (called اصنجون), acted Nizak with some of his generals (*fī jamā'a min al-quwwād*). Among the

latter, Harthama "the Shār" and Ḥasan b. Ja'far "the Rāvshār (read: *Revshār*)" were taken prisoners. No particular conclusion as to the respective position of their fiefs can be drawn from their association in an expeditionary force.

Consequently Bīrūnī's indication may as well refer to a different homonymous place. The indirect evidence of I.Kh. and Ṭabarī could be confronted with our author's item on the extent of the Gūzgānān dominions "down to the limits of Bāmiyān". Were we, however, to maintain his other statement that some of the Murghāb waters come from Rīvshārān, we should perhaps move the latter to the south-easternmost corner of the Murghāb basin. Cf. *infra* 64. The final certainty can be attained only by an investigation on the spot.] [See Appendix B.]

48. D.rm.shān (*V.rm.shān*, *Varmēshān*?) must have been a considerable principality, for, in the north, a part of it lay in the Murghāb basin, while in the south it bordered on Zamīn-dāvar (§ 24, 12.-15.). It had a chief (*mihltar*) of its own, but our text, which is not very explicit, divides Darmashān into two "regions", the one depending on Gūzgānān, and the other on Bust. The part of the Gūzgānān zone which lay in the Murghāb basin must be placed south [or west] of the R.būshārān, perhaps on the "Sar Acha" (\**Sarācha*?) affluent of the Murghāb, communicating in the south with the Shorak valley leading to Āhangaran (*v.i.*).

So far as geography goes, Darmashān certainly belonged to Ghūr (§ 24, 1.), but as the latter's king had a different title (*Ghūr-shāh*) we ought to conclude that Darmashān formed a special march of Ghūr under a special dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The history of Ghūr at this period is very obscure. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, transl., 312-16, there were two rival families in Ghūr, of which the one (that of \*Shanasp < \**Vshnasp* = *Gushnasp*, cf. Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul*, in *Festschrift E. Sachau*, p. 289), since the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (?) possessed the princely power (*imārat*), while the other (that of Shīth) had the military command (*pahlavānī*). The later Ghūrīds, *o.c.*, 300-420, descended from Shanasp and the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* was brought up in the house of a Shanaspid princess. This circumstance may have obscured the situation of the other family, but in view of our author's statements one wonders whether towards 372/932 the Shanaspid lord was not considered only as *Darmashī-shāh*, while the title of *Ghūr-shāh* (§ 24, 1.) belonged to some rival family (that of Shīth?). As regards the name *D.rm.shān*, the reading \**Dar-i Mashān* "Gate of M." would not be satisfactory for such a vast tract on purely geographical grounds. On the other hand the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* says that the amīr B.njī (presumed contemporary of Hārūn al-Rashīd, A.D. 786-809) was the son of Nahārān, son of V.rm.sh, son of V.rmshān, and it is likely that these names ورمش and ورمشان with many variants (*V.rm.thān*, *D.rm.nshān*, *V.rh.shān*) correspond to our درمشان. As a parallel to the district Rīvshārān called after its king's title (or ancestor) Rīvshār, D.rm.shān would be the fief of the descendants of V.rm.sh/D.rm.sh. The important fortress of Ghūr called Āhangarān which was taken by Sultān Mahmūd was situated on the Harī-rud (see notes to § 24, 1.) and this fact again is in favour of the identification of the Darmashī-shāhs with the Shanasp family.

<sup>1</sup> If only Darmashān is not a popular name for Ghūr itself! *V.i.*, § 24, 1.

49. For the location of T.mrān and T.māzān we have to go by the following indications: Mānshān (51.) which we take for the Māk valley lay in the Tamrān mountains; Tamrān and Tamāzān lay near the limits of Ribāt-i karvān (63.). The two districts must be sought south of Mānshān on the easternmost sources of the Murghāb. Tamrān could be the Chiras valley, and Tamāzān that of the more southerly Āb-i Vajān. Tamrān was the more important and its mountains comprised probably the whole [?] watershed region between the Balkh river and the Murghāb. The *Ṭabaqāt*, 319 (text, 39), places in Tamrān the highest of the peaks of Ghūr called اشك (?). The most elevated points of the whole area are situated south of Bāmiyān in the Koh-i Bābā range (16,874 feet), but north of the sources of the Harī-rūd (*i.e.* in the neighbourhood of the presumed district of Tamrān) there is a peak of 14,845 feet. Several natives of Tamrān were in the service of the Ghūrids, *Ṭabaqāt*, 390. "Abul-'Abbās Abul-Ḥasan Khalaf" whom Bayhaqī, pp. 128, 795, mentions as an important *muqaddim* of Ghūr may have been the chief of Tamrān for his fortress lay at three days' distance from Ribāt-i karvān (§ 23, 63.), and he seems to have been a neighbour of Shīrvān (*v.i.* 50.).

50. As Sārvān (Shārvān?) comes in the enumeration between Tamrān and Mān-shān one would suggest for it a place near the Falakhar (\**Farkhār*?) mountains. Under the name of شیروان Bayhaqī, 127, probably refers to its chief. During his Ghūr campaign in 411/1020 Mas'ūd was joined by Abul-Ḥasan Khalaf (*v.s.*), "and following the latter came Shīrvān, who was another chief from the frontier of Ghūr and Gūzgānān. Mas'ūd had gained him to his side and he came with many horse and foot and brought numberless gifts and presents." Amīr Muḥammad [Mas'ūd's brother and governor of Gūzgānān, cf. note to § 1] in view of the fact that "this man was living close to Gūzgānān employed many stratagems in order to induce him to join him and be on his staff, but he did not listen to him because all the people preferred Mas'ūd". The twofold way of spelling شیروان and ساروان would suggest the reading \**Sērvān* or \**Shērvān* (cf. انبیر and انبار).

51. Mānshān is mentioned in the *Armenian Geography*, Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 17, 85, and *Huscharðzan*, p. 301, as well as in the *T'ang-shu* list of provinces incorporated by China towards A.D. 657 after the subjugation of the Western T'u-chüeh, Chavannes, *Documents*, 71, note 9 a (on I.H., 270, مرسان *v.i.*, under 55.). Mānshān was adjacent to Dar-i Andara. If this latter name ("The Gate of Andara") belonged in the first place to the military camp lying at the mouth of the valley above Jahūdḥān, it would seem probable that the upper valley itself was called Andara, but the term *Dar-i Andara* in the larger sense could cover that valley, too. Then Mānshān, lying south of the Dar-i Andara (and its valley), must be identical with the Māk valley, watered by the northernmost of the eastern sources of the Murghāb (*Māk tagāb*, or *tagāo*). The upper part of this valley lies immediately to the south-west of the sources of the Astarāb (the western of the headwaters of the Āb-i Safid). In § 3, 26. a small lake of Mānshān is mentioned lying close to "B.starāb". The latter is undoubtedly identical



with Astarāb, and this detail confirms the identification of Mānshān with Māk. Some day the lake will be found there! The title (nick-name?) \**Barāz-banda* "Herdsman of wild boars (?)" according to I.Kh., 39, belonged to the king of Gharchistān, but the attested title of the latter was *shār*, *v.s.*, under 36. Consequently our author's statement merits more credit.

52. Išt., 270, and Maq., 299, mention Ṭālaqān under Marvarūdh. This Ṭālaqān, which lay at three marḥalas both from Marvarūdh and Pāryāb (Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, iv, 287, counts 4 marḥalas from Ṭālaqān to Fāryāb) must not be confounded with the other Ṭālaqān in Ṭukhāristān (*v.i.* 81.). The names of both places are sometimes spelt Ṭāyaqān. According to Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 80, the Ṭālaqān of Marvarūdh was the Sāsānian frontier-town towards the east. Le Strange, *o.c.*, 423, places Ṭālaqān at Chachaktu, cf. *Zafar-nāma*, i, 806, whereas Barthold locates it at Qal'a-Vali.

53. Jahūdhān corresponds to Maymana (ancient \**Nisāk-i miyānak*, Marquart, *o.c.*, 78). Bīrūnī, *Canon: al-Maymana wa huwa* (sic) *Jahūdhān*. The military camp ("Gate of Andara") evidently lay upstream of the town at the mouth of the Pushta (?) valley to which most probably the name Andara belonged, *v.s.* 51.

54. Pāryāb, now Daulatābād, on the eastern branch of the Āb-i Qayṣār. Ṭabarī, ii, 1206 (year 90/709) mentions a king of Fāryāb called ترسل (?), distinct from the ruler of Jūzjān.

55. Naryān, mentioned in Yāqūt, iv, 775, may correspond to I.H., 322, مرسان (var. مرسان, &c.).

56. Gurzivān, Ya'qūbī, 287, Qurzumān, a district from which the Pāryāb and Andkhoy river (Shirīn-Tagāb) takes its outflow, cf. Yāqūt, ii, 59. A ruined town (*Shahr-i vīrān*) exists on its eastern side. South of it lies the central part of the Māk valley, *v.s.*, under 51. The district covering the headwaters of the Pāryāb river is still administratively called Darzāb-va-Gurzivān.<sup>1</sup>

57. Kundarm, Ya'qūbī, 287, and I.H., 322, کندرم Išt., 270, کندرم. It lay in the mountains at one marḥala from Jahūdhān (and according to § 5, 9 B c. to the east of Anbīr).

58. Anbīr < *Anbēr*, as in Bīrūnī, *Canon*; Ya'qūbī, 287, and Išt., 270: Anbār, now Sar-i pul (altitude 2,040 feet) on the eastern of the two rivers of Gūzgān (Āb-i Safīd). The Imām Yahyā b. Zayd b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed there, see Yāqūt, i, 370, under *Anbīr*. Under *Anbār*, i, 367, Yāqūt, using a different source, vaguely says: "a town in the neighbourhood of Balkh (?); in it was the government centre, it lies on a mountain and is larger than Marv al-rūdh." According to Ṭabarī, ii, 1773, the Imām Yahyā was captured in "a village of Jūzjān".

59. K.lār, Maq., 298: *K.lān*, or *K.lāv*.

60. Ushbūrqān, now Shibarghān,<sup>2</sup> downstream of Anbīr (altitude 1,303 feet). As appears from Bīrūnī, *India*, 158-9, some "undiscriminating

<sup>1</sup> Very curious are the names in *-ivān/ -ivān* in Eastern Iran: Gurzivān, Shāhivān (district above Farāh), Pārsivān

(usual designation of Persians in Kābul), &c. Cf. also § 36, 38.

<sup>2</sup> *shāburaqān* means "steel".

Muslim astronomer" placed this town on the 0° meridian passing also through Ujjayn (India), see note to § 10, 18.-24. An echo of this theory is found in Ya'qūbī, 287<sub>11</sub>.

61. Antkhudh, now Andkhoy, on the lower course of the Āb-i Qayṣār. According to Iṣṭ., 270, the town of the district of Ankhudh bore the name of Ushturj (Birūnī, *Canon*: اسطرج).

62. Under § 5, 9 B Sān is coupled with Chāryak. Both elements survive in the name of the *Sangchārak* (*sic*) district in which numerous streams form the eastern headwater of the Āb-i Safid. Ya'qūbī, 287, has اسان و صغاکي which Marquart, *o.c.*, 86, suggests to read as اسان و صهاريك with Arabic *ṣ* for Iranian *ṣ̌*. The *Bābur-nāma*, GMS, fol. 57a and 184b, gives سان و چهاريك.

63. Of Ribāt-i \*karvān (*kirvān*?) Iṣṭ., 265, says that the Harāt river rises "from its neighbourhood" (*min qurb R.-K.*), and further, 272, that it belongs to the province (*'amal*) of Ibn Farīghūn (*i.e.* the king of Gūzgān) and lies on the frontier of Ghūr. Under 49. Tamrān and Tamāzān are placed near Ribāt-i karvān, and under § 6, 24. the Balkh river is said to skirt the confines of Madr and Ribāt-i karvān. Following Iṣṭ. one would place Ribāt-i karvān on the uppermost course of the Harī-rūd, but the expression *min qurb R.-K.* is somewhat vague. Our § 6, 24. makes it possible to locate Ribāt-i karvān even on one of the westernmost sources of the Balkh river, perhaps on the one which joins the principal stream (Band-i Amīr) at Dahan-i Kāshān. It flows straight south of our 62. and immediately east of the region where we have placed \*Tamrān and Tamāzān. Tentatively Ribāt-i karvān could be identified with Kūshk-i khāna standing in the said valley. In Bayhaqī, 494-5, Ribāt-i karvān is mentioned as a dependency of Gūzgānān and a place of sheep-breeding; *ibid.*, 791, 795, Mas'ūd, in his pathetic letter written from Ribāt-i karvān after the defeat at Dandānaqān (A.D. 1040) places it at a distance of 6-7 marḥalas from Ghazna.

64.-65. Nothing is known of these two, but with S.ng-b.n (perhaps \**Shing-bun* to distinguish it from 43.) we are again near 47. Rīvshārān. Coming as it is after Ribāt-i karvān which is the farthest point of the Gūzgān frontier towards the south-east it may, as an antithesis, mark the south-western extremity of the territory (towards Gharchistān). [See however the additional note to 47.]

66. These Arabs evidently occupied the steppe between Andkhoy and the left bank of the Oxus, now held by the Salor Turcomans. According to I.H., 322, in the steppe of Andkhudh there were 7 villages and the "houses of Kurds possessing sheep and camels". In this case the term "Kurds" may refer simply to the nomadic habits of the inhabitants, for I.H., 221, uses the same term "Kurds" even with regard to the Kūfich of Kirmān (§ 28, 7.).<sup>1</sup> The Arabs mentioned in Sulṭān Maḥmūd's troops

<sup>1</sup> I.R., 128, says that the Lombards lived "in the Kurdish way" in the steppes round B.lāṭis (in the plains of Pavia, according to Marquart's ingenious correction, *Streifzüge*, 240).

were very probably recruited from among such nomads, cf. *Siyāsāt-nāma*, ch. xxiv, p. 92.

#### IV. Province of Balkh.

Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 87-91, Le Strange, *o.c.*, 420-3, R. Hartmann, *Balkh* in *EI*, P. Schwarz, *Bemerkungen zu d. arabischen Nachrichten über Balkh*, in *Oriental Studies in Honour of C. E. Pavry*, London, 1933, pp. 434-43. See Map ix.

67. Only for a short time were the Sāsānians masters of Balkh, Marquart, *o.c.*, 47-70, but the discovery of Sāsānian antiquities on the Khulm river renders plausible the existence of Sāsānian vestiges in Balkh as well. The detail about the paintings in the Nau-bihār is very curious. It is not mentioned in the description of the Buddhist Nau-bihār (*Nū-bahār*) in Ya'qūbī, 288, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 48, Yāqūt, i, 713, iv, 817-18 (after 'Omar b. Azraq al-Kirmānī). The products of Balkh are enumerated after Iṣṭ., 280. Ya'qūbī, 288, who wrote a century before our author, says that outside the walls of Balkh nothing but sands was found. The existence of marshes in the suburb agrees with the observations of a recent traveller who mentions marshy places in the neighbourhood of Balkh, see Vavilov, *Agricultural Afghanistan*, Leningrad, 1929, p. 504.

68. Khulm which our author seems to reckon still to Balkh is the present-day Tāsh-Qurghān.

#### IVa. Ṭukhāristān.

On Ṭukhāristān see Marquart's penetrating chapter in *Ērānšahr*, 199-248; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 66-8, and *Ṭokhāristān* in *EI*; Le Strange, *The Lands*, 427-8. Burhān al-dīn Kūshkakī, *Rāh-numā-yi Qataghan va Badhaksh-shān* (quoted: *Kūshkakī*), Russian trans. by A. Semenov and others, Tashkent, 1926 [this valuable and detailed description of the north-eastern corner of Afghānistān was compiled under the orders of the sipahsālār Muḥammad Nādir Khan who later became King of Afghānistān].

The notion of Ṭukhāristān varies with different authors, Marquart, *o.c.*, 229. Barthold in *EI* quotes Ṭabarī, ii, 1180, where Shūmān and Akharūn belonging to Khuttal and lying north of the Oxus are reckoned to Ṭukhāristān, but usually only the region east of Balkh and south of the Oxus is understood by Ṭukhāristān. Neither Ya'qūbī, 292 (where Khuttal is distinguished from the Upper Ṭukhāristān) nor I.R., 93 (of which the reading must be improved, see note to § 6, 8.) can be interpreted otherwise. Arab authors usually distinguish between the Lower (western) and Upper (eastern) Ṭukhāristān. Ya'qūbī, 290, places the beginning of the latter at Bāmiyān (*v.i.* 78). Yāqūt, ii, 518, is evidently wrong in locating the Lower Ṭ. to the east of the Upper Ṭ. Iṣṭ., 275, 279, has two short paragraphs on Ṭukhāristān. Our author very probably follows Jayhānī but may also use his personal materials.

The order of enumeration is the following: 68. (lying on the frontier of

Ṭukhārīstān) and 70. north to south up the Khulm river; 71. (?)–73. south to north down the Darghām (Kunduz) river; 74.–76. west to east; 77.–79. in the south, in the neighbourhood of the Hindukush passes; 80. north-east of 79., more or less in the direction of 77. This arrangement clearly reflects the erratic reading off a map.

69. *Khallukh* standing in the text must be right in view of notes to § 15. Ṭabarī, ii, 1612, mentions a Khallukhian jabghūya whom he also, ii, 1604, calls Ṭukhārian jabghūya, cf. notes to § 15. However in § 24, 22. our author is certainly led astray by the similarity of the names *Khallukh* and *Khalaj* in Arabic script.

70. Simingān [so according to Yāqūt, iii, 142, but 'Abdul-Qādir Baghdādī's *Lexicon Shanamianum*, ed. Salemann, p. 131, gives Samangān and this corresponds to the common use] and Ru'b (usually mentioned together with Simingān) correspond respectively to Haybak and Rūy which lie upstream from Khulm, on its river. The very curious description of the rock-dwellings evidently refers to the site now known as *Qal'a-yi Nūshirvān* and *Dukhtar-i Nūshirvān*, which has been recently explored and described by J. Hackin in *Les Antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmīyān*, by A. and Y. Godard and J. Hackin, P. 1928, 65–74.

71.–76. situated in the basin of the Darghām river (Qunduz, cf. § 6, 12.) now form the district of Qataghan (so called after a Turkish tribe which, coming from Samarqand, occupied this region towards A.D. 1700), see *Kūshkaki*, p. 9.

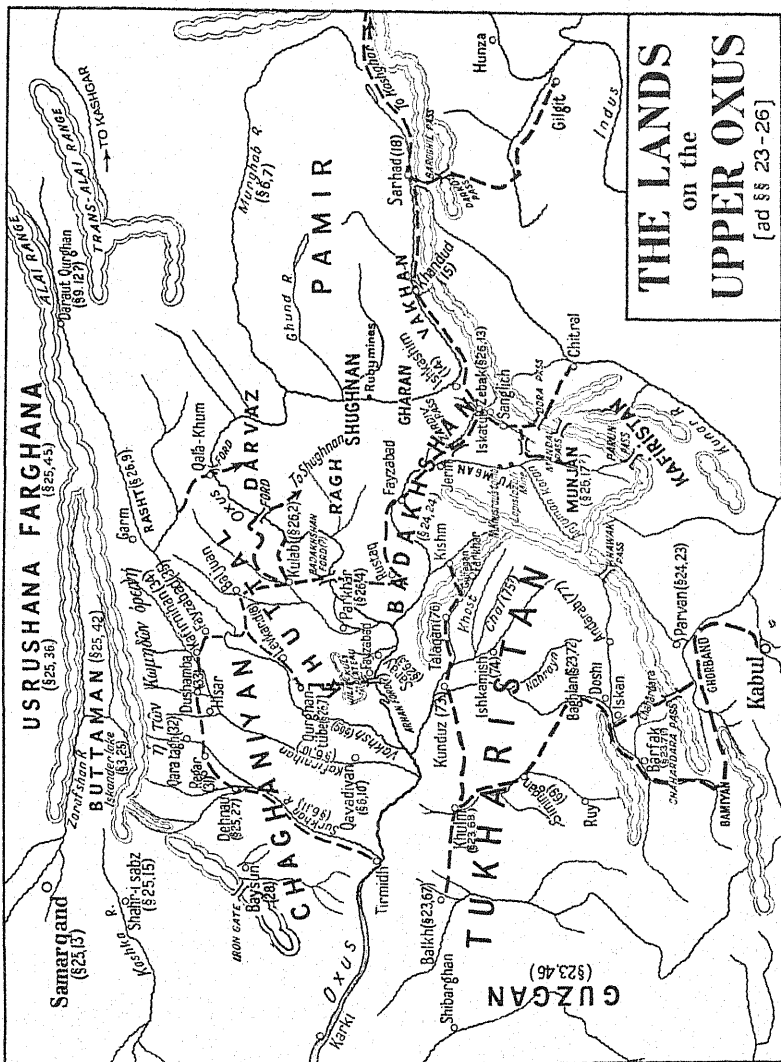
71. Sakalkand. In the enumeration of the localities of Ṭukhārīstān, Ya'qūbī, 288, Iṣṭ., 275, this town is mentioned between Baghlān and Val-vālij but its place in our author is rather in favour of Marquart's surmise, *o.c.*, 229, 237, that Sakalkand lay south of Baghlān.<sup>1</sup> Birūnī, *India*, 149 (transl. 299) says that in the revenue books Sakalkand figured as Fārf.za.<sup>2</sup> It is possible to identify Sakal-kand with Iskar (*Kūshkaki*: *Iskan*?) lying in a side-valley, at the entrance to the district of Barfak whose name could be an echo of Birūnī's فَرْفَز (sic) < \* فَرْفَك [this restoration seems preferable to Marquart's فارغ based on a suspect passage, *v.s.*, § 6, 8.].

[*Additional note.* Some light on the situation of Sakalkand is thrown by Ṭabarī's report, ii, 1218, of Qutayba's expedition against Nīzak<sup>3</sup> Ṭarkhān. The latter having taken up his position in Baghlān, near the source called فنج جاہ, was expecting the attack from the direction of Khulm but the Arabs aided by the Ru'b-khān, master of Ru'b and Siminjān, succeeded in taking the fort protecting the road. Nīzak, obliged to flee, sent his baggage to the Kābul-shāh and himself crossed the Farghāna (?) river and went to *Alkrz* (قطع وادی فرغانه ومضى حتى نزل الكرز). From *Alkrz* there was only one road of escape for Nīzak but it proved too difficult for his horses. Here he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also § 5, 9B. (Hindūkush).

<sup>2</sup> I.Kh., 37, quotes فارواف under Kābul (the latter being said to lie on the frontier of Ṭukhārīstān). I quote the

name merely as a parallel. (In his *Das Reich Zābul*, 269, Marquart repudiates his former hypothesis (*Fārwāf* = *Qūsān*) in *Ērānshahr*, 256). <sup>3</sup> \**Nižuk*, Chin. *Ni-chou*.



**THE LANDS**  
on the  
**UPPER OXUS**  
[ad §§ 23-26]

was besieged by Qutayba's brother and finally had to surrender. Most probably Nizak sent his heavy loads along the usual Bāmiyān road up the Doshī river (on which Baghlān is situated). He himself could not help following the same direction by some short cut. He undoubtedly crossed from the left to the right bank of the same Doshī river of which the upper course is now called *Barfak*. This name must correspond to Bīrūnī's \*بارفك mutilated in Ṭabarī's MSS. into فرغانه.<sup>1</sup> Above its junction with the Andarāb, this river receives from the right side a small tributary on which stands the village of *Iskan* (Map: *Iskar*). Over it climbs the road to the Chahār-dar valley, and to the Chahār-dar pass leading to Ghorband and situated near a Hindukush peak which stands 16,466 feet. Ṭabarī distinctly says that the winter season was well on and Nizak must have been blocked here by the snow. The name الكرز accepted in the printed text has several variants الكرن اللدن الكرن and it is quite possible that its ل has been misread from a س written in a straight line, while the group رز may represent ند. With the form اسكلکند we decidedly approach the form اسکند *Iskal-kand*, attested in Maq., 49. The difficult name may have been contracted in usual pronunciation, as its present-day avatar *Iskan* seems to indicate. If this theory is right, the place of Sakalkand in our enumeration is right, showing that it lay upstream from Baghlān. Marquart's hypothesis (o.c., 219) that Nizak fled in an easterly direction (die Burg Kurz (*sic*) auf dem Wege zwischen Baghlān und Andarāb) is less satisfactory for it does not explain the names and does not take into consideration Nizak's natural desire to rejoin his baggage train.

[However, Bīrūnī's *Canon* gives:

Baghlān	long.	92°35'	lat.	35°40'
Sakalkand	„	92°50'	„	35°50'
Ṭāyaqān	„	93°0'	„	36°0'

and consequently the position of Sakalkand, between Baghlān and Ṭāyaqān (Ṭālaqān), if right, would be considerably to the north of Iskan.]

72. Baghlān, on the middle course of the Doshī river (formed by the Surkhāb (= Barfak) and Andarāb).

73. Valvālij corresponds to Qunduz (*Kuhan-diz* "the fortress"), situated at the junction of the Doshī river with that of Ṭālaqān. Bīrūnī, *Canon*: "Valvālij, the capital of Ṭukhāristān, which in the days of old was the country of the Hayṭal (Hephthalites)".

74. Maq., 303, Iskīmish, now Ishkamish, on the western affluent of the Ṭālaqān river. Not to be confused with Ishkāshim, § 26, 14. Marquart, *Wehrot*, 86, identifies Ishkīmish with the old Tokharian capital, in Chinese *Kien shih* (<\**Kam shig*) or *Shēng Kien shih*.

75. The small mountainous kingdom of *Yūn* (?) is perhaps identical with وردن which Ya'qūbī, 288, mentions between Ṭarakān and Badhakshān. The Ṭālaqān river, formed by the streams of Gulfagān and Farkhār, receives from the left side an important affluent formed by the rivers of

<sup>1</sup> Different from فرغانه < Farkhār, v.s., p. 330, line 39 [?].

Khost, Chāl, and Ishkāmish. The district Chāl [now united with Ishkāmish], is well known for its salt-mines (*kān-i namak*), situated near the confluence of the three rivers. This is an important detail for the identification of Yūn. The Chāl valley itself does not seem to have ever risen to prominence, but the Khost valley (خوست or خست) adjoining Chāl immediately to the east and to the south and communicating with it by several roads, is well known on account of its inexpugnable character, Kūshkakī, *o.c.*, 28. Consequently it is probable that by the prince of Yūn the ruler of Khost is meant. The fact that in our enumeration Khost is not mentioned can be explained by its having been included in Yūn. A lord of Khost could easily have extended his power to Chāl, or, at least, to the salt-mines situated almost at the mouth of his own valley. Another interesting detail is that the king of Yūn was a feudatory of the amīr of Khuttal. Our author is positive in mentioning Tālaqān as the easternmost town of Tūkhāristān, and apparently all the localities of the Kokcha basin (left out in the description of the rivers!) were also reckoned to Khuttal, *v.i.*, § 26, 12., 18. A branch of the Khuttal family ruled even in Balkh, *v.i.* 77. However, the special title of our ruler seems to indicate that he belonged to a local family.

76. Tāyaqān (Tālaqān, Tārakān), entirely distinct from 52., is the well-known town lying on the river coming from Farkhār, above its junction with the left affluent mentioned above. Bīrūnī, *Canon*, also gives Tāyaqān. On its position *v.s.*, p. 330 *ult.*

77. Andarāb lies on the south-easternmost headwater of the Doshī river (*v.s.* 77-79.). This important valley leads up to the Khāvāk pass south of which Panjhīr is situated. On the north-east Andarāb adjoins Khost. Iṣṭ., 279, names the two rivers of Andarāb: Andarāb and Kāsān (the latter is a right affluent of Andarāb). Our items on the mint and the king are new. The title may be of local origin but in the later part of the ninth century and in the beginning of the tenth Andarāb was chiefly held by the Abū-Dā'ūdids of Balkh (a branch of the Khuttal family, § 26, 1.). See on this little-known dynasty R. Vasmer, *Beiträge z. Muham. Münzkunde in Wien. Numism. Zeitschr.*, Band 57 (1924), pp. 49-63. Among the coins struck in Andarāb, Vasmer finally recognizes as belonging to the Abū-Dā'ūdids the dirhams of 264-78/877-91, 288/900, 290-4/902-6, and 310-13/922-5. According to Codrington's *Manual* coins were struck in Andarāb also by the 'Abbāsids, Sāmānids, and Ghaznavids. On the dynasty of Balkh, cf. note to § 24, 12.

78. The statement that Bāmiyān lay "between" Gūzgānān and the marches of Khorāsān (§ 24) must be understood *cum grano* (*v.s.* 46.). The *shēr*<sup>1</sup> of Bāmiyān is mentioned both in I.Kh., 39, and Iṣṭ., 280. On this dynasty see Marquart, *o.c.*, 93. Yāqūt, i, 481, has the same Persian terms for the famous statues.

79. Iṣṭ., 286: Andarāba to Jārbāya 3 marḥalas, thence to Panjhīr one

<sup>1</sup> Certainly not "lion" as Ya'qūbī, represents Old Persian *asābriya*, Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 79.

day, thence to Parvān (§ 24, 21.) 2 marḥalas. Maq., 296, gives جاريه but, 346, كاريه (\**Gārpāya*?).

80. Iṣṭ., 286: Balkh to Madhr 6 marḥalas, thence to Kah one manzil, thence to Bāmiyān 3 marḥalas. Madhr is situated in the basin of the Surkhāb which after its junction with the Andarāb coming from the east, forms the Doshī (*v.s.* 76.-79.). Mūy corresponds perhaps to Kah which is now called Kā-Mard. The combination مدر و موي figures in the report of Sabuktegin's death, *Ṭabaqāt*, Raverty's trans. 75, cf. M. Nāẓim, *Sultān Maḥmūd*, 32. [Mūy can hardly stand for Rūy (Ṭabarī, ii, 1219: *Ru'b*) lying upstream from Simingān on the Khulm river.]

### § 24. Khorasanian marches

By the *hudūd*, in a special sense (see Barthold, *Preface*, p. 30), our author means the frontier regions (marches) of Khorāsān (§ 24) and Transoxiana (§ 26).

Maq., 337, speaking of the "Eastern Clime", says that over its whole extent the provinces and *khutba* belonged to the Sāmānid family; but the princes of Sijistān, Khwārazm, Gharj al-shār, Jūzjān, Bust, Ghaznīn, and Khuttal sent only presents (*hadayā*) and the Sāmānids were gratified with this substitution for the *kharāj*. "The (Sāmānid) commander of the army resides at Nishāpūr; Sijistān is in the hands of the family of 'Amr b. Layth, Gharj in those of the *shār*, Jūzjān in those of the Farīghūn family and Ghaznīn and Bust are in the possession of the Turks."

In spite of the introduction to § 23 where he mentions the *mulūk-i atrāf*, our author seems to treat the subject of § 24 not so much from the political as the simply geographical point of view. Therefore Gūzgānān and Ghar-chistān, though enjoying a particular feudal status yet being hemmed in by the provinces of Harāt, Marv, and Balkh, are described under Khorāsān (§ 23). In § 24 only the more southern zone is described (chiefly the basins of Sīstān and Kābul) with the addition, in the east, of the buffer territory of Badhakhshān stretching between Ṭukhāristān [of which the frontier-points were Ṭāyaqān, Andarāb, Bāmiyān, and Panjhīr, § 23, 76.-79.] and the southern dependencies of Khuttal (§ 26, 12.-20.).

The order of enumeration is the following: 1. (and 14., 15.) Ghūr; 2.-8. Sīstān; 9.-13. Bust and Zamīn-dāvar; 16., 17. Rukhūd (region of Qandahār); 18. Bālis (region of Sībī); 19.-23. Ghaznīn; 24. (and 25.-27.?) Badhakhshān.

#### I. Ghūr.

1. Although our author had, in Gūzgānān, exceptional opportunities for collecting information on Ghūr, the present paragraph is desultory. It is not at all clear in what relation Ghūr stood to Darmashān<sup>1</sup> which (§ 23, 48.)

<sup>1</sup> *D.rm.shān* or *V.rm.shān* may be a popular expression ("dominions of the family of D.rm.sh/Varmish"), whereas Ghūr as a merely geographical term may be due to literary sources.



occupied the space between Güzgānān and Bust. L. Dames, *Ghōr, Ghōrī* in *EI*, admits that in the beginning there must have been several clan chiefs in Ghūr but considers as its central region the basin of the left affluent of the Farah-rūd which still bears the name of Ghōr. This locality is exactly within the area of our "Darmashān" and consequently for all practical purposes Darmashān looks identical with Ghūr. Iṣṭ., 272, 281, 285, defines the limits of Ghūr as follows: the Harāt province down to Farah, then to Baladay-Dāvar (*v.i.* 12.), then to Ribāṭ-i karvān (§ 23, 63.), then to Ghar-chistān, then back to Harāt. In any case Ghūr comprised the upper part of the Harī-rūd for (Iṣṭ., 285) one entered Ghūr at خشت situated to the east of Aufa (now Oba). The name خشت must undoubtedly be چشت, as in *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 154, and correspond to the present-day Khwāja-Chisht. The name of the old capital of Ghūr is not found in Arabic geographers, but Āhangarān was considered as its important place at the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's campaigns, see *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, p. 321, and Muḥammad Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, pp. 70-3, as well as in Mongol times, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 150. As the latter source assigns to Āhangarān the position of long. 99° and lat. 35° (Güzgān lay at long. 98°, lat. 35° 20'), it is clear that this capital is identical with the present-day Āhangarān, situated at 260 Km. east of Harāt, at a point where a road coming from the north (from Maymana = Yahūdḥān) crosses the Harī-rūd (to the south of the Shorak pass).<sup>1</sup> As the home of the ruling Shanaspid dynasty very often is named *M.n.d.sh* or *M.ndysh* (probably \**Mandēsh* to judge by the popular etymology in the *Ṭabaqāt*, 308); it lay at the foot of the lofty mountain Zār-i Murgh but its exact position is not known, *ibid.*, 318.

Bayhaqī's report on Mas'ūd's campaign in Ghūr in 411/1020 contains many valuable details, but the geographical and personal names in the printed edition are in a very unsatisfactory state. Mas'ūd reached the frontier of Ghūr in 6 stages by the road up the Harī-rūd described by Iṣṭ., 285, and Maq., 347 (cf. also Maq., 307). He entered Ghūr at Bāgh-i Vazīr, the first ribāṭ of Ghūr beyond بنخست (\**Bun-i Chisht?*). Mas'ūd was accompanied by two chiefs of Ghūr: Abul Ḥasan Khalaf (*v.s.*, § 23, 49.) and Shīrvān (*v.s.*, § 23, 50.). After the conquest of the fortresses of رزان and برز (or زران) Mas'ūd marched to his chief goal جروس (\**Mandēsh?*) the residence of رئیس بت (\**Varmash-bat*, *Varmash-pat?*) situated at 10 farsakhs' distance (from R.zān?). Varmash-bat was subdued and had to surrender the fortresses of Gharchistān, which he had seized. See Bayhaqī, pp. 127-35 [Tehrān ed., 111: *Chisht*, *f.rws*, *V.rmysh-b.ṭ*], cf. *Ṭabaqāt*, 326.

Iṣṭ., 272, particularly insists upon Ghūr being a *dār al-kufr* and finds an

<sup>1</sup> In Birūnī's *Canon* two points are mentioned in Ghūr: كجوران \**K.jūrān* lying in the mountains and "Rūf, capital of Āhangarān, also lying in the mountains":

K.jūrān long. 89° 0' lat. 33° 0'  
Rūf           ,, 89° 0'   ,, 33° 30'

Cf. the co-ordinates quoted under § 23, 47. In the description of Ghūr the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (Raverty, p. 319) places in the mountain of *V.r.nī* "the territories of Dāvar (?) and Vālisht [§ 24, 18.?), and the castle of K.jūrān".

excuse for mentioning it in the fact that it was surrounded by Islamic lands (cf. also *ibid.*, 281). Some people outwardly pretended to be Muslims on the eastern (*sic*) border of Ghūr [I.H., 323: on the border towards the Muslim territory]. Consequently our author's assertion that the people of Ghūr were "mostly" Muslims looks exaggerated, and still more so in the light of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's campaigns against the heathens of Ghūr, cf. M. Nāzim, *l.c.* The stubborn resistance of the inhabitants to the famous conqueror makes it equally doubtful that, some forty years before, the Ghūr-shāh could, without demur, accept the suzerainty of the local ruler of Gūzgān. 'Utbi-Manīnī, i, 185, distinctly mentions the Farīghūnid amīr of Gūzgān and *al-shār malik Ghūr* [if only Ghūr is here not a mistake for Gharchistān]. On the genealogy of the Ghūrids see *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, p. 29, 49 (transl., p. 302, 312); cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 455, and Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul in Festschrift E. Sachau*, 1915, p. 289.

The language of Ghūr according to Iṣṭ. differed from that of the "Khorāsān people", the latter expression suggesting some dialectical differences only.

## II. Sīstān.

2.-18. This description of Sīstān is but a meagre abstract of Iṣṭ., 238-52, with very slight additions. On Sīstān in Islamic times see *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (445 A.H., continued in 725 A.H.), ed. by Malik al-shu'arā Bahār, Tehrān, 1314/1935; *Ihyā al-mulūk*, Brit. Mus., Or. 2779 (written towards 1027 A.H.); G. P. Tate, *Seistan, a Memoir of the History, Topography, Ruins, and People of the Country* (Parts I-IV), Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, 1910-12; Le Strange, *The Lands*, 334-51; V. F. Büchner, *Sīstān in EI*.

4. Iṣṭ., 238: *Kiss*, Maq., 297: *Kishsh*.

5. The detail not found elsewhere.

9. Bust (now Qal'a-yi Bist) was situated at the confluence of the Hilmand with the Arghandāb (Maq., 304, calls the latter خردروی). The Turkish ruler whom Maq., 337 (writing in 375/985) mentions in Bust, is certainly Maḥmūd's father Sabuktēgīn, who had seized Bust soon after 366/977, cf. M. Nāzim, *o.c.*, pp. 29-33. Our author must also have in view Sabuktēgīn while speaking of "Bust" as being conterminous with Gūzgānān, § 23, 46. and § 24, 12. The Farīghūnids lived at first on excellent terms with the Ghaznavids, *v.s.*, notes to § 1. The following route in Iṣṭ., 252, is useful for the understanding of our text: "from Bust [*via* Firūzqand] to Sarvān 2 marḥalas along the road of Balad al-Dāwar; then the \*Hidhmand is crossed at a marḥala beyond (*min*) Sarvān and the traveller enters Till; thence a marḥala to Darghash lying on the Hidhmand on the same bank; from Till to Baghnīn 1 day in the *qiblī* (western, or south-western?) direction; Bishlang lies in the southern direction of Baghnīn", cf. Le Strange, *o.c.*, Map viii.

10. حالكان. Iṣṭ., 248, spells Ṣālaqān (Zālaqān), Maq., 297: جهالكان Chālākān (*jh* = *č*?). The place lay at one marḥala from Bust.

11. On the road from Bust to Zamīn Dāvar (*v.s.* 9.) Išt., 248, mentions as the first stage Fīrūzqand (*v.i.* 17.) from which, Maq., 349, a road branched off towards Ghaznīn. In spite of some outward likeness *البن* cannot be *بن* which lay far too east beyond Panjvāy, perhaps on the site of Qandahār, cf. Išt., 251, and Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāzīm, p. 14, where Ya'qūb b. Laith marches from Sistān to Bust and then to Panjvāy, Tekīnābād, and Ghaznīn. On the other hand Maq., 304, says that at half a farsakh from Bust in the direction of Ghaznīn there was a township called *al-'Askar* in which the governor resided. Perhaps this *السكر* or *عسكر* (? the reading does not seem certain) is responsible for our mysterious *البن* which, then, ought to figure under 9. and not 10. Another suggestion is found in Ya'qūbī's, 281, interesting list of *kūras* of Sijistān: Bust, Juvayn, Rukhkhaj, Khushshak, *لمر*, Khwāsh, Zaranj. Is *البن* = *لمر* ?

12. Išt., 244, speaks of Bilād al-Dāwar under Sistān, whereas Maq., 305, writes: "There are some people who reckon this *kūra* to Sijistān, and such is the opinion of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, but the minority discriminates between its towns and Sijistān." Maq. himself describes it under Bust. At the time of the Arab conquest Zamīn Dāvar had a separate marzubān, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 37. It is also possible that a special position for this region was created by the still obscure expedition of the governor of Balkh Dā'ūd b. Abī Dā'ūd (b.) 'Abbās (of the Khuttalān family, § 26, 1.) against the king of Zābulistān Fīrūz. This expedition must have taken place before 258/872 when the Šaffārid Ya'qūb occupied Balkh where Dā'ūd b. 'Abbās was ruling. See I.Kh., 180., Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii, 42, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 40, 302. In his description of the frontier of Ghūr I.H., 323 (= Išt., 272) curiously enough replaces Išt.'s unexpected *Baladay Dāwar*, "the two districts of D." (?), by *Balad banī Dā'ūd b. 'Abbās*. This substitution suggests that for a time some members of the Khuttalān family remained in possession of Zamīn Dāvar until they were dispossessed probably by Sabuktegin.

Till and Durghush (many variants) lay on the right bank of the Hilmand. Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul*, p. 271, locates these two towns at Daravāt, east of Baghnī, cf. Le Strange, *o.c.*, Map viii. Here, too, he places the site of the famous sanctuary of the [Indian] god Zūn (Žūn) in whose honour the king of Zābul was called \*Zunbīl (so instead of *Rutbīl*!),<sup>1</sup> and of whom a second sanctuary was known in Ubulla (§ 33, 9.), *ibid.*, 285. Marquart thinks that Zamīn(-i) Dāvar means "the land of the Just One", *i.e.* of Zūn (cf. *Τζουδαδεέπ* and *Zundaber* of the Christian authors), cf. Minorsky, *Zūn* in *EI*. Bayhaqī, 125, says that peacocks were bred in Zamīn Dāvar in great numbers (*khāna-zād-and dar Z.-D.*) and adds, 123, that Maḥmūd considered Zamīn Dāvar as "blest" (*mubārak*) "for it was the first governorship which Sabuktegin gave him". It is not clear whether Zamīn Dāvar originally belonged to the region traditionally called Zābulistān, see *Ērānšahr*, 37, 39. The term Zābulistān is very vague, see *Nuzhat al-qulūb*,

<sup>1</sup> The consonantal resemblance of *Zābul* and \**Zunbīl* looks merely fortuitous.

p. 146 (*Zābul*), cf. Barthold, *Zur Gesch. d. Šaffāriden in Festschrift Nöldeke*, p. 188, note 4. As however Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul*, 282, connects the name *Zābul* (Maq., 299 جابلستان, Chinese *Tsau-kü-ta*) with the Indian name for saffron (*jāgudā*) the special mention of saffron in Darghush found in our author is a suggestive detail.

13.-15. belonging to Ghūr seem to represent the part of "Darmashān" (§ 23, 48.) depending on Bust. Here the practical identity of "Darmashān" and Ghūr is obvious. Išt., 244, says: *wa Bilād al-Dāwar iqlīmun kḥiṣbun wa ḥuwa thaghrun lil-Ghūr wa Baghnīn wa Khalaj wa Bishlank wa Khāsh* (var. حاس *wa laysa 'alayhā (?) sūrun wa lahā qal'atun*. Though the text is out of order (cf. Marquart's tentative restoration, *Ērānšahr*, 252) the mention of these places after, or under, Bilād al-Dāwar must be attributed to the latter's situation on the frontier of Ghūr. Baghnī and Bashling are still shown on the maps. Our خوانین certainly corresponds to Išt.'s حاس and must be distinguished from 8. خواش (lying on the left bank of the river Khwāsh and placed by Išt., 252, at 1 marḥala from Qarnīn). Bayhaqī, 127, also describes خوانین as "a province of Ghūr adjoining Bust and Zamīn-Dāwar in which the unbelievers were filthier (*palīdār*) and stronger (than elsewhere)". In 405/1015 Mahmūd led an expedition against it.

16. Rukhūdh, Išt., 244, and I.H., 303, spell Rukhkhaj, but Maq. has Rukhūdh (according to Marquart, *o.c.*, 225, \**Rakhwad*). It is the ancient Arachosia, i.e. the region of Qandahār watered by the Arghandāb and situated between 12. and 18. Qandahār is mentioned in I.Kh., 56, and Ya'qūbī, 281, but not in Išt., I.H., or Maq., who, like our author, name بنجوا Panjvāy as the chief place.

17. Kuhak, Išt., 244, belonged to Rhukhkhaj, while Rūdhān, Išt., 248 [= Balādhurī, 396, *R.sān?*], was situated in the neighbourhood of Firūz-qand (var. *Firūzḥand*; v.s. 11.), to the left of the road leading to Rukhkhaj, and its produce was salt.

18. بلس as in Išt., 244 (var. *Bālish*). Maq. has both this form, 486, and *Vālišhtān*, 297. Cf. Marquart, *Wehrot*, p. 124, note 6. This is the well-known region of Balūchistān south of Quetta and the Bolan pass, of which the rivers, though not reaching the Indus, belong to the latter's basin. Sīvī (Maq., *Sīva*) lay at 2 marḥalas south of Isfinjāy. Our *Kūshk*, as usual, stands for Arabic *Qaṣr*. Išt., 239, gives *Isfinjāy*.

### III. Ghaznī and Kābul.

19. *Ghazaq* غرق, see Barthold, *Preface*, 30, is a clerical error for *Ghaznīn* (غزنین) for lower down (22.) Ghaznīn is explicitly referred to. Išt., 280, calls Ghazna the trade-port of India (*furḍat al-Hind*). Our author (v.s. 9.) wrote at the momentous epoch when Sabukteḡīn was spreading his rule from Ghazna (see Maq., 337, quoted supra, p. 342); but only the words about Ghazna having joined Islam contain a remote echo of the events, v.s. 9.

20. Entirely after Išt., 280, with the difference that the latter speaks of the local shāh [I.H., 328, *malik*] while our author makes the raja of Qinnauj receive his investiture in Kābul! Išt. speaks of Ghazna and Kābul under

the Bāmiyān province ('amal), but Maq., 296, echoing the successes of the Ghaznavids, speaks of a *kūra* of Ghazna which comprised Kābul and numerous other places (lying chiefly in the south).

21. Cf. Išt., 280 and Maq., 296. Bīrūnī, *Canon*, mentions "the fortress of \*Sukāvand in the لومړى \**Lahōgar* > *Logar* rustāq"; the latter is the valley of the southern affluent of the Kābul river. In Sukāvand stood the temple of an Indian goddess (Marquart, *Catalogue*, 89: Sukhavati = Lakṣmi) which was plundered by 'Amr b. Layth circa 283/897, cf. *Ērānšahr*, 296. Maq., 349, gives the following route: Ghaznīn-Ribāṭ al-Bārid-اسناخ-Bāmiyān. Consequently Istākh (Asnākh, &c.) lay at two marḥalas to the north of Ghaznī towards Bāmiyān.

22. As regards Ṭukhāristān the name خلع Khallukh standing in our text is right and confirms § 23, 69. On the contrary, with reference to Ghaznīn, Bust (and probably Gūzgānān, cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 254, and *v.i.* quotation from the *ḡhān-nāma*) it must be taken for \*خلج *Khalaj*. Like حرر standing both for خزر Khazar (§ 50) and جرز Jurz (§ 42, 15.) the complex خلع is a source of endless confusion for Muslim geographers. The locus classicus on the Khalaj is Išt., 245: "The Khalaj are a kind of Turks who in the days of old came to the country (stretching) between Hind and the districts of Sijistān, behind Ghūr. They are cattle-breeders (*ahl al-na'am*) of Turkish appearance (*khilaq*), dress, and language."<sup>1</sup> Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 251-4, sees in the "Khalach, or better Kholach" remnants of the Hephthalite hordes (cf. Khuwārizmī's curious passage quoted in the note to § 26, 10.) and he further connects the restored form \**Kholach* with the names *Khōlas* (mentioned in a Syriac source under A.D. 554) and *Χολιάται* (used by the ambassador Zemarchos in 569). This development (based chiefly on Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 254, v, 302) still awaits further confirmation. I.Kh., 31, says: "The lands of the Turks are as follows: the Toghuzghuz whose country is the most extensive among the Turks and borders on China, Tibet, and Kharlukh (الخولج var. الحولج); the Kimāk, the Ghuzz, the J.f.r, the Bajanāk, the \*Türgish, the Adhkish, the Khifshākh, the Khirkhīz, where musk is found, the Kharlukh and the Khalaj, and these (latter) are on this side of the river." In this statement the Khalaj are distinctly separated from the Kharlukh No. 1 (to whom the variant الحولج belongs). In another passage, *ibid.*, 28, I.Kh. seems to contradict himself: having placed the winter quarters of the Kharlukh near Kaṣṣrā-bās (in the neighbourhood of Ṭarāz, § 25, 93.) he unexpectedly adds: "and near them are the winter (*sic*) quarters of the Khalaj (var. الخلحه)". To say nothing of the distance, it is absolutely unimaginable that a tribe living on the western side of the Oxus could travel to its winter quarters across two such rivers as the Oxus and Jaxartes! Either the names

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that in the oldest Arabic poems the names *Turk*<sup>un</sup> *wa* *Kābulu* are constantly used together though perhaps only as a sort of "Ultima

Thule", cf. Kowalski, *Die ältesten Erwähnungen der Türken in der arabischen Literatur*, in *Kōrōsi Csoma Archivum*, ii/1-2, pp. 38-41.

*Kharlukh* and *Khalaj* in this passage are only two variants of the same name (خلج and خَلَج\*), or the second name refers to some small and otherwise unknown tribe, distinct from the *Khalaj*. Only such a tribe (in view of the variant), and not the *Khalaj*, could be a remnant of the hypothetical \**Kholach*. As regards Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 254, and v, 302, where the Turks, النوز و الخرج are mentioned in the region adjoining Sistān and stretching towards \*Gharch and Bust, it is possible that the term *Ghūz* refers to the *Khalaj*. Kāshgharī, iii, 307, precisely says that the Oghuz consisted of 24 clans but the two *Khalaj* clans separated from the federation, and "therefore these two are not [evidently: now] counted as of the Oghuz". Mas'ūdī could have in view only the language and the general appearance of the *Khalaj* and not their intertribal policy and relations. In this case Mas'ūdī's *Kharlaj* stands not for *Khalaj* (\**Kholach*) but simply for the *Kharlukh* who were not Oghuz but whose early penetration into Tūkhāristān is a well-known fact. From Tūkhāristān a group could easily push farther to the south [?].

The *Khalaj* Turks are the putative ancestors of the well-known Afghan tribe *Ghazay* (*Ghilzā'ī*, *Ghiljā'ī*). This fact has been doubted by L. Dames in his article *Ghalsai* in *EI*, but reaffirmed by Barthold, *Khaladj*, and T. W. Haig, *Khaldjī*, in the same Encyclopedia. In favour of the latter opinion may be quoted an interesting passage from the rare *Jihān-nāma* written circa A.D. 1200-20 by Muḥammad b. Najīb Bakrān (fol. 17 of the copy bound together with the H.-'Ā. MS. and fol. 206 of Bibl. Nat., anc. fonds pers. 324):

خلج قومی از ترکان از حدود خلج بحدود زابلستان افتادند و در نواحی غزنین صحراست  
انجا مقام کردند پس بسبب گرمی هوا اون ایشان متغیر گشت و بسیاهی مایل شد و زبان  
نیز تغیر پذیرفت و لغتی دیگر گشت و طایفه از آن جمله بحدود باورد افتادند و بهره‌گی  
مقام ساختند و خلج را مردمان تبصیف خلج میخوانند

"The *Khalaj* (*Kh.l.j*) are a tribe of Turks who from the *Khallukh* limits emigrated to Zābulistān. Among the districts of Ghaznī there is a steppe where they reside. Then on account of the heat of the air their complexion has changed and tended towards blackness; the language, too, has undergone alterations and become a different dialect. A tribe of this group went to the limits of Bāvard and founded some settlements. By mistake (in writing) the people call the *Khallukh Khalaj*."

23. Parvān situated at the confluence of the Ghōrband and Panjīr rivers ought to come geographically after § 23, 79., but just between them must have passed the frontier of Tūkhāristān and Kābul. Parvān is still shown on the maps to the north-east of Chārikār. There may be possibly another Parvān in the upper Logar valley between Ghaznī and Bāmiyān, where Raverty, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 288, 1021, and 1042, places the battle between the Mongols and Jalāl al-dīn, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 441, note 6. No such name, however, figures in the itinerary quoted in the note to 21.

IV. *Badhakhshān*.

24. The itineraries of Arab geographers to the east of Balkh usually stop at Ṭālaqān (§ 23, 76.). However, Ya'qūbī, 288, in his enumeration of the towns of Balkh, and following on the towns of Ṭarakān (Ṭālaqān), وری, and Badhakhshān mentions "the town of Jirm (*v.i.* 25.) which is the last of the eastern towns following on Balkh, towards the country of Tibet (*mimmā yalī Balkh ilā nāhiyati balad al-Tubbat*)". Here the territory of Badhakhshān is implicitly reckoned to Balkh. Coming another time from the north Ya'qūbī, 292, winds up his description of the road Tirmidh-Chaghāniyān-Khuttal as follows: "and from Khuttal [the road goes] to Upper Ṭukhāristān and the kingdom of \*Khumār-bīg, king of Shiqinān,<sup>1</sup> and Badhakhshān, and from it [*i.e.* Khuttal] the great river [Oxus stretches up] to Shiqinān, and this all is Upper Ṭukhāristān."

Iṣṭ., 279, speaks of Badhakhshān (or Balakhshān) and its products (garnets, lapis-lazuli, musk from Tibet and Vakhān) jointly with Khuttal, but a little above, 278, assigns to Badhakhshān a more special position: "it is a clime (*iqīm*) with rustāqs; its town is Badhakhshān; it is the kingdom of Abul-Fath." I.H. drops this passage and nothing more is known of this prince (who must have been one of the scions of the Khuttal house, Marquart, *o.c.*, 302).

Maq., 296, places Badhakhshān under Balkh but outside the towns of Ṭukhāristān, and adds, 303: "Badhakhshān which is con-terminous with the country of the Turks [Ya'qūbī's *Khumār-beg*?] lies above Ṭukhāristān; there is a mine in it of the precious stone resembling the ruby (*yāqūt*) and there are no other mines of it except this one, and this (place is called) "Ribāt Fādīl" (وهي رباط فاضل). There (also) stands a wonderful fortress (built) by [Hārūn al-Rashīd's wife] Zubayda,<sup>2</sup> and there (also) are found mines of lapis lazuli, (rock)-crystal, bezoar-stone, wick-stone (asbestos) . . . and a stone which being placed in a dark house lights up the smallest objects."

Our author in this short paragraph follows Iṣṭ. only adding that there are merchants in Badhakhshān and that silver is found in it. He solves the difficulty about the special position of Badhakhshān by including it in his category of "Khorāsānian marches". In § 23, 75., we have an important indication as to the little kingdom of Yūn (?) depending on Khuttal. If Yūn, belonging still to the system of the Qunduz river, was under Khuttal, one cannot help admitting that the Kokcha basin situated east of Yūn

<sup>1</sup> Such is the editor's vocalization confirmed by the Chinese *Shih-k'i-ni*, Chavannes, *Documents*, 162; but starting from the present-day *Shughnān* one could read the name as \**Shuqnān*.

<sup>2</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 64, says that the Jayhūn rises beyond the ribāt of Badhakhshān situated at 20 days' distance from Balkh at the very end of its province. This ribāt stands over against various kinds of "Turks", *viz.* Aukhān

(\**Vakhān*), Tubbat (Tibet), and Ayghān (?), cf. Marquart, *Wehrot*, 100. Nizām al-mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, 128, confirms the statement that Zubayda built "on the frontier of Kāshghar (*sic*) a mighty town which she called Badhakhshān, as well as several strong ribāts in the same region". [*Ayghān* < possibly \**Abghān*, as I. Athīr, xi, 108, 110, calls the Afghāns.]

could not escape the same suzerainty (see above Iṣṭ., 278, on the prince Abul-Fath).

25.-27. *prima facie* are unknown, but as they follow on Badhakhshān they must be sought in the neighbourhood. See on them also § 26, 12.-17.

25. The "Gate of the Arabs" built by Ma'mūn stood perhaps near Jirm which is described by Ya'qūbī, 288, as the last of the towns of Balkh in the direction of Tibet. Jirm lies in Badhakhshān, south of its present capital Fayḍābād, see Kūshkākī, *o.c.*, 120-34. The place of the gate would be between Jirm and Zaybāk (§ 26, 12.), *e.g.* at Bahārak or in the Zardīv valley, so as to intercept the traffic coming from Vakhān and the countries neighbouring on the latter (Chitrāl, Gilgit, Kāshghar). As regards the construction of the gate it is not known whether Ma'mūn himself ever visited Badhakhshān, but in 196/811-12 he appointed Faḍl b. Sahl, governor of the eastern provinces "from Hamadān to the mountain of Shiqinān and Tibet", Ṭabarī, iii, 841. Very probably Maq.'s Ribāṭ Fāḍil (*v.s.*) stands for \**Ribāṭ al-Faḍl*. However, if we leave aside Ma'mūn's name it will be easier to suppose that the ribāṭ of Badhakhshān was, at an earlier date, built by the Barmakid Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid as a counterpart to the gate built by him in Rāshṭ (see note to § 26, 9.). The advantage of this hypothesis would be that we know for certain (Ya'qūbī, 304) that Faḍl b. Yaḥyā whom Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed governor of Khorāsān in 178/794 "conquered a number of *kūras* of Ṭukhāristān, of Kābulshāh, and of Shiqinān", *i.e.* exactly in the region interesting us. Ṭabarī, iii, 631, says of Faḍl's activities in Khorāsān: *wa banā bihā al-masājid wal-ribāṭāt*. Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 492, mentions Faḍl's victory over the Turks near Ṭālaqān.

26. The special mention of Muslims shows that S.ng.s lay amid an infidel region. A pass called سنکس does not seem to exist in the Hindūkush unless this name be identical with \*سنکلیج *Sanglich* quoted under § 26, 16.? It is possible that our author has twice over described the same locality, once as an extension of the Badhakhshān territory and another time as a branch of the road from Khuttal to Kashmīr (§ 26, 12.-20.). In this case our *Dar-i Tāziyān* would be identical with *Dar-i Tubbat* (§ 26, 12.) and the pass of سنکس (perhaps سنکلیش which is a possible Arabic rendering of *Sanglich*) would be the Dora pass.

27. The simplest solution is to restore شقینه as سقله *Shaqīna* for *Shughnān*, the region lying downstream from Vakhān on both banks of the Upper Oxus where the latter having changed its course flows south to north. The usual spelling is شفتان, cf. Ya'qūbī, 292, I.Kh., 37 (in the revenue list of the Ṭāhirid 'Abdullāh), and I.R., 89, but I.Kh., 178, mentions a ford on the Oxus leading to "the Turks<sup>1</sup> called *Shakīna*" and Iṣṭ., 290, gives exactly *Shaqīna*. Our author only occasionally mentions *Shakhnān* (§ 5, 9A and 9B, § 6, 6.) coupled with Vakhān but forgets to describe this country. See Minorsky, *Shughnān* in *EI*. As the name of "a large village" *Shaqīna* at

<sup>1</sup> See note to § 26, 1a: road from Khuttal.



this place would refer probably to Ishkāshim, see note to § 26, 14. A less satisfactory alternative would be to identify سَلْتَه \**S.q̄lta* with Iskitul, a village lying 14 Km. south of Zaybāk and 22 Km. north of Sanglīch, see Vavilov, *Agricultural Afghanistan*, Leningrad, 1929, p. 519; (on the map of Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to NW. India*, Oslo, 1932, the position of Iskitul is not quite exact).

### § 25. Transoxiana

Tomaschek, *Sogdiana*, in *Sitz.WAW*, 1877, Band 87, pp. 67-120; Barthold, *Report*, passim; Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 64-179 (and in much greater detail in *Irrigation*); Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, pp. 226-37, and *Wehrot*, passim; Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 433-89; Kurakichi Shiratori, *A Study on Su-t'ê, or Sogdiana in Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 2, Tokyo, 1928, pp. 81-145 (only ancient times). Many of the places mentioned in this chapter will be found on Le Strange's Maps IX and X, and on the Map at the end of Barthold's *Turkestan*.

The chief source of this chapter is Iṣṭ.'s (<Abū Zayd Balkhī's) excellent account (pp. 286-346) of the Mā-warā' al-nahr. Farther to the east, especially in Farghāna, I.H.'s additions (in his account of Transoxiana, pp. 335-406) offer some useful parallels, and for the regions lying beyond the Jaxartes several names could be found only in Maq. In the region of Chaghāniyān there are some points of special likeness with I.Kh. and I.R.

Contrary to the enumeration of the countries which in principle goes *min al-mashriq ilā al-maghrib* the description of Transoxiana (similarly to that of Khorāsān, § 23) proceeds from west to east: Bukhārā: 1.-4., 6. (plus Karmīna); Sughd: 5., 7. (minus Karmīna), 8.-10., 12., 14.; Kashka-daryā: 15., 16. (?), 17.-21.; upper course of the Oxus: 21.-35.; Ushrūshna: 36.-43.; Farghāna: 45.-62.; Īlāq and Shāsh: 44., 63.-83.; Ispijāb: 84.-93.

The bearings of the frontiers are again (as in § 23, &c.) given as if the author was facing north-east:

	H.-'Ā.	Real bearing
Tibet ( <i>v.i.</i> 58.)	E.	SE.
Khorāsān	S.	S. to SW.
Ghūz and Khallukh (?)	W.	W. to NW. (?)
Khallukh	N.	NE. (?)

Iṣṭ., 286, shows a similar peculiarity of orientation while he quotes as the Transoxianian frontiers in the east (in a straight line): Pāmīr, Rāsh̄t, and the parts of Hind adjoining Khuttal; in the west [?] (in a semicircular line): the Ghuzz and Kharlukh from Ṭarāz to Fārāb, Biskand, Sughd, and then the districts of Bukhārā up to the Khwārazm lake; in the north: the Turks and Kharlukh from the extreme limits of Farghāna to Ṭarāz; in the south (in a straight line): the Jayḥūn from Badakhshān to the Khwārazm lake.

The term Turkistān, cf. Ya'qūbī, 295: تركستان is applied by our author to the lands beyond Transoxiana, cf. Minorsky, *Tūrān* in *EI*.

Of the general remarks very few are not in Išt., 286-95, 312-13, such as the mention among the products of sulphur and arsenic (*v.i.* 66.).

### I. Province of Bukhārā.

1.-4., 6., and 7., cf. Išt., pp. 305-19. In our text "king of the East" corresponds to "wālī of Khorāsān from the family of Sāmān" in Išt., 306. Among the products, saltpetre is not mentioned in Išt., 314-15. *Būmkath* stands probably for Barnijkath but its form may have been influenced by the old name of Bukhārā itself: \*Nūmijkath, cf. Išt., 313 and 305, corrected in Maq., 267*b*. Narshakhī, *Histoire de Boukhara*, p. 20, gives as the ancient names of the town both *نیشک* and *بوسکت*. A painstaking analysis of these names is given in Marquart, *Wehrot*, pp. 161-4, cf. also Barthold, *Bukhārā* in *EI*. The details of 3. and 4. not in Išt. On Paykand see also § 3, 33. Cf. Zimin, *Razvalini starago Peykenda*, Tashkent, 1913, 31 pp. On the market in 6. Išt., 313. 7. According to Išt., 313, Karmīna was reckoned still to Bukhārā. Dabūsī is the present-day Ziaudin < *Ḍiyā al-dīn*.

### II. Province of Sughd.

5., 8.-12., cf. Išt., pp. 316-25.

9. Zarmān (numerous variants), Išt., 334, 343, between Rabinjan and Samarqand at 1 farsakh's distance from Ishtikhan.

11. This Farinkath, now Prinkant, not mentioned in Išt., I.H., or Maq., but found in Yāqūt, iii, 885, is entirely different from 74. It lay north-west of Samarqand towards Ishtikhan, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 96. Ganjkath must lie in the same region.

12. *دران* probably *دَران*, Vadhār, at 2 farsakhs' distance from Samarqand, Išt., 342.

13. Samarqand, cf. Išt., 316-21 (*nahr min al-riṣāṣ*), 288 (paper from Transoxiana). Our record on the Manichaeans (*Mānavī*) is extremely curious.

From the *Fihrist*, 337, we know that under Muqtadir (A.D. 907-32) the Manichaeans, in fear for their lives, fled to Khorāsān. Some 500 of them gathered in Samarqand and the [Sāmānid] ruler of Khorāsān would have killed them, but for a warning from the "king of China, but I think [says al-Nadīm] from the lord of the Toghuzghuz", who threatened to take reprisals against the Muslims living in his country. This diplomatic protection may account for the security which the Manichaeans in Samarqand enjoyed perhaps down to our author's times.

### III. Basin of the Kashka-daryā.

On 15.-21. see Išt., pp. 324-5, 343. On Nakhshab see particularly L. Zimin, in the *Iqd al-jumān* (Festschrift to V. Barthold), Tashkent, 1927, pp. 196-214, cf. Minorsky, *Nakhshab* in *EI*. Išt. does not mention mules and red salt in Kish and spells *Nasaf* (cf. *Nakhchuvān* > I.Kh., 122, *Nasawē*) and *Nūqad Quraysh*. Sūbakh is the present-day Guzār (Khuzār).

IV. *Basins of the Chaghān-rūd and Kāfirnihān.*

See Išt., 298, Maq., 283-4. Cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 234, 299, Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 72-4. See Map ix.

22.-24. See Barthold, *Tirmidh*, in *EI*. Maq., 324, mentions soap and asafoetida in Tirmidh. On the various Arabic transcriptions of Charmangān, Marquart, *o.c.*, 235; on the presumable founder of Hāshim-gird Hāshim b. Bānījūr, *ibid.*, 301. Cf. Deinike, *Termez*, in *Nov. Vost.*, No. 22, p. 208.

25.-35. Cf. Barthold, *Chaghāniyān*, in *EI*. Maq., pp. 283, 290, says that there were 16,000 villages and 10,000 warriors in Chaghāniyān, though economically it was inferior to Khuttal (§ 26, 1.). On the rulers of Chaghāniyān of the Āl-i Muḥtāj dynasty see Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī in his edition of the *Chahār-maqāla*, pp. 163-6. For the position of 27.-33. the following "route of Chaghāniyān" quoted in I.Kh., 33-4 (Qudāma, 211) is essential: Tirmidh to Šarmanjān (Charmangān) 6 farsakhs; thence to Dārzanjī 6 f.; thence to B.rnjī 7 f.; thence to Šaghāniyān 5 f.; thence to دژنا 6 f.; thence (across a *wādī* which is 2-3 f. wide?) to H.mvārān 7 f.; thence to \*Abān Kasavān 8 f.; thence to Shūmān 5 f.; thence to Vāshjirt 4 f.

26., 28.-31. Cf. Išt., 339-40 (without our details). The town of Chaghāniyān corresponds to the present-day Denau (*Dih-i nau*). 26. lay certainly south of the town of Chaghāniyān (in view of Ya'qūbī, 289, دارنگا the name must be \**Dārzanġē*) and the other four towns on the various roads diverging from the Chaghāniyān town in westerly and northerly directions. 28. in view of our detail is Baysun. 29. may be Zīna-āb (north of Denau). 30. نوزان perhaps better than بوران, Išt., 340, Maq., 268 (many variants). 31. دگر must be Regar (half-way on the road from Denau to Qaratagh, see note to § 6, 11.); Išt. gives ريكدشت (var. ريكد) and Maq., 268, *Rykd.sht* < \**rēg-dasht*. [*Rēg-ar*, cf. *lang-ar*, *Cand-ar*.]

32. Hamvārān is not in Išt. but has a parallel in I.Kh., v.s. 25. On the river K.s.vān "near" (?) which our author places Hamvārān see § 6, 11. Hamvārān may be identified with Qaratagh and \*Abān-Kasavān with Hišār which already lies in the Kāfirnihān (Kasavān?) basin.

33. Shūmān mentioned usually together with Akharūn was a considerable principality, Marquart, *o.c.*, 226, probably comprising the Kāfirnihān basin, or rather its upper part. The town of Shūmān may have lain on the site of Du-shanba (now Stalinābād), capital of the small Tājikistān republic. Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāzīm, p. 36, counts 12 farsakhs from Chaghāniyān to Shūmān, probably by a short cut.

34. افریدان mentioned between 33. and 35. corresponds to افریدان which Išt., 340, places between Shūmān and Vāshjird at a distance of 1 day from each of them. This detail is in favour of its location at the present-day Kāfirnihān. Cf. also Ya'qūbī, 291: الاحدالي.

35. ويشگرد (in Arabic: واشجرد and واشجرد) \*Vēshgird or Vēshagird is explained by Marquart, *o.c.*, 227, as \**Vēsagird*, i.e. the legendary town of Vāēsa, Frañrasiyan's henchman, which *Yasht*, v, 57, places in the Xšaθrō-suka defile, high up in Kañba (Sughd). Vēshgird must correspond to Fayḍābād

on the Īlāq, left affluent of the Kāfirnihān river. Īlāq is mentioned in Iṣṭ., 340, as the *next* station situated at one day's distance from Vēshagird towards the east, but from Vēshagird on the road may have followed this river. On Shaqīq Balkhī see 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, i, 196–202. Ibn al-Athīr, sub 194/809, says: "in this year was killed the hermit (*zāhid*) Shaqīq Balkhī during a Muslim expedition (*ghazāt*) to Kūlān in the Turk country", cf. § 15, 1.

The identification of 27., 32.–35. would roughly follow the distances indicated in Arabic sources, at the rate of 4 Km. to one farsakh:

	fars.		Km. ( <i>circa</i> )
Šaghāniyān		Denau	
	13 (2 days)		55
Hamvārān		Qaratagh	
	8		30
Abān Kasavān		Hišār	
	5		20
Shūmān		Du-shanba	
	one day		28
Afdiyān (?)		Kāfirnihān	
	one day		22
Vēshagird		Fayḍābād	

#### V. *Ushrūshana*.

The name has several readings. De Goeje in Iṣṭ., I.H., and Maq. gives the variant *Ushrūsana* but in I.Kh., 29, and Ya'qūbi, 293, *Ushrūshana*. Consequently it is safer to render our سروشه as *Surūshana* though the frequent occurrence in Iranian of the group -šn- would favour the pronunciation \**Surūshma*. The district, Iṣṭ., 225–7, lay to the west of the Jaxartes on the northern slopes of the Buttamān mountains (ranges of Turkeṣtān and Zarafshān). Our author says nothing on its former kings called *afshīn*, I.Kh., 40. The last afshīn was the famous Khaydar (?) b. Kāvūs executed by Mu'taṣim in 226/841. Iṣṭ. and Maq., 323–6, are silent on the produce of Ushrūshana. On the market of 39. Marsmanda, cf. Maq., 278. Instead of 41. Faghkath, Iṣṭ. spells Vaghkath (now Vagat, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 167). Sābāt means in Arabic "covered passage, awning". Kurkath, perhaps ancient Cyropolis (Benveniste)? On 42. Buttamān, cf. § 5, 9a. Iṣṭ., 327, mentions in the Buttamān mountains mines of gold, silver, vitriol, and ammoniac. 43. Barghar now Falghar (not to be confused with Pārghar, § 6, 8.). This upper part of the Sughd river was indeed reckoned to Ushrūshana, Barthold, *o.c.*, 168. On the lake see § 3, 24.

#### VI. *Province of Farghāna*.

45.–62. see Iṣṭ., 333–4, Maq., 362, 371–2, cf. Barthold, *Farghāna*, in *EI*. A classical description of Farghāna is found in the *Bābur-nāma*, ed. GMS, f. 1b–f. 5b.

44. Khūjand (or Khujanda) belonged to Shāsh but lay on the frontier of Farghāna.

45. On the minerals of Farghāna, cf. Išt., 313 and 334 where *al-jirāgh-sank* [sic] is also mentioned. The kings of Farghāna bore the title of \**ikhshēd*, I.Kh., 40 (Maq., 279, gives this title to the kings of Samarqand, cf. Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 344).

47. On the Jaxartes see note to § 6, 17.

48. Vāthkath, Išt., 346, places Vān-kath (?) at 7 farsakhs to the north-east of Akhsikath on the frontier of Ilāq.

49. There is nothing corresponding to this paragraph in Išt., but I.H. (who, according to de Goeje, *Preface*, p. viii, has reproduced the "complete" text of Išt.'s description of Transoxiana) writes, p. 397: ويرتفع الزئبق بسوخ من جبالها "quicksilver is produced in Sōkh (*sic*, cf. BGA, iv, 438) from its mountains". Our author took بسوخ for a special name (cf. variants in I.H., 395) and separately mentioned it almost immediately before Sōkh.

50. Išt., 347: Bāmkakhush. The two villages of the Isfara district in southern Farghāna, I.H., 395, cf. Barthold, *o.c.*, 159, 161. The Sōkh river (51.) is the left affluent of the Jaxartes, watering the Kokand (54.) region, and the Isfara river is the following affluent downstream, parallel to the Sōkh.

52. Išt., 347, Avāl, 10 farsakhs from Sōkh, south of Margelan, Barthold, *o.c.*, 161. Our author follows I.H., 396, in mentioning the villages of Avāl.

53. مسكان must be مسكان which according to I.H., 396, was the town of the Naqād district (نقاد, var. بنان) mentioned immediately after Avāl.

54. All three in Išt., 335. خرواکند *Khwoākand* is the present-day Kokand (خوکند\*).

55., 56. Qubā (now: Quvā) and Ōsh, Išt., 333 (I.H., 394): *marqab al-ahrās 'alā al-Turk*.

57. The rivers of Khurshāb and Ūrasht are found in I.H., 392. Cf. § 6, 18. and 19. where the Ōsh-river (Barthold, *o.c.*, 159) is said to flow between Ūrasht and Ōsh.

58. Išt., 334. Our author's data on the rivers are new, cf. notes to § 6, 17., § 15, 11. At the time of I.Kh., 30, Ūzgand had a chief called Khūrtegin (\**Chūr-tegin*). Soon after our author's times Ūzgand became one of the residences of the Qara-khānids, see § 13, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 157, Cohn-Wiener, *Turan*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 17-20 and plates x-xvi (the Qara-khānid buildings), I. I. Umniakov, *Arkhiṭek. pamiatniki Sredney Azii*, Tashkent, 1929, pp. 27-9.

59. Išt., 334: Khaylām (this reading adopted in Barthold, *o.c.*). Its river is the present-day Narin (§ 6, 21.).

60. The name كشوكت appears in Idrīsī at one day's distance from Akhsikath (towards the east?), Sprenger, *Postroueten*, 27. One must distinguish between Bāb-Akhsikath "the Gate of A.", Išt., 335, in which Barthold, *o.c.*, 162, sees a suburb of A. lying on the left bank of the Jaxartes, and Bāb (in our source and at present Pāp), a village lying at 4 farsakhs from A. on the right bank of the river, Išt., 336, I.Kh., 30.

61., 62. In spite of the concluding formula following on 60., these places, too, must have lain in Farghāna. The only certain place is Sh.lāt, Išt., 346, *S.lāt* (with variants). According to I.H., 396, S.lāt and Biskant lay beyond Miyān-rūdhān, *i.e.* the district between the two headwaters composing the Jaxartes. I.H. adds that the locality was called Haft-dih "Seven villages" and our 61. may enumerate the remaining five villages.

#### VI. Province of Īlāq and Shāsh.

63.-83. Cf. Išt., 328-33. See Map in Barthold, *Turkestan*.

63. The province Īlāq lay on the Āhangarān river (in Russian: *Angren*) and was hardly distinguishable from Shāsh (Chāch) situated on the Chirchik, both rivers being right affluents of the Jaxartes, downstream from Farghāna, Barthold, *o.c.*, 169. Some "dihqāns" struck coins in Īlāq even in 388 and 399 A.H., see Markov, *Inventarniy Katalog*, SPb., 1896, pp. 218-19, and Barthold, *o.c.*, 307.

According to the *Mafātīh al-'ulūm*, p. 28, the *mubayyiḍa* "wearers of white raiment" (in Persian *safīd-jāmagān*) were the supporters of al-Muqanna' ("the Veiled Prophet of Khorāsān") who, as I. Athīr, vi, 25-6, says, placed Abū Muslim above the prophet Muḥammad and denied the death of the imām Yaḥyā b. Zayd (*v.s.*, note to § 23, 50.). Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 197, and Marquart, *Histor. Glossen*, in *WZKM*, 1898, 177. On the other hand in Bīrūnī's *Canon*, f. 25, the Zoroastrians of Īrānshahr living to the west of the river of Balkh (*i.e.* Oxus) are distinguished from those who lived beyond that river and were called *Mubayyiḍa* or *Isfandiyāriya*, cf. Sachau, *Zur Geschichte von Khwārizm*, Sitz.WAW, 1873, lxxiii, p. 485 (15). [In MS. Or. 1997, fol. 25a below, the name is spelt المجوس الاسفنداريه. Sachau's interpretation may refer to Isfandiyār's exploits in Tūrān, but it is more likely that the reading is \**al-isfidh-yāriya* (< *al-isfidh-dāriya*, cf. \**shahradār* > *shahriyār*)<sup>1</sup> of which *al-mubayyiḍa* is the exact Arabic rendering.]

64. Išt., 331, calls the provincial capital Tūnkath (variant يوكت), cf. Barthold, *o.c.*, 172. According to Russian papers (14.vii.1934) its imposing ruins were found at 90 Km. from Tashkent; the town was well planned and had wide and straight streets, large squares and huge water-tanks; the town walls reached the height of 7 metres.

65. Išt., 332, I.Kh., 28, *ma'dīn al-fidda*. The spelling *saym* would indicate the pronunciation \**sēm* instead of the usual *sīm*. The word is derived from (ἀργύριον) ἄσημον, in Latin (*argentum*) *infectum*, *i.e.* "not-finished, not-coined silver". The Syriac form is *sēmā*, cf. H. H. Schaefer, *Iranica*, 1934, p. 35.

66. Išt., 332, 345: Dakhkath. The mention of arsenic gives more precision to Maq.'s mention (p. 326) of it (*dhul-fār* [sic]) in Īlāq.

67. Išt., 331: N.mūdhlugh, \*Arpalikh (Maq., 265); [*Itlukh*, "the Dog village" abest]; Banjakash (Maq., Bānkhāsh), cf. also under 75.

<sup>1</sup> According to Melgunov, the aspen is called, in the Caspian provinces, both اسفندار ("white tree") and اسفيار.

68. Išt., 345: Sāmsirak. 69. حنج, perhaps حنج, Maq., 265 (in Shāsh). Khās, Išt., 332, Maq., 265 (in Īlāq). 70. Išt., 329: Gharjand (in Shāsh). 71. Išt., 331: Tukkhath; cf. 79.
72. Išt., 329: K.l.shj.k, Ardalānkath, and Ishbīnghū (in Shāsh); *ibid.*, 331: Khumrak (in Īlāq). غناج perhaps غناج, Išt., 329 (in Shāsh).
73. Išt., 330: K.dāk, Ghazak. خيال unknown? Išt., 229: Vardūk, K.b.rna, Gh.drānk,—all in Shāsh.
- 74., 75. Išt., 330: Anūdkath, Baghunkath, Farankath, Jabghūkath, all in Shāsh. In view of several other Turkish names in the region Baghūy-kath could contain the Turkish name Baghūy; cf. *Dib-Baḡuy* (one of Oghuzkhan's mythical ancestors). Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, i, 10, explains that *dip* means "the place of a throne" and *baḡuy* "the leader of a nation" (*il-ulughī*).
76. Išt., 331: Sh.kākath, Bānjikāsh (in Īlāq), cf. 67. 77. This Tunkath is decidedly different from 71.
78. Išt., 331: Bālāyān (in Īlāq). On the river see § 6, 22. The name is not found either in A. Markov's *Inventarniy Katalog*, nor in the list of mints in Codrington's *Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, 1904. The presence of the mint must probably be connected with the silver-mine of 65.
79. Chāch, Arabic *Shāsh*. On the trees *khalang* and *khadang* see *BGA*, iv, 222, 229. *Khadang* is mentioned in Transoxiana, Išt., 289a, but not *khalang*. [Cf. also notes to § 52.] On the Shāsh bows see Maq., 325.
- 80.-83. Išt., 328, 330, gives, in a different order, the following parallels: Binkath, Nūjakath, Barkūsh, Khātūnkath, D.nf.ghānkath, Banākath, Kharashkath, Biskath, Najākath, K.nk.rāk (all with numerous variants). 80. Binkath is the present-day Tashkent. Bīrūnī in his *Canon* writes: "سك \*Binkath, chief place of Shāsh; in Turkish and in Greek (called) Stone Tower (*burj al-ḥijāra*)". The hint is at the popular Turkish etymology *tash* "stone" + *kand* "village" brought into relation with Ptolemaic *λίθινος πύργος*, *v.s.*, § 9, 12. However \**Tāsh-kand* most probably contains the name of the province Chāch (*v.s.* 79.): *Chāch-kand* or *Shāsh-kand* > *Tāsh-kand*, with a dissimilation similar to *čadr* > Middle Persian *tas* "four"; *Shūshtar* > Arab. *Tustar*; \**sarpūsh* > Arab. *ṭarbūsh* [see *s.v.* *Turban* in *ET*]. 81. Nūjakath near the Chirchik railway station, Barthold, *o.c.*, 174. 83. حرکت probably خرجانک which Išt., 332, places in Īlāq. Shutūrkath, Maq., 342, at a marḡala from Binkath. On the rivers of 81. see § 6, 17. and 22., cf. Barthold, *o.c.*, 163.

## VII. Region of Ispījāb (\*Ispēchāb).

The original part of the Ispījāb region occupied the basin of the Aris, a right affluent of the Jaxartes, downstream from Shāsh, but in a larger sense it comprised also the adjacent territories on the Jaxartes (though not its lower course, cf. § 26, 27.) and the Talas valley, Barthold, *o.c.*, 176. Ispījāb belonged to the Turks and, though subjugated in A.D. 840 by the Sāmānid

Nūh, still enjoyed great privileges. The town of Ispijāb is the present-day Sayram; on their identity cf. Kāshgharī, i, 78.

84.-93., cf. Išt., 333-4.

85. For Sānikath, Išt., 346, gives Usbānikath, and Maq., 263, Arsubānikath; it lay at 2 days' distance to the north-west of Ispijāb (in Kunjida, cf. 89.).

86. بدخکت, I.H., 390, Budakhhkath, Maq., 263, Adhakhkath (in Isfijāb); different from 66. Dhakhkath in Īlāq.

87., 88. Pārāb (Fārāb) occupied a small area on both banks of the Jaxartes. Its chief place Kadir is also in Išt., 346, Barthold, *o.c.*, pp. 176-7. For Sutkand I.H., 335, 391, gives Biskand; its ruins lie near the Qara-kul lake, Barthold, *o.c.*, 177.

89. I.H., pp. 390-1: Kunjida; see 85.

90. Šabrān, Išt., 346, details in I.H., 391.

91. Dharnūkh may correspond to Maq., 263f, 274: Turār-Zarākh: "a town belonging to a *rustāq* lying behind Saurān [cf. 90.] in the direction of the Turks; it is small and fortified; it possesses a citadel; Zarākh is a village in this *rustāq*". It is possible that this زار is but another spelling for طرار (*v.i.* 92.) and corresponds to اطار Otrar where Timur died in 807/1405. It must be carefully distinguished from طراز (*v.i.* 93.).

92. Sūnākh corresponds to "Sughnaq, town of the Ghuz", in Kāshgharī, i, 392; cf. Maq., 323k: طراز و صنعاج read: "طار و صنعاج", *i.e.* Otrar and Sighnakh. In Turkish *sighnakh* means "place of refuge"; cf. the name of a town in Georgia and of several places in Qara-bāgh (Transcaucasia). The ruins of Sighnakh are situated at 20 Km. north of the Tūmān-aryq post station, cf. Yakubovsky, *Ruins of Sighmak* (in Russian) in the *Soobshcheniya Gosudar. Akademii materialnoy kul'tury*, Leningrad, 1929, pp. 123-59. (It is open to doubt whether سوس or سوس in Išt., BGA, iv, 424, and Maq., 263q, mentioned under Ispijāb may conceal the name of Sūnākh).

93. These places belonging to the Talas and Chu basins were situated in the locality which our author calls the "Khallukh Gate". They lay along the road from Ispijāb to Barskhān, on which see I.Kh., 28-9, and Qudāma, 105-6 (*v.s.*, § 15, 10.). Maq., 263, 274-5, describes them under Isfijāb, though all of them certainly did not belong to the latter. Ṭarāz (Talas) was situated on the Talas river near the site of the actual Auliyā-Ata and is entirely different from Otrar on the Jaxartes (*v.s.* 91.). Shaljī stood in the mountains at 4 farsakhs to the south of Ṭarāz, Barthold, *Report*, 14-17. P. P. Ivanov, *K voprosu o drevnost'akh v verkhovyakh Talasa*, in the *Festschrift to S. F. Oldenburg*, Leningrad, 1934, p. 241-51, identifies Shaljī with the ruins of Aq-tapa (near the village Dmitriyevskoye) on the upper course of the Talas. Farūnkath (Afrūnkath) is not in the Arabic texts unless it is the ribāṭ انفرن \**Anfarun* (?) which Išt., 336-7, places in the Qalās steppe, on the frontier between Shāsh and Ispijāb. Between Takābkath and Mirkī, Maq. mentions Kūlān; both Kūlān and Mirkī will be found in the description of the Khallukh territory, § 15, 1.-2. Their mention in the present paragraph may refer to the time after Nūh's campaign of A.D. 840.



## § 26. Transoxanian marches

These "marches" consist of two entirely distinct groups: the eastern [\*south-eastern] one, comprising the localities on the upper Oxus (1.-16.) and the upper Indus (17.-18.) and the western [\*northern] one, to which belong Khwārazm (19.-26.) and the localities on the lower Jaxartes (27.). Briefly the two regions can be called Khuttalān and Khwārazm respectively.

As in §§ 23 and 24, the difference between Transoxiana and its marches is more geographical than political, for the amīr of Chaghāniyān (§ 25, 27., to say nothing of 46. Farghāna, 63. Īlāq, and 79. Chāch) is mentioned in Transoxiana whereas his neighbour of Khuttalān ruling over the south-eastern wedge of the territory is included in § 26. See Map ix.

1. Khuttalān, Išt., 349: Khuttal, occupied the area east of the Vakhsh river down to the Panj (cf. § 6, 6.-9.). The principal authorities for the region are: Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 289, I.Kh., 37, I.R., 92, Išt., 297, 339, Maq., 283, 290. The pronunciation Khuttalān is confirmed by the popular song quoted in Ṭabarī, ii, 1492, 1494, which is considered as one of the earliest specimens of Modern Persian.<sup>1</sup> The princes of the Bānījūr family bore the title of Shēr-i Khuttalān, I.Kh., 40, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 300-2 (genealogy),<sup>2</sup> Barthold, *Khuttal* in *EI*. On the celebrated Khuttalān breed of horses (*v.i.* 3.) see I.Kh., 180 (and transl. 141); cf. Marquart, *o.c.*, 300-1 (Chinese sources), *Wehrot*, 88 (myths connecting horses with springs).

Following on Saghāniyān, Kharūn, and Māsand (§ 25, 27., 33., 28.) Ya'qūbī, 289, enumerates without any clear system باساران (I.Kh., 37, باسرا, I.R., 92, بيسار), Qubādhīyān, بوز (= Nūdīz, Išt., 298, *v.s.*, § 6, 10.), Vakhsh (= Lēvkand), Halāvard, Kārbang, Andīshārāgh, Rustā Bik, Hulbuk, and Munk. More useful are the distances quoted by Išt., 339, under "Khuttal and Saghāniyān and the region between them". Marquart, *o.c.*, 232, has analysed these data, but I believe that two emendations are necessary in the text to render it intelligible. Išt. starts from the two fords on the Jaryāb (Oxus); the one lying higher up on the river is (A) *Ma'bar Badhakhshān* (*v.s.*, note to § 24, 24.), and the other (B) *Ma'bar Ārhan*. The former almost certainly is the ford of Bahārak crossed by the road from Rustāq (in the Afghān Badhakhshān) to Kulāb = Hulbak (in the Soviet Tājikistān); the latter lay near Ḥaḍrat-Imām-Šāhib, Marquart, *o.c.*, 233, Barthold, *o.c.*, 70. Išt.'s passage consists of several distinct items.

From the Badhakhshān ford (A) to Munk 6 marḥalas, thence to the Stone Bridge (on the Vakhshāb) 2 ditto; thence to Lēvkand 2 ditto; (thence) downstream to Halāvard 1 ditto (both Lēvkand and Halāvard lying on the Vakhshāb).

From the Ārhan ford (B) to Halāvard 2 marḥalas.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name Khuttal as well as several other names of the region (Hulbuk, Munk) sound non-Iranian (Tokharian, Hephthalite?).

<sup>2</sup> More specially on the Abū Dā'ūdīd branch *v.s.*, § 24, 12.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is probably an interpolation. To complete his east-to-west semicircular description Išt. would have better said: "and from Halāvard to the Ārhan ford".

From "the" ford (*al-mā'bar*)<sup>1</sup> to Hulbuk 2 days; thence to Munk 2 days.

Kārbanj lies above the Ārhan ford, *circa* 1 farsakh.

Tamliyāt to the Stone Bridge 4 farsakhs (along the Munk road).<sup>2</sup>

From the Badhakhshān [read: \**Ārhan*]<sup>3</sup> ford to Rustāq Bik 2 marḥalas; thence across the Andīchārāgh river [= Ṭā'ir-su] to Andīchārāgh 1 marḥala; thence across the Pārghar river to Pārghar 1 day; (thence) across the برسان river [p. 296, برسان, I.H., 401, بلان read \*تلبار Talvār = Munk river] to Hulbuk (distance left out).

2. At present Hulbag to the south of Kulāb, cf. § 6, 8.

3. "Nuchārā" coupled with Rustā Bik certainly corresponds to Andīchārāgh (the name has several variants and the alternating of ج and ش in them confirms the ċ of Nuchārā), see Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, 279, Iṣṭ., 296, 339, Maq., 290r. Misunderstandings in the available manuscripts and editions have complicated the identification of Andīchārāgh,<sup>4</sup> but Barthold, *o.c.*, 69, is certainly right in placing it near the Ṭā'ir-su (a small river between the Pārghar and Vakhshāb). In our text we must certainly assume that Nuchārā lay between "وختشاپ" \*Vakhshāb (not خرناب Kharnāb) and Jayhūn", for placing it between the Kharnāb (= Bārtang, § 6, 7.) and Jayhūn would upset Iṣṭ.'s distances and, as regards the other indications of our text, would be contrary to the order of enumeration and to the item on Nuchārā being the store-place of Khuttalān. Maq., 291, confirms that Andījārāgh lay close to the Jayhūn, and as regards the mountain mentioned in our text, the hills stretching east of the Ṭā'ir-su (3,700 feet high) would fulfil this condition as well. Russian sources evaluate at 124 Km. the distance between Ayvaj (situated at the estuary of the Kāfirniḥān river, cf. Maq., 292, اوزج في حد قواديان) and Saray lying upstream from it (opposite the Afghān settlement of Ḥaḍrat-Imām-Ṣāhib). Beyond the Qaraul-tūbe post (*circa* 97 Km. upstream from Ayvaj) the road "ascends the Jili-kul plateau, famous for its pastures, on which the Qirghiz and Uzbeks successfully breed horses", and then near Fayḍābād [different from the one mentioned in the note to § 25, 35.] descends into the thickly inhabited Sarāy plain, see Prince Masalsky, *Turkestan'skiy kray*, SPb., 1913, p. 738. Therefore I should more exactly identify Nuchārā to Sarāy and Rustā-Bik to Jili-kul (lying to the east of the Vakhsh river). The Jili-kul pastures must still carry on the Rustā-Bik

<sup>1</sup> Marquart takes it for the just mentioned (B). I decidedly take it again for (A) in view of the distances: 6 marḥalas from (A) to Munk easily = 4 days, with Hulbuk lying half-way; moreover Hulbuk and Munk are on the road leading up from (A) and not from (B).

<sup>2</sup> Tamliyāt adds another detail to the road first described roughly from (A) to Munk and thence to the Stone Bridge.

<sup>3</sup> I decidedly think that the route stretched entirely on the right bank of

the Oxus in a SW. to NE. direction.

<sup>4</sup> Marquart, *o.c.*, 234, following his interpretation of I.R., 92 (*v.s.*, § 23, 69.), placed it on the left bank of the Oxus. Le Strange, *The Lands*, 435, identified the Andīchārāgh river with the Bārtang (= Aq-su, Murghāb, Sarēz in the Pamir) having taken it for the *first* affluent of the Oxus, whereas Iṣṭ., 296 (= I.H., 347) and Maq., 22, assign to it only a *fourth* place.

traditions, now one thousand years old! Some coins struck in Andīchārāgh have come down to us. See Markov, *Invent. Katalog*.

4. Now Pārkhār, east of the river formed by the streams of Baljuvān and Kulāb, cf. note to § 6, 7.

5. Having mentioned separately the capital of Khuttal (2.) our author seems to carry his enumeration from the south-eastern corner of the province (3.), in a north-easterly direction (4.) to 5. Munk, thence to turn back southwards along the course of the Vakhshāb (Tamliyāt, Halāvard, and Līvkanḍ). In this case Bārsārāgh (not otherwise known) ought to be looked for somewhere between Pārghar and Munk on the Munk-Hulbuk river. If, however, we examine the outward form of the name the only parallels are باساران and کبرسراع which Ya'qūbī, 289, names somewhere in the Kāfirnihān basin. I.Kh., 39, names *Bās.rā* between Ṣaghāniyān and Vāshjird. In I.R., 92, *B.sār* seems to be due only to de Goeje's surmise, cf. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 234. *Bāsārān/Bās.rā* lay outside the Khuttalān proper but it could be an acquired fief of a member of the Khuttalān family. Ya'qūbī names a Hātim b. Dā'ūd in وز which comes in the enumeration immediately after Qubādhiyān. It may correspond to our Nūdiz (§ 6, 10.) which in this case must be looked for on the lower course of the Kāfirnihān river.

As regards the other two names of our 5., according to Iṣṭ., 297, Munk (= Baljuvān) was larger than Hulbuk. Tamliyāt (in Iṣṭ., but not in Ya'qūbī) lay probably at Shīr-guzār near the loop of the Vakhsh.

6.-8. Halāvard = Qurghan-tūbe; Lēvkand = Sang-tūda, both on the Vakhsh, the latter upstream from the former. Cf. Barthold, *o.c.*, 69.

9. Our source clearly spells زاشت and so does Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāzīm, p. 35. The usual reading is راشت (Rāsht) and a *sukūn* over ش could be taken for the three dots over ز. More curious is the fact that Ya'qūbī, 290e gives حاسب \**fāsb* < \**fāsh* which is a good parallel for *Zhāsh*t. Yāqūt mentions separately, ii, 733: Rāsht and ii, 907: Zāsht, though he does not even explain where this latter locality (*mauḍi'*) was situated. I.Kh., 34, says that Rāsht is the farthest distant point of Khorāsān in the [north-eastern] direction; Rāsht lay between two mountains and the Turks used to penetrate through it on their raiding expeditions; therefore the Barmakid al-Faḍl b. Yahyā b. Khālid constructed (*'allaqa*) there a gate. The thirteenth-century Spanish geographer Ibn-Sa'īd pretends that this *jabal bāb al-Faḍl* was connected with the well-known wall in the Qalās steppe, see Barthold, *Ibn-Sa'īd*, p. 239, and *Turkestan*, 175. According to I.R., 92, the Vakhshāb rising in the Kharlukh region flowed through the lands of Fāmir (Pāmīr), Rāsht, and Kumēdh. Iṣṭ., 340, continues his route from Vāshjird (*v.s.*, § 25, 35.) to Ilāq (the Fayḍābād river is still called *Ilak*) 1 day; thence to Darband 1 day; thence to Jāvkān 1 day; thence to the fortress of Rāsht 2 days. Rāsht is certainly Garm (in Turkish Qara-tegin, see Barthold, *Qarategin* in *EI*). Zhāsht had an amīr of its own, *v.i.*, under 11.

10., 11. The Kumijī and the K.njīna-Turks were evidently remnants of some earlier population or wave of invasion. Both our text and Bayhaqī,

611, 696, mention these two groups distinctly. Only the K.njīna-Turks (whose number was small and who occupied only one valley between the Khuttalān and Chaghāniyān) are classed as "Turks" in our author as well as in Maq., 283, Bayhaqī, 696 (ترك مكجه ?), and the *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm* (written in 365 or 381 A.H.). The latter, p. 110, has a curious passage: "The Hayāṭila (Hephthalites) are a tribe of men who had enjoyed grandeur and possessed the country of Ṭukhāristān; the Turks [called] Khallukh (cf. notes to § 15, § 23, 69., and § 24, 22.) and K.njīna (اتراك خلخ و كنجينه) are their remnants." The use of the term "Turk" in early Muslim literature is loose and even the Tibetans are considered as Turks, see Bīrūnī, *India*, 101, 207, cf. Marquart, *Wehrot*, 102-3; therefore the racial appurtenance of the Hephthalites is still obscure. Marquart derived the name of Chaghāniyān from Mongol *tsaghān* "white" and took it for an indication as to the Hephthalite origins, *Wehrot*, 93, note 3, and *Komanen*, 73. In his *Wehrot*, 93-4, he boldly restores Maqdisi's (p. 283) كنجنه (var. كنجينه) as \**Kamijīna* in order to compare this name with that of the *Kamičik* Hephthalites whom the Armenian historian Moses Kalankatvats'i mentions in the Caucasus (i, ch. 27, Patkanian's trans., p. 70). [Cf. also Marquart in *Ungar. Jahrb.*, 1929, p. 98: "die hephthalitischen Kamičij-ān in Čaghāniyān und Kamičik Hep't'alk' im nördlichen Daghistān, die wohl nach ihrer Heimat am Kām (Jenissei) benannt sein werden".]

The question of the K.mijī is still more complicated. Two earlier authors, Ya'qūbī and I.R., refer to a locality of which the name may be restored as \**Kumēdh*. Ya'qūbī, 290, says that Munk (§ 26, 5.) was the frontier "towards (*ilā*) the lands of the Turks, towards the locality called Rāsht, \**Kumēd* (كمد), and Bāmir (Pāmir)". This awkward sentence, if considered in the light of the parallel passage in I.R., 92 (*v.s.* 9.), seems to refer separately to the [Khallukh-] Turks and the three last mentioned localities. I.R. (*v.s.* 9.) certainly places the *Kumēdh* downstream of Rāsht. On the other hand our author, Maq., 283, Gardizī, ed. M. Nāzim, Index, and Bayhaqī, 499, 576, 611, 696, speak of the people K.mijī (*K.mējī?*). Maq., 283, somewhat vaguely says that "neighbouring on Ṣaghāniyān are the people called \*K.mijī and the K.njīna Turks (قوم يقال لهم كيجي و ترك)",<sup>1</sup> whereas our author not only clearly separates these two peoples but among the K.mijī distinguishes two groups, of which the one (that of Chaghāniyān) occupied the locality of Saylākān between Shūmān and Vēshgird (وشگرد, read: وشکرد, *v.s.*, § 25, 35., and the other (that of Khuttalān) lived between Tamliyāt and Munk (on a distance hardly exceeding one marḥala, *v.s.*, Iṣṭ., 339). It is added in our § 6, 10. that the Kāfirnihān river rises from the limits of the K.mijī. [Shaykh Muḥammad khān Qazvinī draws my attention to Nāṣir-i Khusrau's *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Berlin, p. 53, where the يكجان of Khorāsān and the *Kūfichān* of Kirmān stand for barbarity, as they have no divine book. The first name is certainly \**Kumijiyān*.]

<sup>1</sup> Here the Turkish *K.njīna* are mentioned distinctly from the tribe (*qaum*) called \*K.mijī.

The term *Kumēdh* undoubtedly corresponds to the mountainous tract (ὄρεινή) which according to Ptolemy, vi, 12-13, was inhabited by the Saka tribe *Κωμηδαί*. More particularly ἡ τῶν *Κωμηδῶν ὄρεινή* must be distinguished from ἡ φάραγξ (defile) τῶν *Κωμηδῶν*, of which the former comprised the region of the so-called Buttamān mountains (§ 5, 9.) and the latter might correspond to the upper Vakhshāb valley (Rāshṭ) through which, as accepted by Marquart, *Wehrot*, 63, and Sir A. Stein, *v.s.*, § 9, 12., ran the silk trade route described in Ptolemy. Our *K.mījī* can hardly be detached from *Kumēdh*. The indications of the *H.-'Ā.* are particularly precious as showing that the *K.mījī* were scattered along the whole of the Comedian ὄρεινή. Therefore the name *K.mījī* must be read \**Kumēji* < \**Kumēd-ji* with the Iranian suffix of origin *-jī*, *-zī*, &c. The *Kumēji* were certainly remnants of the former inhabitants of the region and more probably of the ancient Saka than of the later Hephthalites. Muslim sources (*v.s.*) do not distinctly call the *K.mījī* "Turks" which they probably would have done had the *K.mījī* been regarded as Hephthalites. In any case, pending a proof to the contrary, it is safer not to dissociate the \**Kumēji* from the territory *Kumēdh* which in its turn is connected with the Saka (*i.e.* Iranian) *Κωμηδαί*.<sup>1</sup> On the historical role of the *Kumijis* see Barthold, *Turkestan*, Index. Very characteristic is the following passage in Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāzim, p. 36: *pas Abū 'Alī* (lord of Chaghāniyān) *az amūr-i Khuttalān yārī khwāst va khud lashkar jam' kard . . . pas madad andar rasīd Abū 'Alī-rā az Kumījīyān va amūr-i Zhāsht*, which confirms our *yārī khwāstan* in the sense of "ask for aid".

#### Ia. Road from Khuttal to Kashmīr.

This is the road the beginning of which is hinted at by Ya'qūbī, 396, and vaguely described in I.Kh., 178. The latter says that the merchants starting from the "town of Khuttal" (*madīna Khuttalān*) travel one farsakh to some *ribāt* (*ribāt fulān*). Thence by a narrow path their goods are carried by the local people up a mountain situated on the bank of the great river (right bank of the Oxus?). From the top of the mountain the carriers make signals to the people of Shikinān and the latter arrive with camels specially trained for fording the river. A contract is then made with the merchants and the camel-men recross the river. "Thereupon (*'alā hādḥā*) every merchant takes his route travelling (*al-rā'ih*) towards China or Mūltān." I.Kh. adds that the said ford is situated at 3½ days' distance [?] from the place where the Oxus splits into two branches of which the one is supposed to flow towards Sind and the other is the Jayhūn (Oxus, *v.s.*, § 6, 15.). The terms Shikinān and "Shikīna Turks" undoubtedly refer to the subjects<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Less certain is their relation to the name of *K.mrūdh* (\**Kum-rūdh*?), as I.R., 93, calls one of the headwaters of the Chaghāniyān river (Surkhān). In any case, our author, § 6, 10., places the sources of the Kāfirniḥān river in the

territory of the *K.mījī*. The Kāfirniḥān flows between the Vakhsh (coming from Zhāsht (9.)) and the Surkhān.

<sup>2</sup> And rather to his Turks (camel-men!) than to the real Shighnī Tājiks.

of the Turkish chief whom Ya'qūbī, 292, calls \*Khumār-bīk (*v.s.*, § 24, 24.). *Shikinān* in a larger sense is applied here to the whole wedge of Afghān territory round which the Oxus sweeps to the north-west of the Pamir. Khumār-bīk's possessions are mentioned in Ya'qūbī separately from Badhakhshān, and the reason for the choice of a difficult ford<sup>1</sup> was probably the desire to deal only with the one chief whose territory could, in no case, be avoided, and who controlled many important roads. There is a number of roads on the left (Afghān) bank of the river representing a short cut between Khuttal and the Shughnān, properly so called.<sup>2</sup> Once in Shughnān (usually merged in Vakhān) the merchants could follow up the stream<sup>3</sup> or cross into Chitrāl and Gilgit by the well-known passes in the Hindūkush (Dora, Baroghil). See Map ix.

As an appendix to his account of Khuttal our author describes the route to Kashmīr,<sup>4</sup> but he omits its first stretch (luckily preserved in I.Kh.'s account) and starts his description from Shughnān. It is possible that using two different sources he did not remark the identity of some points belonging to the said road (going N. to S.) with those mentioned as the extreme extension of the road from Balkh and Badhakhshān to Shughnān (W. to E.). Following his habit of reading the names off his map in a straight line he may have also merged the data belonging to different branches of the road. The following list enumerates all the points mentioned to the east of Badhakhshān:

## § 24, 24. Badhakhshān

- 25. Dar-i Taziyan
- 26. Dih-i S.nk.s
- 27. S.qliya

## § 26, 2. Hulmuk

- 12. Dar-i Tubbat
- 13. R.kht.jab
- 14. Sikāshim
- 15. Khamdādh
- 16. Sanglnj
- 17. Bljm
- 18. Samarqandāq
- 19. Bolor
- 20. Andrās

## § 10, 57. Kashmīr

<sup>1</sup> This ford undoubtedly lay considerably upstream from the Badhakhshān ford, *v.s.* 1., somewhere in Darvāz, for example near Larān (whence a road runs to Baljuvān over Langar), or still higher upstream, near Qal'a-yi Khum.

<sup>2</sup> The roads passing through Rāgh and the Afghān Darvāz. The roads on the right bank were and are much more difficult.

<sup>3</sup> I.Kh., 178, has in view this road when speaking of the sources of the Oxus rising from the mountain "of

China and the regions beyond China" and flowing in a rocky bed. Hsüan-Tsang travelled that way. See now the description of the road over the Vakhjir pass in Sir A. Stein, *Ruins of desert Cathay*, 1912, pp. 84-8; and *On Ancient Tracks past the Pamirs*, in the *Himalayan Journal*, iv, 1932, with a clear sketch map.

<sup>4</sup> This may be one of Jayhānī's lists of "little-known stations and far-distant halting places" referred to in Maq., 4.

Here § 24, 25. may be identified with § 26, 12.; § 24, 26. with § 26, 16., and § 24, 27. with § 26, 14. In § 26 the road to Gilgit (over the Baroghil pass) is represented by 12., 14., 15., 18.-20., whereas 13., 16., and 17. must refer to the branch going to Chitrāl (over the Dora pass). Some useful parallels to our names are found in Bīrūnī's *Canon*, where much the same sources are utilized. See Map ix.

12. The "Gate of Tibet" standing apparently west of 13. is very possibly another aspect of the "Gate of the Arabs" (see details in § 24, 25.), unless there were two gates: one between Jerm<sup>1</sup> and Zaybāk (near Bahārak) and one between Zaybāk and Ishkāshim (near Zīrkhān, where now stands the ribāṭ Sirājiya?).

13. Bīrūnī in his *Canon* (towards the end of the 4th climate) enumerates in a NW. to SE. direction:

	long.	lat.
Badhakhshān . . .	95°10'	30°0'
district of K.rān . . .	95°20'	34°50'
رجال . . .	*96°0' 2	37°30'
Sikāshim . . .	96°20'	37°0'

From the geographical point of view it is very likely that رجال stands for زيباك Zaybāk which is the only important point between Jerm (*v.s.*, note to 12.) and Ishkāshim. Zaybāk lies in the valley of the Vardoj river which rises from the neighbourhood of the Dora pass in the Hindūkush, and after having flowed past Sanglich, Zaybāk, Tīrgarān, and Chākārān joins from the eastern side the river of Munjān (downstream from Jerm). The present high road from Jerm and Bahārak to Ishkāshim running in an easterly direction seems to leave Zaybāk somewhat to the south, but Zaybāk certainly lies on the road which branches off in the southern direction and, farther up the Vardoj valley (in the neighbourhood of Sanglich), splits into two: one branch of it running SE. towards Chitrāl and the other (by an easy pass) leading in a SW. direction into the upper part of the Munjān valley. The Afghān scribes spell زيباك, see Kūshkaki, *Rāhmumā*, p. 138, which very closely resembles رجال, whereas Sir G. Grierson, *Ishkāshimī, Zebakī, and Yāzghulamī*, London, 1920, spells throughout (see p. 4) *Zebak*, i.e. زيبك. There is hardly any doubt about our رنجب being identical with Bīrūnī's رجال, but it may be a distortion of the slightly different arabicized form زيبق \*Zaybaq "quick silver" which a popular Arabic etymology might have easily substituted for the Iranian زيبك.

Much more thorny is the interpretation of the caption accompanying Bīrūnī's co-ordinates: (?) سدحسان (?) رحال في حدود معادن اللؤلؤ وحلاوه. As regards the script the best restoration is that suggested to me by Shaykh Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī: \*سدحسان for بدخشان\* and وحلاوه for وحذاوه\*. I must

<sup>1</sup> Called by Ya'qūbī, 288<sub>15</sub>, the last town to the east of Badhakhshān before Tibet.

<sup>2</sup> Or. 1994 gives as the longitude 97°0', but the Berlin MS. has

a better reading صو ه, i.e. 96°0'. As Bīrūnī's tables are arranged in the order of increasing longitude "97" cannot precede "96".

<sup>3</sup> [See Appendix B.]

add that on the Map 13 of Sprenger's *Postrouten* the reading *ویدجانه* and *ویدجانه* is inexact: the text of the Or. 1997 runs as quoted above and the Berlin Or. 8° 275, fol. 102r., of which Dr. W. Gottschalk has kindly procured me a copy, has *ویدجانه* . . . *رجان*. Leaving aside the first letters the group *ویدجانه* . . . strongly reminds one of (*Ba*)*dhakhshān*.<sup>1</sup> The tentative translation would consequently be: "رجان lies within the limits (or on the frontier) of the ruby mines and opposite it is Badhakhshān". The mention of the ruby mines in connexion with Zaybāk can be explained<sup>2</sup> but the meaning of *ویدجانه* is decidedly vague. In a caption where every word must have a clear sense, what would mean the indication that Badhakhshān (already mentioned before it) lies "opposite" it?<sup>3</sup> In view of this vagueness I suggest the reading *ویراجه مندجان* "and beyond it is Mundajān" which involves more alterations in the text but gives a more satisfactory reading. The form *مندجان* is attested in I.Kh., 37, and looking from the road Munjān would appear as lying "beyond" Zaybāk. In more detail this hypothesis will be developed under 16. [See Appendix B.]

14. In the later *T'ang-shu* the capital of Hu-mi (= Vakhān) is also *\*Sai-kia-shen* (so instead of *Han-kia-shen*), Marquart, *o.c.*, 224, Chavannes, *o.c.*, 164, but in Bīrūnī, *Canon*, Sikāshim (now Ishkāshim) is distinctly called *قصبه سکنان* "capital of \*Sh.knān". Under § 6, 6. and § 10 (introduction) our author seems to include "Shaknān" in Vakhān. Shaknān (*sic* in our text) has no separate description in the *H.-'Ā.* unless we take for it § 24, 27. (evidently borrowed from a different source). In the course of time the extent of the Shughnān territory considerably changed. Hsüan-tsang (seventh century) evaluates its circuit at 2,000 *li* (20 days). The basic territory of Shughnān lies on the Oxus downstream from Ghārān and upstream from Darvāz, see Minorsky, *Shughnān in EI*.

15. *Khamdādh* is undoubtedly *Khandūd*, a considerable village in Vakhān (on the Afghan side), opposite which (on the Russian side) are situated the ruins of an ancient fort to which our description may refer (as the description runs south-east, "left side" means north), cf. Kūshkakī, *o.c.*, 165: *Qal'a-yi Sangī*; Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, 1928, pp. 402-3, and pl. 47: ruins of *Zamr-i atash-parast* near Yamchin, opposite Khandūd, on the

<sup>1</sup> It is strange though that, after having correctly spelt and dotted the name of Badhakhshān two lines above, the scribe should have mis-spelt it at this place. This is an argument in favour of a different name in the original.

<sup>2</sup> [The explanation may be that, though Zaybāk is separated from Ishkāshim by a watershed, the whole Zaybāk-Ishkāshim tract forms one geographical area shut off by narrow gorges from Badakhshān, Vakhān, and the present-day Shughnān. The Ghārān district ("the caves") lies in the defile through which the Oxus forces its way

northwards to Shughnān, see Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, p. 873, and it is noteworthy that Kūshkakī, 140 and 148, mentions Ghārān both under Zaybāk and Ishkāshim.]

<sup>3</sup> Ghārān (*v.i.* 16.) lying on the banks of the upper Oxus outside the basin of the Badhakhshān river might perhaps be said to lie "opposite" Badhakhshān, but the exact wording of the caption is "and opposite it lies *سدحسان*". Why should the author in an enumeration going NW. to SE. have defined a point "backwards", with reference to the already-mentioned Badhakhshān?



Russian side. Hsüan-Tsang, *Si-yü-ki*, St. Julien, ii, 425, describes *Hun-t'o-to* as the capital of Hu-mi (Vakhān): "In the centre of the town there rises a convent built by the first king of the country. For its construction the hill-side has been cut and a gully filled in." In the great vihāra of the convent there was a canopy of gilt copper suspended over a stone statue of Buddha, cf. Sir A. Stein, *Serindia*, 1921, i, 60-71 (Vakhān), and *Innermost Asia*, 1928, ii, 863-71. The present-day Khandūd possesses a famous ziyārat of "Shaikh Beg", which seems to confirm the "tenacity of local worship", *Innermost Asia*, p. 866.

16. سنگلج, read: \**Sanglich* or *Sanglêch* (perhaps identical with § 24, 26.), lies to the south of Zaybāk (v.s. 13.) on the road to Chitrāl. A crucial test for *Sangl.nj* = \**Sanglich* is the identification of the hot lake near its mine. Our maps show the little "Dufferin lake" at the northern foot of the Dora pass but unfortunately no description of it seems to be available. Badhakhshān was ever associated with rubies (old English *balas*, old French *balais* < *balakhsh*, i.e. *badhakhsh*, with eastern-Iranian *l* for *ḍ*); however, geographically speaking, the best-known mines lay in Ghārān outside the Kokcha basin which alone constitutes the territory of Badhakhshān proper. On the Russian bank the mines (according to Serebriannikov) lay south of the junction of the Shākh-dara<sup>1</sup> and Ghund rivers (south of the Russian post of Khārōgh). The inhabitants of the village of Ghārān (غاران, Russian transcription *Goron*) remembered in 1911 that from a grotto near-by rubies were extracted even in the nineteenth century but now the mines are abandoned, see Barthold's note *ad* Semenov in *Mir Islama*, 1/3, 1920, p. 300. Further 80 Km. upstream from Khārōgh lies the village Kūh-i la'l where some garnets are still found, cf. *Tājikistān*, p. 261.<sup>2</sup> As regards the Afghān side Kūshkakī, p. 148, says that the ruby mines "in Ghārān" were closed down as economically unprofitable. Ghārān lies entirely apart from Sanglich and in order to give credit to our author we ought to admit the existence of other ruby mines in the Vardoj valley, now exhausted and forgotten. Apart from the above-mentioned passage from Bīrūnī's *Canon* where Zaybāk is placed in the region of the mines,<sup>3</sup> our text may be supported by Qazwīnī's *Āthār al-bilād*, ii, 325, where silver and garnet mines are mentioned in يۇمگان Yumgān. This valley (Nāsir-i Khusrāu's home where he was born and buried) lies on the middle course of the Munjān river. On the mountain separating Yumgān from Zaybāk lapis lazuli mines are situated, and besides them Yumgān now possesses only lead mines, Kūshkakī, *o.c.*, 134.

17. The rūstā رستم or رستم is most probably Munjān<sup>4</sup> lying on the river of

<sup>1</sup> H. Sköld, *Mater. z. d. iran. Pamir-sprachen*, Lund 1936, p. 17, spells *Sahdara*. But Sayyid Haydar Shāh's *History of Shughnān* translated by A. A. Semenov, Tashkent 1917, gives Shākh-dara.

<sup>2</sup> As a rumour Kūshkakī, *o.c.*, 179, mentions the presence of a ruby mine near Qal'a-yi Sangī (v.s. 15.).

<sup>3</sup> [v.s. p. 366, n. 2, for a new explanation of this item.]

<sup>4</sup> Unless it refers to some unknown name in the Afghān Kāfiristān (Nūristān) to which also a road leads from Sanglich. [Kūshkakī, p. 235, mentions a road connecting Faydābād with Nūristān over a difficult pass called مډال (alt. 15,300 f.). The road, *ibid.*,

the same name upstream from Yumgān (*v.s.* 16.) and communicating with Sanglich by an easy pass. This suits perfectly our text which after \*Sanglich (*i.e.* evidently continuing the road Zaybāk-Sanglich) adds: *va az ānjā bigudhari nāhiyatī āyadh ū-rā rūstā* \**M.lj.m khwānand*, "and when you are out of it (= beyond it) comes the district called \**M.lj.m*".<sup>1</sup> Remembering now Birūnī's caption (*v.s.* 13.) which accompanies Zaybāk: وحلاوه سدحسان ووراهه "and beyond it is Mundajān". That Birūnī speaks of \*Zaybāk and our source of \*Sanglich makes no difference: Birūnī leaves out Sanglich for which he has no co-ordinates but both Zaybāk and Sanglich lie on the same road and in the same Vardoj valley. In Birūnī's copy the name \*مندجان may have been influenced by the better-known *Badhakhshān*, but the form المنديجان is attested in I.Kh., 37, where it comes after Karrān, Shiqinān, and Vakhkhān, and even now the Sanglichī neighbours of Munjān call it *Mandežān*. It was not a rich district for its contribution in taxes (2,000 dirhams) looks insignificant next to the 20,000 of Vakhān and the 40,000 of Shiqinān.<sup>2</sup> Marquart suggested the identification of Munjān with the land of the Sakāh-Haumavrgah (Σακαυρπάκη), Markwart, *Das erste Kapitel des Gāthā uštavati*, p. 42; cf. now Morgenstierne, *The name Munjān*, *Éc.* in *Bulletin SOS*, vi/2, 1931, pp. 438-44.

[Additional note. In the easternmost part of Badhakhshān the revenue list of 211/827, I.Kh., 37, mentions the following group of districts:

البيقان (var. السمان)	3,500	dirhams
Karrān ( <i>sic</i> )	4,000	"
Shiqinān	40,000	"
Vakhkhān	20,000	"
al-M.nd.jan	2,000	"

Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 222, restored the first name as \**Yanbaqān* > *Yamgān* (better *Yumgān*), and the second one as *Kurān* (with a *ḍamma* for the *tashdīd*). As mentioned above, Yumgān occupies the middle course of the river of which the upper part waters Munjān, and the lower part is called after the borough of Jerm. The Kurān tributary joins this river from the left, upstream from Yumgān. If the identifications are right, I.Kh.'s list does not follow any strict system, for beginning with Yumgān it runs south-west to Kurān, then skips to the Oxus valley (Shughnān and Vakhān, enumerated N. to S.) and finally returns westwards to the upper course of the Yumgān valley.

Išt., 297, says that the following districts neighbour (*yutākhim*) on the Vakhsh (*v.s.*, note to § 26, 1.): "al-Khuttal, Wakhkhān, \*al-Sh.qīna, and

137, seems to run up through the Munjān villages Magnul, Takāb, and Vilav. The Mandāl pass is very clearly shown on the map in Sir G. S. Robertson's *The Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush*, 1896.]

<sup>1</sup> منجم may be a comprehensible misspelling for \*مندجان.

<sup>2</sup> Hsüan-Tsang's *Mung-kien* (Beal, *Si-yü-ki*, ii, 288-9: *Mung-kin*) is still difficult to identify and locate, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 231.

Karrān, which [the latter three ?] are lands of infidels'. At another place, p. 279, he makes "the infidel countries Wakhkhān and Karrān" follow on Munk and Hulbuk. It is not very clear whether Karrān refers here to the little-known Kurān, but in the affirmative case Išt. seems to give to this term an extensive meaning covering the whole of the headwaters of the Yumgān-Jerm river.

The enumeration in our source may be confronted with Bīrūnī's *Canon* in the following way:

13. R.kh.tj.b

14. Sikāshim

15. Kh.mdād

16. S.ng.lnj

17. M.lj.m.

18. Samarqandāq

19. B.lūr

nāhiya K.rān

رجال

Sikāshim

Tubbat al-dākhil

As K.rān is located by Bīrūnī to the south-west of رجال there is a probability (a) that it refers to some of the districts left out in his table (e.g., 17.) and (b) that it is used in the sense in which Išt. uses it.]

18. *S.m.rq.ndāq* looks like a derivative of *Samarqand*.<sup>1</sup> A village of Samarqand existed in Western Mongolia at 7 days' distance from Bishballiq, cf. Juvainī, *GMS*, xvi, 215, xviii, 250. Barthold, *Die histor. Bedeutung*, p. 4, note 2, and *K voprosu o yazykakh soghd. i tokhar.*, in *Iran*, i, 35, took this name<sup>2</sup> as an indication of the existence of a Soghdian colony in western Mongolia. The name "Samarqandāq" could be explained in a similar way, particularly as the presence in it of a motley population suggests its commercial importance. Most probably Samarqandāq lay in the Vakhān district now called *Sarhadd* ("Frontier") and situated opposite the Baroghil pass, over which goes the traffic with Gilgit and the neighbouring countries. It is not improbable that *Sarhadd* is a remote popular etymology of the ancient *Samarqandāq*. [In the Russian translation of Kūshkakī, p. 150, the name is spelt in Arabic characters سرخند. Is it a mis-print?]

19. Cf. *Bolor* in Marco Polo, 3rd ed. by Yule-Cordier, i, 172, 178-9. In the words of Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Engl. transl. E. D. Ross, 385, B.lūr was "bounded on the east by the provinces of Kāshghar and Yārkand; on the north by Badhakshān; on the west by Kābul and Lamghān; and on the south by the dependencies of Kashmīr". N. Elias *grosso modo* includes in Bolor "Hunza, Nagar, possibly Tash-Kurghan, Gilgit, Panyal, Yasin, Chitral, and probably the tract now known as Kāfiristān", as well as some small states south of Gilgit and Yasin, but excludes from it Baltistān. This latter view is corroborated by our author who treats the "\*Bolorian Tibet" (§ 11, 2.) separately from \*Bolor (§ 26, 19.). A very curious light is thrown on the story of the descent of the kings

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Buqaraq* = Bukhārā in Orkhon Turkish.

the place was really called *Qum-singir*, see *T'oung-Pao*, 1931, p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> Pelliot contests the reading and says

of Bolor from the Sun by the legend recorded in Hsüan-Tsang, *Si-yü-ki*, St. Julien, ii, 109-116; Beal, ii, 298. A Chinese princess betrothed to the king of Persia (Po-la-ssü) was on her way to join her fiancé. For fear of some troubles which broke out at that time the princess was placed on some inaccessible peak and there became enceinte from a knight who, at noon, came down from the Sun. The attendants dared not continue their journey with the princess who remained on the peak and became the founder of the local dynasty of K'ie-p'an-t'o. This latter name refers, most probably, to Sarikol situated on the south-eastern slopes of the Pamirs, on the road from Kāshghar and Yārkaṇd both to the Pamir and to the region of the northern sources of the Indus, which is known under the name of Bolor. [Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul*, 251, interprets \**Hat-pan-t'o* as \**Gharband* "angustiae".] Sir A. Stein identifies the peak of Hsüan-Tsang's story with the Qiz-qurghan "The maiden's castle" in Taghdumbash-Pamir, *Serindia*, i, 1921, p. 73, and *On ancient Central-Asian tracks*, 1933, p. 47. See Map iv.

20. اندراس lying on the road to Kashmir could be tentatively identified with Drās (east of the Zoji-La pass) situated at c. 100 Km. to the east of Srinagar, in the Indus basin, on the road leading up to Gilgit (v.s. 19).<sup>1</sup> As this part of the *H.-'A.* has several points in common with Bīrūnī's *Canon*, one can postulate the identity of اندراس with Bīrūnī's رها (or برهان) which is said to be "the Gate of Kashmir, situated in the direction of several of its roads" باب کشمیر الى بعض دروبه. The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 485, mentions a fort Andarkūl (اندركول), which also may be identical with our *Andrās*. The next stage south of Andrās must be Kashmīr which is mentioned as the last place in India (§ 10, 57.).

[Additional note. N. Elias identifies Andarkūl (or \*Indrakot?) with Bārāmūla (circa 40 Km. to the north-west of Srinagar, on an important road to Gilgit, &c.) whereas Bīrūnī, who describes the western approaches of Kashmīr, gives the following co-ordinates:

B.rhān (?) long. 98° 0' lat. 33° 25'  
Srinagar „ 98° 40' „ 33° 20'

After all Andrās, Andarkūl, and B.rhān may be different places. Sir A. Stein in an additional note to his *Memoir on map . . . of Kaśmīr*, Calcutta 1899, p. 222, finally admits the identification of Bīrūnī's place "lying halfway between the rivers Sind and Jaylam" with *Babarhān*, as the basin of the three rivers uniting near Chamhad is still called. Chamhad lies south-west of Abbotabad in the Mian Khaki Nullah drained westwards to the Indus.]

## II. Khwārazm.

Barthold, *Turkestan*, 142-55, *Irrigation*, 77-102, *Nachrichten über d. Aral See*, Leipzig, 1910 (Russian original in *Izv. Turkest. Otdel. Geogr. Obshch.*, iv, 1902), *Khwārazm* in *El.*

21.-22. The description of Khwārazm is extremely brief. The author says nothing of the destruction of Kāth by the Oxus, cf. Iṣṭ., 131, I.H., 351,

<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Iskandar invaded Kashmīr over Zoji-La, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 423.

and Barthold, *Turkestan*, 145. In our author's days the old dynasty of the Khwārazmshāhs descended from the legendary Siyāvush and from Afrigh (said to have flourished towards A.D. 305) was living its last days. Abū 'Abdillāh, the 22nd and last of the shāhs, was killed in A.D. 995 by Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad, the eponym of the Ma'mūnid dynasty, see Sachau, *Zur Geschichte von Khwārizm*, *Sitz. WAW*, 1873, lxxxiii, 500 (30). Cf. also M. Nāzim, *Sultān Maḥmūd*, pp. 56-60 and 184-5. In common with the detailed list of products in Maq., 325, our list has only *rukhbīn* and, perhaps, *qazhāgand* (if the latter stands for *durū'* "armour").

23. Khushmīthan (Ardakhusmīthan), 24. Nūzhābān (Nūzvār), and 25. Gurgānj (Arabic: *ḡurjāniya*) follow each other in Iṣṭ., 341. Maq., 287 and 289, has a variant Nūzābān and also speaks of the iron gate of this town. The description of Gurgānj in our author contains some original traits: double town, a separate amīr. The old rivalry (*ta'aṣṣubī qadīm*) between the dynasty of the Khwārazmshāhs of Kāth (on the right bank of the Oxus) and the amīrs of Gurgānj (on the left bank of the river) is an interesting portend of the events of A.D. 995, see Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāzim, p. 57. Cf. notes to § 1. [On the ruins of Gurgānj see A. Yakubovsky, *Razvalini Urgencha* in *Izv. Akad. Mater. Kult.*, vi/2, 1930, 68 pp.]

26.-28. The form *کردارخاس* is nearer to Maq., 287: *کردارخاس* than to Iṣṭ., 299: *کردار خواه*. For *مدینه* Iṣṭ. and Maq. give *مدینه* (with variants) and for Qara-tagin, B.rā (F.rā)-tagin. The details of 27., 28. are new.

29. This paragraph exactly corresponds to I.H., 393. Neither Iṣṭ. nor Maq. mention these three towns on the lower course of the Jaxartes. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 178, and *Irrigation*, 149. Jand is identified with the ruins of Khisht-qal'a, in the locality of Tumar-utkul, on the left bank of the Jaxartes at *circa* 25-30 Km. west of Perovsk (now Turkestan). The "new Settlement" (in Arab. *al-qaryat al-jadīda*) = the ruins of Jankent, situated at 5-6 Km. south of the old Khivan fort Jan-qal'a (which latter stands at 22 Km. downstream from Kazalinsk), see Barthold, *History of the Cultural Life of Turkestan* (in Russian), Leningrad, 1927, p. 68, and Barthold, *A Historical Sketch of the Turkmens* (in Russian), 1929, p. 15. See Map vii.

### § 27. Sind

In addition to the works enumerated in the notes to § 10 (India), see H. G. Raverty, *The Mīhrān of Sind and its tributaries*, in *JASB*, lxi, part i, 1892, pp. 155-297 (2 maps); Le Strange, *The Lands*, 329-33; many arduous problems connected with the Muslim itineraries across \*Mukrān (Makrān) and Sind have been studied in detail by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 177-99: "Zur historischen Topographie von Kermān und Mukrān"; H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929, vol. 46 of *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (with a detailed map of the ancient course of the Indus); N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, 1934, vol. 48 of the same series (map); Sir A. Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaissances in Southern Persia*, in *Gf*, Feb. 1934, pp. 119-35 (clear sketch map).

By "Sind" (as distinguished from *Hind*, cf. § 10) Muslim geographers mean Balūchistān and the lower region of the Indus, up to Aror. It must be borne in mind that formerly the Indus (Mihrān) followed a more easterly course (the Eastern Nara or Hakra river-bed stretching straight south of Rohri) and emptied itself into the Kori creek, and that already the Arabs found it flowing much more to the west (past Brahmanābād = Maṣūra) but still to the east of its present course, Cousens, *o.c.*, plate ciii (general map).

The present chapter is a brief résumé of Iṣṭ., 170-80, but the region is better defined, inasmuch as the Indus is taken for its eastern frontier, while Iṣṭ., with the usual displacement of bearings, names in its stead the "Fārs sea"; cf. also Maq., 484. [See p. 246, l. 16.]

1.-4. are in the Sind proper; 5.-11. Mukrān (Balūchistān); 12. the Tūrān district; 13.-14. the *بده* Bud-ha district.

On the products of Sind our author has more details than Iṣṭ. Somewhat unexpectedly Maq., 481, mentions Kanbāya-shoes (*al-ni'āl \*al-kanbā'iya?*) exported from Maṣūra (*sic*).

1. According to Iṣṭ., 172, the local name of Maṣūra was Brahmanābādh (<*Bahman-ābādh*). Bīrūnī, *Canon*: "مهنا (?) or the Greater منه M.nha [perhaps \*تهه Thaṭha, *v.i.* 4.] is (called) Maṣūra because its conqueror said: *naṣartu*". The ruins of Maṣūra lie 47 miles to the north-east of Haydarābād, Cousens, *o.c.*, 48-73, and plates iv-v. Iṣṭ., 173, calls the Quraishite king a descendant of Habbār b. al-Aswad. Cf. notes to § 10.

2. Manjābarī (?), Iṣṭ., 175, lay opposite Maṣūra on the right bank of the Indus, and Sadūsān west of Manjābarī, perhaps between Sahbān (now *Sahwan*) and the Indus, cf. Elliot, i, 401, Marquart, *o.c.*, 188, 190.

3. *وزوز* stands evidently for *بيرون*, Iṣṭ., 174, which lay half-way between Daybul and Maṣūra, probably on the site of the present-day Haydarābād. On the various forms of the name (Iṣṭ. *بيرون*) see Elliot-Dowson, i, 396-401, and Marquart, *Erānshahr*, 188. The form *Bīrūn* is attested in Ibn-Sa'id (610-673/1214-74) quoted in Abul-Fidā, 346-7: "al-Bīrūn, to which belongs Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī". This statement has a very relative value, for Bīrūnī's *nisba* refers to the *Bērūn* (> Arabic *Bayrūn*) suburb in his native Khwārazm and generally speaking the thirteenth-century Spanish geographer was hardly in a position to improve the reading of a doubtful Indian name. Abul-Fidā speaks of the town as "a port of Sind, situated by a salt-water gulf, separating from the sea of Fārs" (?). M.svāhī (?) stood to the west of the Indus.

4. Daybul (Dēbul). Its ruins are differently identified with the localities lying south-west of Tatta (<\*Thaṭha), cf. Le Strange, *o.c.*, 331, Cousens, plate ciii. The Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī (1556) speaks of the port of Tatta called *بندر لاهوری* \*Bandar Lahori, situated on the site of the former *دولہ سند* (*sic*. Portuguese Dioli-Çindi), see Tomaschek, *Nearch*, p. 9, and *Mohit*. Bīrūnī, *Canon*, immediately after Daybul mentions separately a place called *لوهرائی* \*Lohrānī "which is the Lesser منه M.nha [\*Thaṭha? *v.s.* 1.], situated at the place where the Indus disembogues into the sea".

All the localities in Balūchistān are quoted after Iṣṭ. with a noticeable tendency to iranicize the names.

Iṣṭ. gives the following itineraries (which are from place to place and not in one line, see Marquart, *l.c.*): Tīz (6.) to Kīz (7. Kīz and Kīj) *circa* 5 marḥalas; thence to Fannāzbūr (10. Panjbūr)—2 m., thence to Dizak (7.)—3 m., thence to Rāsk (8.)—3 m., thence to Fuhlafahra (11. Puhlpara)—3 m.; thence to Isfaqa (7. Isk.f with metathesis)—2 light m.; thence to Bind (7.)—1 m.; thence to Bih (7.)—1 m.; thence to Qašrqand (7. Kūshk-i Qand)—1 m.; thence to Qanbalī (5. F.nīkī)—2 m.; thence to Daybul—4 m.; thence to Maṣūra—6 m. Most of these places still exist in Balūchistān.

6. Tīz (Ptolemy vi, cap. 8, *Tῆσα*) is situated in the bay of Chahbār, a short distance to the west of the Chahbār village; 7. \*Kēch (Kīz, Kīj) is the name of a district east of the Nihang river. Kūshk-i Qand (Qašrqand, north of Chahbār), Bih (Geh), Bint, and Dizak follow in good order, but Iskaf (now Ispaka, south of Bampūr) ought to precede Dizak (situated south-west of Jālk). 8. Rāsk lies on the middle course of the Sarbāz river, but the original Rāsk lay probably more to the north on the site of the town of Sarbāz. Its district in Iṣṭ. is called Kh.rūj (I.Kh., 55, Kharūn, read: *Kharūz*, as suggested by Marquart).

9. مَشْكَی (Iṣṭ., 178, مَشْكَی) hardly corresponds to the Mashkai river. As, according to Iṣṭ., it lay near to Kirmān, it may be more likely identified with the important district of Mashkēl (also Mashkēdh). Iṣṭ. distinguishes Mashkay (a district stretching for 3 marḥalas and possessing some palms) from Māsakān (belonging to the Khārijites and producing some sugar-candy). 10. Panjbūr, now the Panjgūr district, south of Mashkēl. 11. Puhlpara (\**pahra*), "the bridge watch", now Pahraj, east of Bampūr. Iṣṭ. says nothing about its belonging to Kh.rūj. Less clear are the names 5. Armābīl and Qanbalī (F.nīkī). According to Iṣṭ., 178, Armābīl lay at half a farsakh from the sea.

12. See Minorsky, *Tūrān*, in *EI*. Quzdār, now Khuzdar, 85 miles south of Kalāt, altitude 4,050 feet. Kīzkānān (= *Qiqān*, Balādhurī, 432?) where the local ruler resided is probably identical with Kalāt. Shora-rūd is the name of the lower course of the Kalāt-river (off Quetta).

13., 14. The capital of the district belonging to the people called Bud-ha was Qandabīl, now Gandāwa, 75 miles (120 Km.) north-west of Khozdar, north of the Indus, altitude 314 feet (102 m.). Ayl (*Utl*, &c.?) was the district between Kīzkānān and Qandabīl, named after its conqueror.

## § 28. Kirmān

Le Strange, *The Lands*, 299-321; Schwarz, *Iran*, 211-88. On the tribes of Kirmān see Marquart's survey in *Catalogue*, pp. 74-81: Balūch, Kōfich, Bāriz, Muzāj, Rasūkh, Jut (ancient *Yutiya*, not Indian *Zuṭṭ*). To their number must be added the Indian اِندَغَار settled in a district of Kirmān in

the direction of Sistān, see Balādhurī, 375-6. [In this and the following chapters bearing on Persia references are made chiefly to the 1:2,000,000 *Map of Persia and Adjacent Lands*, Survey of India.]

Except for some insignificant details this chapter is entirely based on Iṣṭakhrī, 157-70. On the mountains of Kirmān see § 5, 10.

1. I.Kh., 49, says: "Jīruft is the largest of the towns of Kirmān, but the wālī lives in Sīrjān", although already Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 286, considers Sīrjān as the greatest of the towns of Kirmān. Our author probably substitutes *king* for I.Kh.'s wālī in view of later information regarding the semi-independent rulers of Kirmān, *viz.* the short-lived dynasty of the Ilyāsids (of Soghdian origin) who ruled from 317 to 359/929 to 969. Under 324/936 Ibn Miskawaih, ed. Margoliouth, i, 350, 353, ii, 249, while speaking of the seizure of Kirmān by Ibn Ilyās, already names Jīruft as the capital and the fortress Bardasīr as the treasury of Ibn Ilyās. Sīrjān was only the residence of a son of this ruler, *ibid.*, ii, 250 (under 357 H.); cf. Le Strange, 304. For the rest our text follows closely Iṣṭ., 167 (wells, houses with *āzāj*). No special mention is found in the older geographers of the Qamādīn suburb of Jīruft (Marco Polo's *Camadi*) frequently mentioned in the History of the Seljuks of Kirmān, cf. Houtsma, *Zur Gesch. d. Selḡuken v. Kermān*, in *ZDMG*, 1885, p. 380 and Houtum-Schindler, *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 43-6.

2. Mentioned together in Iṣṭ., 160. *Khīr* is perhaps *Khābr* on the Fārs frontier.

3. Iṣṭ., 166. On the river see § 6, 28.

4. Iṣṭ., 159-60, 163. Our Bahrūgān seems better than Iṣṭ.'s *N.hrz.njān*. Manūgān (Manūjān) lies south of Jīruft on the river Jagin, cf. under 7. On dates Iṣṭ., 167.

6. The Balūch whose language belongs to the north-western group of Iranian dialects are apparently later immigrants in the Kirmān region, see L. Dames, *Balōčistān* in *EI*. One of the typical traits of Balūchī is the initial *gv* corresponding to Persian initial *b* (cf. *gvād/bād* "wind"). Traces of the same phenomenon in the dialects spoken in the central desert of Persia and in Khorāsān toponymy (cf. Bākhaz< Iṣṭ., 256: *Gwākhaz*) may indicate the stages of Balūch migrations. Maq., 471, says that the Qufṣ lived in terror of the Balūch whom 'Aḍud al-daula finally defeated. However, 'Aḍud al-daula also defeated the Kūfich and in the long run the Balūch must have profited by the weakening of their neighbours.

7. On the Kūfich mountains see also § 5, 10. \**Kōfich* means in Persian simply "mountaineer"; in Arabic transcription *Qufṣ* with *ṣ* for *č*. Iṣṭ., 164, says nothing about their agriculture but Maq., 471, mentions palms and fields in the Qufṣ mountains. On the peculiar language of the Qufṣ see Iṣṭ., 167. Maq. compares it (as well as Balūchī!) with Sindī. Very possibly the Kūfich were of Brahōī origin. About our author's times the power of the Kūfich was crushed by 'Aḍud al-daula, *v.s.*, p. 28. The details on the Kūhistān-i Abū Ghānim not in Iṣṭ. Under this term our author seems to understand the hills round Khānū to the east of the sources of the Mīnāo



river (Rūdhān, now Rūdbār). However, Išt., 162, places the *Hauma Qūhistān Abī Ghānim* in the neighbourhood of the Bāriz range.

9. Išt., 167: Shahrū, var. *Shahrūwā* [*Shahrō*?].

10. All in the cold zone of Kirmān, Išt., 159: Jīruqān, K.shīstān, Rūbīn, Surqān, M.rz.qān with many variants.

11. Išt., 161, places Ḥasanābād and Kāhūn between Sirjān and Dārāb-gird.

12. Cf. § 5, 10. Išt., 162g (Gothan Persian version) gives دھج و قفیر. The name Dihaj also in I.H., 220.

13. Išt., 161, after enumerating the localities mentioned under our 15. (and ending with Dārjīn) goes on: "and between Jīruft and Bam the town of *Hrms* (many variants) is situated known under the name of *Qaryat al-jaww*". This last name ("the Walnut village") is found in our text in the Persian form *Dih-i gōz*. The name Dārjīn coupled with it has been erroneously repeated from the preceding paragraph instead of *Hrms*. The cinnamon (*dārchīnī*) coming from Dārjīn seems to be due merely to a popular etymology. [According to Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 1919, p. 541, the cinnamon tree is a native of the Ceylon forests.]

14. Išt., 162, says that some people placed Khāsh (or Khwāsh) under Sīstān; he himself places it on the frontier of Kirmān and immediately after it mentions Rīqān (now *Rīgān*) near the Bāriz mountains. The inhabitants of Khwāsh (الخواش) were tent-dwellers and evidently belonged to the Bāriz tribes who, besides Persian, possessed another language, Išt., 167-8. Khwāsh probably lay in the neighbourhood of the Bazmān-kūh (= *Dunbāvand* in I. Faqīh, 106, this latter appellation hinting at some migrations from Māzandarān to Kirmān). Cf. Schwarz, *o.c.*, 252.

15. Išt., 160: Shāmāt, B.hār, Khannāb, Ghubairā, Kūghūn, Rā'in, Sarvistān, Dārjīn.

16. In Išt., 166, *madīna* corresponds to our author's *shahristān* and *ahl al-jamā'a* to our "Muslims" (the latter substitution is suggestive for our author's sunnite confession). The turbans and handkerchiefs do not figure in the lists of products of Bam, cf. Schwarz, *o.c.*, 237.

17.-19. Išt., 162, gives no details on Narmashīr and only Maq., 463, speaks highly of its commerce, but our author does not necessarily depend on Maq. Sibih is evidently a popular form (Išt., 162, *S.nīj* \**S.bīj*); the Balūches still give the name Ispī to the present-day Nuṣratābād, Le Strange, 325. *Nhla* seems to stand for \**Fahla* < *Fahraj*.

20.-21. Išt., 161, Firzīn, Māhān, Khabīs, Bardashīr, Janzrūdh on the road from Sirjān to the desert. Bardasīr (\**Bih-Ardashīr*) is the present-day Kirmān. [Le Strange, 303, considers the form *Yazdashīr*, under which it sometimes appears, a clerical error. But the continuator of Miskawaih, iii, 190, mentions '*Ays Ardashīr* "forest (?) of Ardashīr" in the immediate neighbourhood of Bardasīr. This can be a popular Arabic etymology of a name like \**Yazdashīr*.]

22. For this group Išt., 161, gives Unās, K.rdakān, and Bīmand. Under § 29, 44., too, Anār stands in our text for Išt.'s *Unās* (but cf. *Tās* in § 5, 11.).

The name Bimand (Mimand) is firmly attested in numerous Muslim writers; our کومیند may be a compound \**Kūt-Mimand* or \**Kūh-Mimand*. Maq., 464, particularly speaks of the strong position of Mimand.

23. The mountains between Sirjān and Kirmān reach the height of 13,000-17,500 feet.

### § 29. Fārs

Le Strange, *The Lands*, 248-98, and Schwarz, *Iran*, 1-211, contain very good descriptions of Fārs according to Muslim geographers. See also the *Fārs-nāma*, ed. by Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson and the excellent *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāsirī*, by Ḥasan Fasā'ī, Tehran, 1314 A.H.<sup>1</sup> (the illustrative map was separately printed and is very rare; I owe a copy of it to the courtesy of the author's grandson, the present Minister of Public Instruction of Irān, A. A. khān Ḥekmat). Prof. C. Haussknecht's series of maps *Routen im Orient*, 1865-9, published by Kiepert, contains also numerous valuable details. For the coastal region see C. G. Constable and A. W. Stiffe, *The Persian Gulf Pilot*, London, 1864; the subsequent editions of the *Pilot* (the latest 8th edition, 1932) pay less attention to the problems not directly bearing on navigation. Numerous points of the geography of Fārs are discussed by E. Herzfeld in his thesis *Pasargadae*, Berlin, 1907 (with a carefully prepared map), reprinted in *Klio*, viii, 1908.

The present chapter is a mere abridgement of Iṣṭ., or perhaps, of a Persian translation of the Arabic original (see below under 39.). The abundant toponymy of Fārs in Iṣṭ. is not devoid of doubtful points and the names in our text appear in an aggravatingly mutilated form.

With some inevitable inconsistency the author follows his habitual system of enumerating the places as they come on the map in straight lines. He begins with the two capitals, giving the first place to the Islamic Shīrāz, then skips to the south and follows the coast westward, then through Arrajān returns eastward to Shāpūr, then goes on eastward to Dārābjird and after a leap towards the south winds up with the enumeration of the northern districts. This arrangement disregards the administrative divisions as can be seen from the following distribution of the names quoted in the text, according to the five great provinces (*kūra*) of Fārs: Iṣṭakhr (A): 1., 20.-24., 36.-44.; Ardashīr-Khurra (B): 2., 3.-11., 29., 30., 33.; Arrajān (C): 13.-17.; Shāpūr (D): 12., 18.-19.; Dārābjird (E): 25.-28., 31.-32. The provinces are quoted below respectively under the abbreviations: A., B., C., D., E.

On the products of Fārs see Schwarz, 158-67. Iṣṭ., 155, denies the existence of gold in Fārs, but the Leiden epitome (*BGA*, iv, 399) and I.H., 215, mention gold in Sardan, *v.i.*, under 41. Some curious information on Fārs is found in the sections on the lakes (§ 3, 13.-16.), on the mountains (§ 5, 11.), and on the rivers (§ 6, 29.-36.).

<sup>1</sup> G. de Morgny's *Les tribus du Fars* in *RMM*, 1913, xxii, pp. 85-150, xxiii, pp. 1-108 is entirely based on Ḥ. Fasā'ī.

1. Shīrāz, Išt., 125. The flower is called *rayḥān* "sweet basil" in Išt., 152.
2. Išt., 123, admits that his native town was only middle-sized. On the apples Išt., 150.
3. Ḥiṣn ibn ʿUmāra, Išt., 105. This famous castle (cf. § 36, 18., Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 45) was the easternmost point belonging to Fārs on the coast, 160 farsakhs distant from the westernmost 15., cf. Išt., 135.
5. Išt., 105, 108. حرماك \**Khurmuk* may stand for خريق or خرميق, chief place of Aghristān, cf. *Khurmuj*, north of the estuary of the Mānd.
6. Gūr, renamed Fīrūzābād under the Būyids. Išt., 153, seems to indicate that only the *qaisūm*-water was the exclusive speciality of Jūr.
7. These four names look badly mis-spelt. Tentatively one might suggest as parallels to پيركان \**Chīmkan* صيمكان (the *Bundahishn* places Yama's castle Yamkert near the Chīmkan mountain in Fārs), cf. also *Fārs-nāma*, p. 139; to حره \**Khahr* (Khafr) خهر; to بانو \**Nāband* نابند (*i.e.* the inland Nāband (Maq., 422 p) and not the one lying on the coast south of Tāhirī); and to مهران \**Samirān* سميران (but see 32.). All these places are mentioned in Išt., 104-6, I.H., 182, Maq., 422, as appertaining to B. in which lies Jūr.
8. According to the distance Najīram lay on the coast south of the Mānd estuary, near the present-day Dayyir (Išt., 135: twelve farsakhs from Sīrāf), Tomaschek, *Nearch*, p. 58; however, the indication of our § 6, 29, supported by the *Fārs-nāma*, p. 141, is in favour of Le Strange, who on his Map vi, places Najīram north of the Mānd river.
9. Išt., 106, places صفاره var. صاده in the Dasht-i Dastaqān (?) district crossed by the Shādhakān, see § 6, 31. Contrary to Le Strange, 259, note 1, it is impossible that this \**Šufāra* should have anything to do with the "shore" *Šif banī Šaffār* (or *Šaffāq*) which bordered on the territory of the Kāriyān Kurds (this territory, Išt., 115, lying in Ardashīr-Khurra and extending eastwards towards Kirmān). Our بهلوان (indistinct) cannot be بهلو (placed by Išt., 111, in D.) and stands perhaps for کهرجان mentioned in Išt., 106, under B. soon after \**Šufāra*.
10. On the Qarmaṭian Ḥasan Abū Saʿīd, the flour-merchant (*daqqāq*) of Jannāba, and his son Sulaimān, see Išt., 149. Schwarz, 126, places the death of the father *circa* A.D. 900, and that of the son *circa* A.D. 944. Cf. also Niẓām al-mulk, *Siyaṣat-nāma*, p. 195.
11. Tavaz or Tawwaj [Bīrūnī, *Canon*, gives also the form *Tava*] lay on the river Ratīn (now Rūd-i Hilla), probably near the junction of its headwaters coming from Shāpūr and Dālikī, cf. Išt., 120. Cf. § 6, 30. and 31.
12. On the two fire temples of Kāzarūn see Išt., 118.
13. Le Strange, 273, places the ruins of Sīnīz at Bandar-i Daylam and Ḥ. Fasāʾī at some distance to the north of this port. However, south of Bandar-i Daylam the maps show a small inlet (*khōr*) called Sini, which is most likely Sīnīz. The *Pilot*, 1864, p. 222, says: "Khor Sini is a small creek about midway between the tomb [of Sabz-pūshān] and Ra's at-Tamb, with deep water inside it. To the southward of it is an old tomb or mosque called Imām Ḥusain. . . . There is a small village and some trees near it. Cap. Brucks states that there are extensive ruins at Khor Sini."

14. In view of Iṣṭ., 112 and 119, both at this place and under § 6, 32. *Rishahr* must be read for ریشهر. According to Iṣṭ. the Ṭāb river after having flowed past Arrajān *yasqī rustāq Rishahr thumma yaqī' u fil-baḥr*. I think that here "rustāq of Rishahr" must be taken for what it stands and distinguished from the town belonging to it which according to Maq., 426, bore the name of درجان \**Dayragān*? This town, which is not explicitly mentioned on the Ṭāb, may have lain to the south of it and nearer to the Shīrīn river. This may account for our author's puzzling transfer of Rishahr to the Shīrīn basin (see note to § 6, 32.) with the usual disregard for the smaller administrative divisions. Incidentally this explanation facilitates the interpretation of Maq.'s route between Arrajān and Mahrūbān (*v.i.* 15. and 16.). If only Mahrūbān lay where we have located it the road could not fail to cross the Shīrīn river. In Sāsānian times Rishahr<sup>1</sup> was the seat of a Nestorian archbishop, Sachau, *Vom Christentum in der Persis*, Berlin, 1916, p. 9. The name of the town درجان may be a derivative of در "convent"?

15. In Iṣṭ., 113, Maq., 422, *Mahrūbān*, but I.R., 97, gives *Māhīrūbān*. Iṣṭ., 135, fixes the western maritime frontier of Fārs at Mahrūbān. Maq., 453, counts from Arrajān to Rishahr 1 marḥala, and thence to Mahrūbān 1 ditto, and further says: "and from Mahrūbān to Sīnīz, or to the river (*al-nahr*), 1 marḥala, and from the river to Arrajān 1 ditto." It is not impossible that in the second passage النهر stands for ریشهر, or that, Rishahr lying near the Shīrīn river, the distance to Rishahr, or to the river, was practically the same. [The traveller in both directions could like to cross the river not in the evening but in the morning of the second day.] According to our author Māhīrūbān was situated "in the sea between (the bends or branches of) the Ṭāb river" (§ 6, 35.), but as explained in the notes the courses of the Ṭāb and Shīrīn (§ 6, 32.) rivers have got confused in the text. The estuary of the river Ṭāb (Jarrāḥi), *i.e.* the Khor-Mūsā, lies too far west for the distances indicated in Maq., and most probably was reckoned to Khūzistān and not to Fārs. Therefore the only estuary at which Mahrūbān could lie is that of the Shīrīn. The Shīrīn may have changed its course but approximately Mahrūbān should be sought in the region of Hindiyān and Tuwaysha. Still more curious is the fact that on the older maps (see Russian 40 verst map of Persia, German 1:800,000 map of 1918) a place "Mahruyak" appears on the left bank of the Shīrīn (Hindiyān) river quite close to the latter's estuary. This name unmistakably reminds one of Mahrūbān, though the *Pilot*, 1864, p. 223, mentions no such name near the entrance of the "Tab river" (by which the Shīrīn river is meant).<sup>2</sup>

16. This curious popular form for *Arragān* is confirmed by Yāqūt. In the *Zafar-nāma*, i, 600, the river Ṭāb is called Āb-i Arghūn (popular Mongolian etymology?). The town stood north of the present-day

<sup>1</sup> This *Rishahr* must be clearly distinguished from Reshīr (on our maps *Rishahr*), situated south of Būshīr. See Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 147, who tentatively restores its name as ریشهر پرسیان\*.

<sup>2</sup> The Shīrīn (Hindiyān, Zuhra) river is still called "Ṭāb" on our maps. Our author's confusion of the names Ṭāb and Shīrīn may point to an ancient origin of this ambiguous use.

Behbehān mostly on the southern bank of the Tāb (now Kurdistān, Jarrāhī) at about one farsakh's distance from the gorge through which this river comes out into the plain. On the well near the Chāhuk village, Išt., 151. On *dūshāb*, Išt., 95.

17. As under 7., this residue of information on Arrajān is in a desperate state. Cf. Išt.'s lists of localities of Arrajān, pp. 112-113. Our *برك* is *برك* on the upper course of the Shīrīn, Išt., 119. *برك* might be (?) a simple repetition of the mis-spelt *برك*. *Lārandān* and *Vāyagān* are mentioned under § 6, 32. near the sources of the Shīrīn. *لوردگان* may stand for *Lūrdagān*, the chief place of Sardan (the *Lūrdagān* lake is shown on Haussknecht's Map between the two headwaters of the Kārūn!). *Vāyagān*, though not impossible as a name (cf. *Vāyghān* in the north-eastern corner of the Urmiya lake), is not found in Išt., and stands perhaps for *رویکان*, mentioned under § 6, 29. in a region where several rivers rise.

19. Bishāpūr < *Bih-Shāpūr*, see Le Strange, *o.c.*, 262. On the two fire temples, Išt., 118. On the images of kings, Išt., 150. On the well of Hindijān near Sābūr, from which smoke rises, Išt., 151; Schwarz, 34, places it near the oil-wells of Dālikī.

20. In Išt., 110, after Kumārij (*sic*) follows H.ndijān but *Vāyagān* is perhaps a repetition of \**Rūyagān* (cf. above under 17.).

21. Išt., 104. The Persian form is *Gūyum*, as given for its homonym under 32.

22. Maq., 430, says that the best water of Shīrāz was from Jūyum, just mentioned under 21. Under 32. the name may have been repeated in the Persian garb of *Gūyum*.

23. B.rsarkān, B.rs.kān, perhaps *Kāskān*, Išt., 102. On the term *kauristān* see p. 255, note 1. The only *Kauristān* mentioned in the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāširi* is the one on the road from Lār to Bandar-i 'Abbāsī, but this does not suit our case. Here the name may stand for *Kavar*, mentioned under § 6, 29. as lying on the river Sakān.

24. On Hallāj see Išt., 148. 25. Hazār between Shīrāz and Māyīn, Išt., 102. Zarqān, north of the Tasht lake, Išt., 129. Khīr, perhaps *الحيره* (*sic*), Išt., 102.

26., 27. All lying in E. (see under 27.) and found in Išt., 107-8, Schwarz, 101-5. On the tables (*mawā'id*) made of rock-salt see Išt., 155. On *mūmiyā* see *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 207.

28. Ramm [Shahriyār], Shaqq (or Sūq) al-Rustāq, Furj, Tārm (now *Tarom*) in Išt., 109, but Maq., 428, gives a nearer form to ours: *Rustāq al-Rustāq*.

30. Kārzīn, having a *quhandiz* and a *rabad*, Išt., 106, 116.

31. Kāriyān, with a fortress and a temple, Išt., 117, 118, both in B., cf. Schwarz, 70, 91. On the temple see Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus pers. Akten*, p. 286. [A. Pagliaro, *History of the Sacred Fires in Oriental Studies in honour of C. E. Pavry*, Oxford 1933, p. 383, instead of *Kāriyān* reads in the Iranian *Bundahishn*: *dēh-i kanārakān*, or *kanārangakān* and is inclined to place the Farnbagh fire in the "border province" of Armenia. Doubtful.]

32.-34. Išt., 106-9, mentions under E.: Mādavān, Jūyum (our text at this place gives the Persian form *Gūyum*, see above 21., 22.), and Jahrum, but places under B.: Samīrān, Īraz (now Īraj, south of Nīrīz), and Kiz. Rūfta is obscure.

35. Kurdiyān, Išt., 107. Khīr (not in Išt.?), lies in E. between Nīrīz and Fasā (now Mubārakābād).

36. Išt., 108-9, under E. Khiyār was the town of Nīrīz. Išt. spells Ištahbanāt with š.

37. Abādha belonged to E., Išt., 107, but B.rdgān (Išt., 101 p) and \*Chāhuk (Išt., 102, *Šāhuk*) belonged to A.

38. All under A., Išt., 101-3, except Khurra, placed by Išt., 112, 118, under D. Išt., 102, also writes \*شهر ناک for *Pāpak*.

39. All under A. in Išt., 101-3, who gives the forms M.shkān, Iqlīd, Arkh.mān, S.rm.q. The Persian translation of Išt., edited by Ouseley, confirms that Iqlīd and Surmaq "in Persian are called *Kilīd* and *Surma*", Išt., 101 b.

40. Išt., 101, 151. 41. Nāyīn. The name supplied from Išt., 155, who places it in the district of Yazd. Cf. twice over under 45.

42. The district Sardan lay in the Kūh-gilū mountains between the provinces A. and C. The details given under § 6, 36. show that the district belonged to the Tāb basin (cf. Išt., 119, on the two headwaters of the Tāb uniting near Misin), but it is possible that it included also the region of the headwaters of the Kārūn. Išt., 103, calls Lūrdagān capital of Sardan.<sup>1</sup> On the mine of *šufṛ* in Sardan see Išt., 155. *Šufṛ* is "copper" and, though occasionally it means "gold", Išt. at this place clearly distinguishes it from *dhahab*.

43. Išt., 102, under A. The form Abraj (not *Īraj*) is correct, Le Strange, *o.c.*, 281. Instead of كسب some of Išt. MSS., 102 k mention كسب (?).

44. Išt., 102, under A. Our D.rkān corresponds to الاذكان.

45. Our clear Anār, for Išt., 102, ان is rather against Le Strange's theory about *Anār* being an error for *Unās*, *o.c.*, 266. The remaining four names are given by Išt., 100, in the Yazd district of Ištakhr (he spells *Fahraj*). Katha is the present-day Yazd.

### § 30. Khūzistān

Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 232-47, Schwarz, *Iran*, pp. 289-455.

This chapter, too, (cf. §§ 28-9) is almost entirely based on Išt., 88-96 (see under 14.) and shows no trace of acquaintance with I.Ĥ. or Maq. The details in 7. and 8. are borrowed from I.Kh.

On the rivers of Khūzistān see § 6, 35.-40.

The description of 1.-4. follows Išt.'s route, p. 95, in the opposite direction: Arrajān to Āsk (two easy marḥalas); thence to Zaydān (1 ditto); thence to Dauraq (1 ditto); thence to Khān Mardawaih (1 ditto); thence

<sup>1</sup> On the Lūrdagān lake *v.s.*, under 17.

to Bāsiyān (1 ditto); thence to Ḥiṣn Mahdī (2 ditto); thence to Bayān [cf. § 33, 11.] on the Tigris (1 ditto); thence on to Baghdād.

1. Iṣṭ., 90, places it in the centre of several waterways of which the course is now difficult to trace, for hydrographical conditions in Khūzistān have greatly changed. Schwarz, 330, places it near Sabla, upstream from Muḥammara.

2. Iṣṭ., 95, Dauraq, Khān-Mardawaih, Bāsiyān, all three on the road from Arrajān to Baṣra, cf. § 6, 39.

3. Iṣṭ., 95: Zaydān (var.: *Dayrā*), on the road Arrajān-Āsk-Zaydān-Dauraq.

4. Iṣṭ., 92 (the fire seen on the Āsk mountain is due to some burning naphtha), 94 (battle of the Azraqī Khārijites).

5. Iṣṭ., 93: Abū'Alī, imām of the Mu'tazilites (d. in 303/916), see *Djubbā'i* in *EI*.

6. Iṣṭ. has nothing on the position of Sūq al-arba'ā but our author derives his record from Iṣṭ.'s Map, cf. § 6, 37., where Sūq al-arba'ā is placed upstream from Ahwāz (?).

7. Iṣṭ., 88, is extremely brief on Ahwāz which he calls Hurmuz-shahr, and this particular detail is not in our author who at this place transcribes I.Kh., 170. Vullers, ii, 451, explains *mār-i shikanj* as *mār-i surkh*. Our author translates I.Kh., 170: افاعي.

8. Iṣṭ., 89: Azam. Its mention at this place (before 9.) shows that our author followed I.Kh., 43 (road: Ahwāz-Azam-'Abdīn-Rām Hurmuz).

9. Iṣṭ., 93 (Māni). The form of the name Ramh.z is half-way between the official form (cf. under 12.) and the popular pronunciation Rāmiz. The northern river of R.-H. (*Rūd-i A'lā*, or *Gūpāl*) is not mentioned under § 6. See Minorsky, *Rām Hurmuz* in *EI*.

10. Iṣṭ., 91 (sugar from Masruqān comes to 'Askar Mukram). The specification of sugar not in Iṣṭ.

11. Masruqān is a locality, not a town, Iṣṭ., 90.

12. Rām Ūrdmizd اوردمزد is probably a simple error for Ūrmizd, cf. § 6, 39.

13. Iṣṭ., 89: Sūq Sanbīl.

14. Īdhaj, now Mālāmīr, is barely mentioned in Iṣṭ., 89, 90, 92. This paragraph in reality describes Shūshtar (Tustar), Iṣṭ., 92<sub>18</sub>. I.H., 175, explicitly says that at his time the cover for the Ka'ba was no more prepared at Tustar. Cf. § 6, 37.

15. V.ndū-shāvūr is an interesting form [cf. 12.] for Jundāy-sābūr, Iṣṭ., 93 (\*Gundē-Shāpūr). The town founded by Shāpūr I, according to Tabarī, i, 826, was named *Bih az Andēw Shāpūr*. Nöldeke considers this explanation (probably hailing from Ibn Muqaffa') untenable. Marquart interpreted it first as "better than Antiochia is (the town) of Shāpūr", *Ērānshahr*, 145, and later as "better (is) the Antiochia of Shāpūr", *Catalogue*, p. 98. In the Middle Persian list of towns edited in the latter book, the name of Gundē-Sābūr has the form of *V.ndwy* (or *V.ndwg*)-*Shahpuhr* which Marquart emendates into *Vand<iy>ōg-Shahpuhr*. But whatever the learned

etymologies of the original Sāsānian name may have been, the fact is that *V.ndw<sup>y</sup>* exactly corresponds to the first part of the Byzantine *Βενδοσαβόρων* and to our *وېندوساور*, which all agree in showing that the people simplified the name into a compound *Vindōy-Shāpūr*. On the well-known name *Vindōy* see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 370. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 85, explains the Armenian form *Vndoy* (borrowed from Middle Persian) as a pet-form of some name like the Old Persian *Vindafarnah* ("he who obtains glory"). Ibn al-Qifti, ed. Lippert, 133-4, confirms that the name of *چندی ساپور* was regarded as a combination of the names of *چندا* (\*چندو?), a former master of the land, and *Shāpūr*. For the explanation of *وېندوساور* in § 6, 40. see note to it. [However, a simpler restoration might be *وشوش [و] وېندوساور*.]

16. Išt., 92: long story on Daniel's coffin; 93: *khazz*-textiles and *sham-māmāt*-citrons.

17. Išt., 39, Mattūth and Birdhaun were known only as places producing textiles, cf. Schwarz, 365-7. 18. Išt., 93: *Başunnē* (*sutūr*). Maq., 417: *al-sutūr al-jayyida*. 19. Išt., 94 (*tikak* in Tīb). 20. Išt., 93: *sūsanjird*-textiles produced in Qurqūb, on them see special treatise by Karabacek (Karabacek), *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird*, Leipzig, 1881.

### § 31. The Jibāl

Le Strange, pp. 185-231, Schwarz, pp. 445-957 (an amazingly detailed analysis of Arabic sources).

This chapter, too, is based on Išt., 195-204, drastically abridged. Of the original details some could, as a matter of fact, have been found by the author in the MSS. of Išt.'s work which, as usual, contain many additions (cf. notes in *BGA*, i and iv). The description has been arranged according to Išt.'s itineraries (or his Map). 1. the capital; 2.-7. the road from Isfahān to Hamadān (the latter town forgotten!); 8.-12. ditto from Hamadān to Khūzistān; 13. ditto from Hamadān to Kirmānshāh; 14.-15. western localities; 16.-18. the road from Qazvīn to Tabrīz; 19.-21. Rayy and its neighbourhood; 22. the road from Rayy to Hamadān; 23. ditto from Rayy to Isfahān.

1. Išt., 198, I.H., 241, give the distance of 2 miles (variant: 1 mile), which is approximately equal to half a farsakh. The list of textiles is a crucial point. Išt., 199, speaks of *al-‘attābī wal-washy wa sā‘ir thiyāb al-ḥarīr wal-quṭun* but the Gothan epitome (ed. Moeller) adds *والحلل والسقلاطون*, cf. also *BGA*, iv, 407 (from the Leiden epitome): *والسقلاطونيات*. Our author omits *وشی* and incorporates the addition which is interesting, for no other writer seems to speak of *siglaton* being fabricated in Isfahān, see Schwarz, 888-90. This heavy figured silk stuff was chiefly produced in Armenia and Baghdād (where it was of blue colour), though Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 700, admits that some of it came to Europe from Persia. See now G. S. Colin, *Latin "siglatun"*, &c., in *Romania*, 1930, lvi, 178-90 and



418. The Zarīnrūdh is not in Iṣṭ., but in I.Kh., 20, 176 (whose story on its reappearance in Kirmān is not reproduced in our author).

2. Iṣṭ., 198. This Khān Lanjān has been wrongly taken for the place of refuge of Firdausī, cf. Le Strange, 207. In fact the details found in the MS. Br. Mus. Or. 1403, described in Rieu's *Catalogue*, ii, 535, refer not to Firdausī but to the scribe (who apparently wrote in 779/1377).

4., 5. Iṣṭ., 199, cf. Qudāma, 199, under *Ighārāyn*. The mention of the ruin of Burj may have been suggested by what Iṣṭ. says of the past glory of Abū Dulaf's dynasty in Karaj.

7. No details on Rāmin in Iṣṭ. but I.H., 258, calls it مدينة صالحة.

8., 9. This Karaj was the minbar of the Rūdrāvar rustāq, Iṣṭ., 199. The indistinctly written سر in view of the explanation seems to be پسر "cheese", but no other author mentions cheese in Rūdrāvar, Schwarz, 504. Perhaps the word was misread from منبر. 10. cf. Minorsky, *Nihāwand* in *EI*.

11. Līshṭar, Iṣṭ., 197 and 201 (hazelnuts). Now Alishtar, in Northern Luristān, one of the localities of the ancient Kassite country where the "Luristān bronzes" have been discovered. According to the *Nushat al-qulūb*, p. 107, there stood (formerly) in Alishtar the fire temple of اردخش, certainly < اردخش\*, i.e. either *ādharakhsh* "a thunder-bolt", or *ādharakhush* "the 9th day of the Ādhar month". [Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 82, and *Streifzüge*, 347, restores *Ādharkhush* in I.Kh., 120, &c., as *Ādhar-jushnasf*. He adds in *Wehrot*, 88: "der Hengst *wiśnasp* ist das Symbol des Blitzfeuers, das aus dem Wasser geboren wird." However, the famous temple of *Ādhar-gushnasf* lay in Ādharbāyjan, and with regard to Alishtar we may hardly go beyond the restoration \*اردخش.]

12. Shāpurkhāst, as results from Maq., 401, is Khurramābād (surnamed probably after the Khurramī sectarians who, in the tenth century, were very numerous in this locality, cf. Ibn Miskawaihi, *The Eclipse*, i, 278). See Minorsky, *Luristān* in *EI*.

13. Iṣṭ., 195-6, writes in Arabic *Qarmasīn* (perhaps a non-Iranian local form). Marj al-qal'a lay probably near Kirind, Le Strange, 192.

14. Iṣṭ., 200.

15. The words on the sociable character of the inhabitants belong only to Dīnāvar, Iṣṭ., 198. On the other hand both Shahrāzūr and Suhravard are described as having fallen into the hands of the Kurds. This is the only ground for coupling the two towns of which the one lies west of the Zagros (cf. Minorsky, *Shehrizūr* in *EI*) and the other between Hamadān and Zanjān. The spelling شهر ژور (cf. also *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. Veliāminov Zernov, i, p. 20 *ult.*, شهر زول) shows that the name was not considered as an *idāfat* construction. It rather confirms the etymology \**Shah-razūr* "the Kingly Forest", for *Siyā-razūr* "the Black Forest", in view of the Byzantine τὸ Σιαροῦρον, τὸν Σιδάζουρον, and the similar Pahlavi and Syriac forms, see Marquart, *Südarmenien*, 1929, p. 558, and Herzfeld, *Mitt. aus Iran*, ii, 2, 1930, pp. 73-4.

16.-18. Iṣṭ., 200-1. The popular form *Auhar* instead of *Abhar* is interesting, cf. note to § 49.

19. Ṭālaqān, district on the upper Shāh-rūd; not to be confounded with § 23, 52., and 76.

20. Iṣṭ., 208, under Daylam.

21. Iṣṭ., mentions Rayy both under Jibāl, 202, and Daylam, 208-9. The famous Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī died in 311 A.H., cf. Ibn Khallikān, Tehrān edition, ii, 93-4 (م No. 156), Browne, *Arabian medicine*, 1921, pp. 43-53, Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 609-10. Of the three other savants, 'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Kisā'i and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, contemporaries of Harūn al-Rashīd, died on the same day in the village of Ranbūya in 189/805, Ibn Khallikān, i, 358 (ع No. 114) and ii, 26-7 (م No. 18), whereas Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb al-Fazārī was a contemporary of the caliph Maṣṣūr (A.D. 754-775) who commissioned him to translate the Indian Siddhānta; he died *circa* A.D. 796-806, see Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 530.

Of the produce of Rayy, our author borrows from Iṣṭ., 210: cotton and cloaks (*abrād*) and *ibid.*, 2080 (in the Gothan epitome): cotton stuffs. Maq., 396, mentions precious *ṭaylasān*-scarves, produced in Sudd near Rayy, and Ibn al-Faqīh, 253, glazed plates (*al-aṭbāq al-mudahhana*). It is curious that our author speaks of *غضارة وروغن* "china and oil (?)". *Ghaḍāra* means "greenish plastic clay", "big plate", and "china". The word *روغن* in our author's source very probably (\**raughan kashīda*?) echoes the term *mudahhan* which in the first place means "covered with oil (glaze?)". The mention of china in Rayy has certainly in view the famous "Rayy potteries" and confirms the fact that they were fabricated long before the Seljuks. Cf. also the name of the poet Ghaḍā'irī who was a native of Rayy and died in A.D. 1034.

22. Iṣṭ., 214, places Sāva on the road from Rayy to Jibāl. Āva (usually coupled with Sāva) is mentioned several times in Maq., 386, 401. Rūḍha and Būsna (?), Iṣṭ., 198*b*, belong to the same locality.

### § 32. Daylamān

For a long time the knowledge of the Caspian provinces was considerably behind the general standards of Muslim geography. Balādhurī's and Ṭabarī's remarks, valuable as they are, have a fragmentary character. I.Kh. and Qudāma do not describe the Caspian provinces. Ya'qūbī, 276-7, and even I.R., 149-51, are too brief. I. Faqīh, 101-14, chiefly follows Balādhurī and gives little purely geographical information. The oldest systematic accounts available until now were Iṣṭ., 204-17, I.H., 267-76, and Maq., 353-73. Even in comparison with Maq.'s interesting data, our author considerably increases our knowledge of the country. His extremely exact information on the neighbourhood of Lāhijān suggests the idea that he might himself have sojourned there, or perhaps been a native of that region. Our author's description is separated by some three centuries from the next independent and valuable account of Gīlān found in 'Abdullāh Qāshānī's *Tārīkh-i Uljāyṭū*, Bib. Nat., supplément persan 1419, ff. 38b-45a (partly and inadequately edited in Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii,

94-8). Cf. also the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 159-63 (Māzandarān, Qūmis, Ṭabaristān, Jilān), and the *Masālik al-abṣār*, transl. by Quatremère in *Notices et extraits*, xii, 292-300 (on Qutlū-shāh's unfortunate expedition into Gīlān in Uljāytū's reign). Of outstanding importance are the local histories of the Caspian provinces published by Dorn (in the series of the Russian Academy) as well as by E. G. Browne and H. L. Rabino (see bibliography in Minorsky, *Māzandarān*, in *EI*). Still very important are Melgunov, *On the Southern Shore of the Caspian sea*, SPb., 1863 (in Russian, German trans. by Zenker) and B. Dorn's *Caspia*, SPb., 1875 (of which there exist a Russian and a German edition and which is a prodigious collection of fragmentary notes). Of the later European works on the region see especially the very useful map [H. L. Rabino and Capitaine Faure] *Perse. Province du Guilan*, published by the Société Lyonnaise séricole et des soies d'Extrême Orient, Lyon, 1914 [quoted: *RFG*]; Rabino, *Le Guilan*, in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1915-16, vol. xxxii (particularly valuable for giving detailed lists of villages) [quoted: *RG*]; A. F. Stahl, *Die orographischen Verhältnisse des Elbursgebirges in Persien*, in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1927, Heft 7/8, pp. 211-15, and Map 13 (the article sums up the previous works by this explorer of great merit); Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād* GMS, N.S., vii [quoted: *RM*]; R. Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns durch die Araber*, in *Islamica*, iii/1, 1927, pp. 86-150, is a very detailed analysis of historical and geographical data; Minorsky, *Māzandarān* in *EI* (bibliography). See Map x (after *RFG*).

The tenth century A.D. is the period of the expansion of the Daylamite tribes whose original home lay in the mountainous districts between Gīlān, Qazvīn, and Zanjān. On the episodes of their extraordinary career see Minorsky, *La Domination des Dailamites* (No. 3 of *Publications de la Société des Études Iraniennes*), Paris, 1932, the object of which is to show that in a period when the Arab dominion had waned in Persia and the Turks were still lingering on the eastern frontier of the Sāmānid empire, the Daylamites took up the task of reviving the Persian national tradition in the western part of Persia and that the Daylamite "interlude" was of great importance as a connecting link in the history of Irān. The Daylamite successes are reflected in the terminology of the contemporary geographers who under "Daylam" enumerate all the lands round the Caspian Sea, including even the Khazar territory in the north, see Maq., 353-73. Our author does not go to such extremes but under "Daylamān" describes: Gurgān (1.-5.), Ṭabaristān (6.-15.; 21.-23.), Kūmish (16.-19.), Daylam "proper" (24.), and Gīlān (25.).

1. Gurgān. The seat of the king of Ṭabaristān proper was Āmol, as rightly stated under 13. Gurgān was the seat of the more important Ziyārid dynasty (A.D. 928-1042). Maq., 357, also mentions both Shahristān and Bakrābād, but the name of the river Hirand (on which cf. Barthold's Preface, p. 29) does not seem to occur anywhere else.

2. Dihistān is the district on the Atrak, see *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 212, cf. Barthold, *Irrigation*, 31-7, and Minorsky, *Meshhad-i Miṣriyān* in *EI*.

Dihistān undoubtedly echoes the name of the ancient nomad people *Δάαι Dahae* one of whose branches were the Aparnoi; from the latter arose the family of the future Parthian rulers, see Tomaschek, *Daai* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, viii, 1945-6. I.Kh., 118, seems to quote a different Dihistān in Ṭabaristān; another Dihistān is mentioned by Išt., 268, in Bādhghīs (§ 23, 24.). On the peninsula called Dihistānān-sur (?) see § 4, 38.

3. Farāv, called *Farāva* in Išt., 273, I.R., 170, Maq., 320, corresponds to the present-day Qizil-Arvat on the Transcaspiian railway, Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 40.

4. In the fifteenth century the dialect of Astarābād was used for religious propaganda by the Ḥurūfī sect, cf. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroūfis*, GMS, ix, 1909.

5. Abaskūn (or Ābaskūn, cf. Yāqūt, i, 55 and 91) must correspond to *Σωκανία πόλις* which Ptolemy, vi, cap. 9, mentions in the south-eastern part of the Caspian. Abaskūn was an important port after which the whole Caspian Sea was sometimes called, cf. Juvaynī, GMS, ii, 115: *baḥr-i Ābaskūn*. It is usually located near the estuary of the Gurgān river (at Gümüş-täpä), cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, pp. 67-8, 92, Barthold, *Irrigation*, 33; Le Strange, *The Lands*, 379. Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī, *Nuṣṣat al-qulūb*, 239, calls *Abaskūn* "an island" adding that in his time it was submerged by the sea of which the level had risen when the Oxus [temporarily] changed its course and flowed into the Caspian.

6. Cf. Minorsky, *Māzandarān*, in *EI*. The situation of 7.-13. appears from the following route given in the opposite direction by Išt., 216: Āmol to Mīla 2 farsakhs; thence to B.rjī (?) 3 ditto; thence to Sāriya 1 marḥala; thence to Mār.st [or Maq., 372: *Abār.st*] 1 ditto; thence to Abādān [or to *Limrāsk*] 1 ditto; thence to Ṭamīsha 1 ditto; thence to Astarābādh 1 ditto; thence to Ribāt Ḥafṣ 1 ditto; thence to Jurjān 1 ditto. A detailed analysis of this route is found in Marquart, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. von Eran*, ii, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 58-60. According to I.R., 149-50, the eastern frontier of Ṭabaristān lay at رباط الآخر (\**Ribāt al-ājurr* "the burnt brick ribāt") which probably is connected with the brick wall (*ḥā'it . . . min ājurr*) which stretched between the mountain and the sea and was attributed to Anūshirvān, cf. also I. Faqīh, 303. In later times Shāh 'Abbās built (or rebuilt?) the wall on the river Kirrind (cf. Ptolemy, vi, cap. 9, *Χρίνδοι*) which was called *jar-i Kulbād*, cf. Dorn, *Caspia*, 103. Our author seems to have imagined that the wall surrounded Ṭamīsha. The latter is identified by Marquart, *o.c.*, 56, with Bandar-Gaz.

10. Māmṭīr = Bārfurūsh.

14. Išt., 217, 'Ayn al-Humm, but the name *Alhum* may be of local origin. This place situated at an easy marḥala from Āmol on the sea must be identical with Ahalom (*sic*) which the Russian 5 verst map shows in the delta of the Āmol river to the south-west of Maḥmūdābād, cf. Melgunov, 177: اهلم رود.

15. Rūdhān "copper (mines?)" , later *Rūyān* and \**Rūyanj* (so instead of *Rūbanj* in Išt., 204) formed a separate kūra, I.R., 149, and was ruled by the dynasty of *Ustundārs*, see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 433, and Minorsky, *Rūyān* in *EI*.

16. Kūmish (\**Kōmish*) is the region lying outside Ṭabaristān proper along the southern foot of the mountains, cf. Ptolemy, vi, cap. 5: ἡ μὲν παρὰ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν Κομισσηνή. *جامة كنيس* standing in the text must be an error for \**جامة كوس* for Ya'qūbī, 276, says explicitly under Qūmis that the inhabitants of its capital Dāmaghān, who are of Persian nationality ('*ajam*'), are extremely skilful in production of woollen *qūmisī*-textiles (اكسية الصوف القومسية).

17. Dāmaghān (now *Dāmghān*) is probably Ἐκατόμυλος βασιλείου of Parthian times. In the list of its products I translate the word '*alam*' by "border" preferably to "banner", as it grammatically belongs to *dastār*. Curiously enough one of the imām-zādas of Dāmghān, built according to Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur l'Asie Centrale*, p. 74, in the fourth century A.H. is called *Pūr-i 'Alamdār* (here "beflagged" would be a more suitable interpretation).

20. On A. F. Stahl's map *Umgegend von Tehran*, in *Peterm. Mitteil.*, 1900, Shalamba is shown *circa* 6 Km. to the south of the town of Damāvand.

21.-23. The Qārin mountain lay to the south of Sārī. The castle of Pirrīm was probably situated on the western branch of the Tijīn river. Sāmār corresponds to Išt., 205: *Sahmār* which stood at 1 day's distance from Sārī and was the only city (*madīna*) of the Qārin-kūh. The last prince of the original Qārinid dynasty (which claimed descent from the legendary Kāva) was Māzyār, executed in 224/839, cf. Minorsky, *Māzyār* in *EI*. Then the rival and more important Bāvand dynasty (supposed to descend from Kayūs, brother of the Sāsānian king Kavādh) must have seized Pirrīm. Several princes of this dynasty bore the name of Shahriyār, after which the mountains were called Shahriyār-kūh. The story of the miraculous spring in the Qārin mountains is not identical with what is found in Ibn al-Faqīh, 310 (on the spring at al-Ṭāq), Zakariyā Qazwīnī, ii, 239, 270, and Ḥamdullāh, *Nuṣṣat al-qulūb*, 277 (on the spring Bādkhāna near Dāmghān), cf. Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns*, pp. 101-2. However, all these reports point to a former adoration of springs which is clearly confirmed by the *H.-'Ā.* and consequently must be added to the list of wonderful customs existing in the Caspian provinces, see Maq., 268-71, analysed by Inostrantsev in his *Études sāsānides* (in Russian), SPb., 1909, pp. 110-35.

24. Of the districts of Daylam proper (cf. Išt., 204, *al-Daylam al-mahḍ*) Latrā and Varfū [for the ending cf. *Lasṭū* south of Somām] are mentioned in Ibn Isfandiyār, p. 162, and Langā, home of the 'Alid Abul Ḥusain (d. 421/1030), *ibid.*, 54, all three in connexion with Rūyān; consequently they must be located on the eastern side of Daylam. A Langā on *RM*, Map, is shown in the eastern part of Tunikābun, south of 'Abbāsābād and Aspichīn, cf. Melgunov, *o.c.*, 182. M.r.d is unknown. Chālkarūd river is some 65 Km. west of Chālūs, *RM*, 131. *K.rkrūd* must correspond to Karkarūsar lying immediately east of the Chālūs, Melgunov, *o.c.*, 180, *RM*, 151,

and *Dīnār-rūdh* to Dīnā-rūd, a narrow strip of coast mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Khānī*, ed. Dorn, SPb., 1857, p. 212, between Sakhtasar (eastern frontier of Gīlān) and Khushkarūd (in Rānikūh). Jūdāhanjān and جلان رودبار have not been found.<sup>1</sup> Hausam, according to *RG*, pp. 336–7, is identical with Rūdisar, which lies 13 Km. east of Langarūd. With regard to Hausam we have Ṣahīr al-dīn's indication (ed. Dorn, 1850, p. 19) that the western frontier of Ṭabaristān is Malāṭ "which village of the town of Hausam is now known as the port of Rūdisar". It must be admitted, however, that such a position for Hausam does not tally with its place in our author's enumeration. As to the mountainous districts, Pazhm must be Bashm lying west of Somām (not Bashm west of the Chālūs), cf. *RG*, pp. 306, 351, and *RFG*. Shīr is the mountain south of Ashkavar. Vastān, considering the order of enumeration, must be sought east of Somām on the southern frontier of Gīlān. All these names in the tenth century referred to districts rather than to the single inhabited points. Our author distinctly says that the towns of Daylam were Kalār and Chālūs, but as Iṣṭ., 206, reckons them to Ṭabaristān, our author evidently means only that Kalār and Chālūs were the market-places which the Daylamites visited. The town of Kalār must have lain near the col of Bashm (west of Chālūs). In the plain of Kalārdasht (on the right affluent of the Sardābrūd) Miss F. Stark found a mound probably of the frontier fortress of Kalār. See F. Stark, *The Site of the City of Kalar*, in *Gf*, March 1934, pp. 211–17 (with a map).

25. Gīlān. The contents of this passage have been treated by Barthold in *Izvestiya Kavkaz. Istor.-Archeol. Instituta*, 1927, vi, pp. 63–6, though without any explanation of the geographical terms. In the tenth century the Gīl (Jīl), inhabitants of Gīlān, were a tribe usually distinguished from the Daylamites, see Minorsky, *La Domination des Dailamites*, p. 23, note 28,<sup>2</sup> and the Gīl often quarrelled with the Daylamites, as our author seems to confirm. The frontier between the two tribes passed roughly speaking between Langarūd (Gīlān) and Rūdisar (Daylam).

The Safid-rūd divides Gīlān into two parts, viz., "this side" and "that side", in local dialect respectively called Biya-pīsh and Biya-pas (*biya* "water" is cognate with Avestan *vaday* "watercourse"), and each of them had a different dynastic history, cf. Ṣahīr al-dīn, *Tārīkh-i Gīlān wa Daylamistān*, ed. Rabino, Rasht, 1330 A.H., and the epitome of it in H. L. Rabino, *Rulers of Gīlān*, in *JRAS*, July, 1920, 277–96.

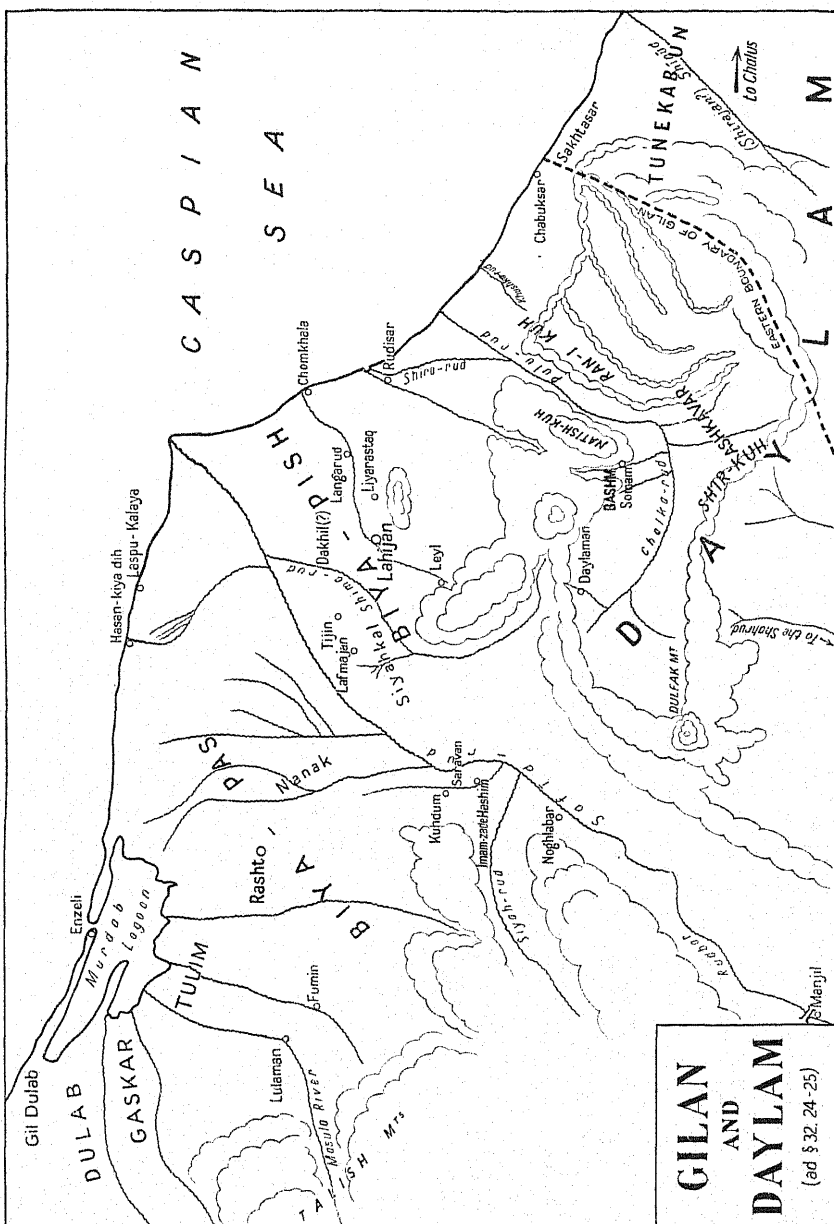
On "this side" of the river the districts (not yet towns! as pointed out by Barthold) were Lāfjān = Lāhijān [for *f* > *h* cf. *Νιφαυάδα* > *Nihāvand*]. Miyālafjān seems to be identical with Mālfejān, on the road from Lāhijān to Siyāhkal (Barfjān), *RG*, 329.<sup>3</sup> Kushkajān lies on the eastern bank of the

<sup>1</sup> If the second name is \**Nylān-rūdbār* it may be compared with the source of the Langarūd river rising near the village now called *Leyl* (<\**Neyl* or *Nēl*?). Cf. p. 410, l. 16.

<sup>2</sup> A curious description of the Dayla-

mites is found in Gurgānī's *Vīs-u-Rāmīn*, ed. M. Mīnovī, 1935, pp. 494–5.

<sup>3</sup> Another restoration of this indistinctly written name may be *Niyālf.jān* (?), cf. notes to § 36, 36.–41.



Safid-rūd, *ibid.*, 327. Barfjān is the centre of the district Siyāhkal, south-east of Lāhijān, *ibid.* 278, 284. Dākhil, in Rāh-shāhī-pāyīn, north of Lāhijān, *ibid.* 322. Tijīn, on the road going west from Lāhijān to Kīsūm, *ibid.*, 328. Ch.ma (reading uncertain) may be connected with Chomkhala, port of Langarūd, north-east of Lāhijān.

On "that side" of the river, Khāngajāl (reading uncertain: *Jānkajāl*, &c.) could not be identified. The district of Nanak lies south-east of Rasht, *RG*, p. 228, 242. Kūtum (\*Kōtūm), even if we judge only by its place in the enumeration, corresponds to the present-day Kuhdum (pronounced: *Kodom*) lying some 5 Km. north of the Imām-zāda Hāshim. This latter stands at the point where the highroad from Qazvīn to Rasht following the left bank of the Safid-rūd emerges from the Elburz mountains into the Gilān plain. 'Abdullāh Qāshānī in his *Tārīkh-i Uljāyṭu*, f. 39v, says: "On the western side of the Safid-rūd the first province (*wilāyat*) is Kūtum, lying on the bank of the Sabid-rū (*sic*); i.e., south of it are the mountains, and east of it the Safid-rūd; the province stretches (?) east to west. Kūtum is the name of the district, whereas the chief place of Kūtum is called Bāzār-i Shahrīstān. . . . The province of Kūchaspān [now: *Kūchāsfān*] is situated north of Kūtum on the sea-coast. . . . Rasht is situated to the north-west of Kūtum."<sup>1</sup> In later sources there is some confusion as to the location of Kūtum. Ḥamdullāh in the *Nuḣḣat al-qulūb*, pp. 163, 217-18, places it on the shore of the Caspian near the estuary of the Safid-rūd and calls it a port (*bandar-gāh-i kashtī*). Abul-Fidā, p. 429, locates it at 1 day's distance from the sea. This latter indication can only have in view the former centre of the Kūtum district, i.e. Bāzār-i Shahrīstān or Gūrāb-i Kuhdum, cf. *RG*, 215, which must have lain considerably to the north of the present-day Kuhdum village (even as the crow flies, the latter is situated at 47 Km. from the nearest western estuary of the Safid-rūd). It must be remembered that the Safid-rūd has several estuaries and it is possible that Ḥamdullāh had in view the port of Ḥasan-kiyā-dih as giving access to the Kūtum district. By Sarāvān our source evidently means the upper (southern) part of the former principality of Kūtum (on its extent see *RG*, 215). In Nāṣir al-dīn Shāh's grant of 1280/1863, quoted in *RG*, 83, the Sarāvān borough is considered as a part of the Kuhdum borough, cf. *ibid.*, 218, 237, and *RFG*. Most probably Sarāvān ("head of the waters") is precisely the locality now called Kuhdum "tail, or foot of the mountain", whereas the ancient centre of Kuhdum lay lower down on the left bank of the Safid-rūd. The name of the district of Paylamān-shahr (to which belonged the borough of the same name mentioned separately) has now completely vanished; judging by its place in the enumeration it may have lain between Sarāvān and Rasht. Our record of Rasht (not yet a town!) is the earliest in existence. In the *Tārīkh-i Uljāyṭū*, f. 40r., Rasht is described as a seat of a governor and as a place where the tomb of a venerated saint (Uṣṭād Ja'far) and a mosque were found. Cf. also a desultory note

<sup>1</sup> The text of this important source is corrupt, and on f. 41a Kūtum is wrongly placed to the east of the Safid-rūd.



in the *Nuzhat al-gulūb*, 163. The further rise of Rasht is connected with the dynasty of the amīrs Tījaspi in the fifteenth century A.D., cf. *RG*, 69, 416.

The last part of the paragraph enumerates the places on the road going northwards to Transcaucasia and is far from being so complete. The Tūlim (now Tūlim) district lies north-west of Rasht and adjoins the Murdāb lagoon, *RG*, 190. The Dūlāb district adjoins the north-west corner of the Murdāb; its mountainous part is called Tālīsh-Dūlāb and that lying near the coast Gīl-Dūlāb, *ibid.*, 107-14. Kuhan-rūdh seems to refer to Kergāna-rūd, the central part of Persian Tālīsh, *ibid.*, 89-100. Astarāb most probably is Astārā, cf. *Tārikh-i 'Alam-ārā*, p. 742, *Astārā*. Khān-Bālī (?) must be sought in the region of Mūghān, see Minorsky, *Mukān* in *EI*. This part of enumeration has a pretty close parallel in Maq.'s route (pp. 372-3): Sālūs (\*Chālūs) to Isbīdrūdh 1 marḥala; thence to Qaryat al-Raṣad 1 ditto; thence to Kh.shm 1 ditto; thence to Baylamān 4 ditto; thence to al-Dūlāb 4 ditto (?); thence to Kuhan-rūdh 3 ditto; thence to Mūghakān 2 ditto; thence to al-Kurr (Kur river) 2 ditto; thence to Hashādhār 2 ditto; thence to al-Shamākhiya 2 ditto. These distances are not exempt from suspicion and it is right that after Kuhan-rūdh the H.-A. should insert Astarāb. As our Khān-B.lī corresponds to Mūghakān, it is very likely identical with Bīlasuvār, an important centre of Mūghān. [The name, probably \**Pīla-suvār* "great cavalier" is a familiar Daylamite name.]

The "boroughs" of Gīlān (Gīlābādh, Shāl, Dūlāb, and Paylamān-shahr) cannot yet be located. Maq., 355, mentions the towns in Daylam: B.rvān, V.lāmr, Sh.kīr.z, Tāram (Tārom on the middle course of the Safīd-rūdh), Khasm; and in Gīlān: Dūlāb, Baylamān-shahr, and Kuhan-rūdh, *ibid.*, 360.

Neither under Daylam (§ 32), nor Ādharbāyjān (§ 35) does our author mention by name the Tālīsh region extending along the coast between Gīlān and Muqān. In the earlier Arab writers two names occur frequently together البير والبلقان, see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 280 (with numerous quotations). As regards *Ṭaylasān* it is clear that it is an Arabic popular etymology for Persian *Tālīsh-ān* (whatever the real origin of the interesting Tālīsh people be). In Arabic *ṭaylasān* means not only a sort of headkerchief worn by the learned people, but in a technical geographical sense "a half-moon shaped gulf" which is exactly the case of the south-western corner of the Caspian where Tālīsh is situated.<sup>1</sup> The only place remaining available for البير is the mountainous tract lying west of Tālīsh between Ardabīl and Zanjān, called Tārom (in Arabic الطرم) and Khalkhāl, see Minorsky, *Tārom* in *EI*. Bīrūnī in his *Canon* quotes البير between al-Ṭarm and Zanjān. I feel sure that both البير and البير must be read \**al-Hīr* (*Hēr*) and refer to Khalkhāl of which the chief place is still called Herow < *Her* (\**Hēr*)-āb, see Minorsky, *Transcaucasica*, in *Four. As.*, July, 1930, p. 72.

<sup>1</sup> See Khuwārizmī, pp. 80-1 (Caspian Sea) and the annexed map illustrating different forms of sea-coasts. Cf. Renaud, *Abul-Fidā*, i, 19. Nallino, *Rifaci-*

*mento*, p. 16, explains Khuwārizmī's *ṭaylasān* as "una insenatura lunga e regolare, ma non molto profonda".

## § 33. 'Irāq

I.Kh., 5-16; Išt., 78-88; I.H., 157-70; Maq., 136-51. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden, 1901; Le Strange, *The Lands*, 1-85; H. H. Schaeder, *Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Zur Topographie und Geschichte des 'Irāq*, in *Der Islam*, xiv, pp. 4-42. On the rivers cf. § 6, 46-49.

Starting with the capital 1. Baghdād, the description follows the course of the Tigris down to 6. Wāsiṭ; 7.-13. lie in the region of Baṣra; 14.-19. on the left bank of the Tigris and up the road to Persia; 20.-25. on the canals joining the Tigris and Euphrates; 26.-28. on the right bank of the Euphrates; 29.-32. above Baghdād on the Tigris. Most of the places are shown on the sketch-map in Le Strange, *o.c.*

By "the great kings" living in 'Irāq the Būyids are evidently meant.

2. Neither Išt., 87, nor I.H., 168, nor Maq., 122, mention Kurds in Jabbul.

7. 'Abdasī. So spelt in Išt., whereas I.H. spells 'Abdāsī. Nīm-rūdhī not otherwise known.

8. Maftah mentioned by Išt., 81, and its position is indicated by the canal Ma'qil (§ 6, 46.).

10. Baṣra. Išt., 80 (= I.H., 159) mentions the same graves and states that Baṣra pays the 'ushr instead of taxes based on the cadastre (*mash*), cf. I.Kh., 1413. To a different source belongs the item on the "veiled" (*burqa'ī*) 'Alid, i.e. the leader of the rising of the black slaves in 255/868. On his supposed genealogy see Ṭabarī, iii, 1742, 1857; cf. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1892: "Sklavenkrieg im Orient".

11. Bayān according to Išt., 95, was the last place belonging to Khūzistān. This is a new example of our author's method of enumeration, *v.s.*, § 29.

12. Salmānān(?) not found. Salmān-i Pāk lying in the neighbourhood of Baghdād would be out of place here. Perhaps the *sāmānī*-mats mentioned under 13. are connected with Salmānān (?). 'Abbadān may belong to the same locality. 'Abbadān with its humble industries had to wait another thousand years before becoming the present-day bulwark of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co.

14. Mādhārāyā (above Wāsiṭ) is to be distinguished from Madhār (§ 6, 46.) which would come naturally at this place.

20. Kūthay-Rabbā, as in Išt., 86.

21. Bābil as in Išt., 86, where *Kan'āniyūn* stands evidently for *Kal-dāniyūn* ("Chaldeans").

26. The formula of blessing *karrama 'llāhu wajhahu*, as applied to the caliph 'Alī, is sunnite. Very astonishing is the omission of Karbalā (Išt., 85) which would have been unthinkable for a *shī'ī*, but see p. 177.

## § 34. Jazīra

I.Kh., 73-4, 93-9; Išt., 71-8; I.H., 137-57; Maq., 136-51 (*iqḷīm aqūr*). Le Strange, *The Lands*, 86-114 (most of the places will be found on Map

III). Honigmann's map in his review of Marquart's *Südarmerien* in *Byz.-Zeitschr.*, xxxi (1931), pp. 392-400, and his *Ostgrenze*, passim. A detailed description of al-Jazīra in the thirteenth century (after 'Izz al-dīn b. Shaddād) has been published by Claude Cahen in *Rev. des Études Islamiques*, 1934, i, 109-28.

The definition of Jazīra as an "island" is not exact as a large portion of it lies on the left (eastern) bank of the Tigris. On the rivers cf. § 6, 46. and 49.

The description goes as follows: 1.-8. in a straight line from Mauṣil westwards; 9.-15. on the Euphrates downstream from its bend; 16. on the right bank of the Euphrates bend; 17.-19. near the Balikh river; 20.-22. down the left bank of the Tigris. Āmid and Sinjār are omitted in the enumeration though Āmid is mentioned under § 6, 46.

4. The details on Nišībīn all in Išt., 73. *Sang-i ābgīna* stands for *jawāhīr al-sajāj* (I.H., 143: *jauhar lil-sajāj*), by which "silica, silicious earth" is evidently meant.

7. Abridged from Išt., 74.

8. Diyār-Rabī'a is precisely the province comprising 1.-7.

9.-15. The province of Diyār-Muḍar, cf. Išt., 77.

16.-22. Cf. Išt., 75-7.

14. 'Abdullāh b. al-Mubārak al-Marwazī, an ascetic and traditionalist, lived 118-81/736-97, see *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, x, 152-62.

16. See Herzfeld, *Bālis*, in *EI*. Jisr Manbij is a different place from Manbij reckoned to Syria (§ 38, 1.). The spelling Shumaishāt, instead of Sumaisāt, is very common, and already Yāqūt, ii, 276, 417, warned against it. *Sumaisāt* (ancient Samosata) lies on the right bank of the Euphrates west of Āmid; *Shimshāt* (ancient Arsamosata) lay north of Āmid on the left bank of the Eastern Euphrates upstream from Kharpūt, cf. Le Strange, *o.c.*, 108, 116, and Markwart [Marquart], *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen*, Wien, 1930, pp. 242-4. Moreover, Marquart postulates the existence of two different Shimshāt of which the less known lay south-west of Āmid on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. This may give a clue to the spelling of Shumaishāt under § 36, 16., and Sumaisāt under § 38, 3.

19. On the church of Ruhā (Edessa) Išt., 79; already I.Kh., 161, says: "The Romans pretend that there is no stone monument surpassing in beauty the church of Ruhā."

#### §§ 35-6. Ādharbādhagān [Armīniya and Arrān]

Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, in *Indo-germ. Forschungen*, xvi (1904), pp. 197-479. Sayyid Aḥmad Kasravī, *Pādshāhān-i gumnām-i Irān*, fasc. I-III, Tehrān, 1307-8/1928-30 (very valuable essays on the dynasties of Ādharbayjān in the tenth century). A. Z. Validi, *Azerbaycanın tarihı coğrafyası* in *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, Istanbul, 1932, January (No. 1), pp. 35-48, February (No. 2), pp. 1-15, March (No. 3), pp. 123-32, April (No. 4), pp. 145-56; *idem*, *Azerbaycan etnografisine dair*, *ibid.*, 1933, February (No. 14), pp. 49-56 (the author uses the Arabic original of

Münejjim-bashi's work and several rare Ottoman-Turkish sources); Schwarz, *Iran*, viii/1-8, ix/1 (new series in progress since 1932).

In the author's table of contents (*v.s.*, pp. 47-8) the description of Armenia and Arrān forms a special chapter. However, in spite of the concluding words after 7., several places, such as 9., 10.-12. (Khoy), 16.-18., and perhaps 19. usually reckoned to Ādharbayjān (cf. Iṣṭ., 181-2), are described under Armenia. Both this arrangement and some other items in the beginning of our chapter (17. 19.) unexpectedly recall Maq., 374, but our author adds several new and interesting details. The part concerning Arrān has certain points in common with Iṣṭ. and the paragraph on Shirvān is undoubtedly based on the same source as Mas'ūdī's passage in the *Murūj*, but here, too, the *H.-'Ā.* contains a good deal of original information.

### I. *Ādharbayjān.*

Under Ādharbayjān first comes the capital Ardavīl, and then the enumeration, without much order, proceeds from the south-easternmost corner (2. Asna) to the north-easternmost point on the Araxes (7.). In Armenia first comes the capital (8.) followed by the points lying round the Urmiya lake 9.-12. (Khoy), then north of the Van lake and in Armenia proper (the rest of 12.-15.), then in northern Ādharbayjān south of the Araxes (16.-18. and perhaps 19.). In Arrān: 20. evidently continues the series 16.-19.; then comes the capital (21.), then the places between the Araxes and the Kurr and along the latter river (22.-28.); finally (west to east) are enumerated the places lying immediately south of the Caucasian mountain down to the Caspian Sea and Daghestan (29.-41.). The enumeration is roughly clear but it has all the habitual defects of the author's method (*v.s.*, notes to § 29).

1. The kings of Ādharbayjān for the greater part of the tenth century were the Daylamites of the Musāfirid family. See Kasravī, *o.c.*, Minorsky, *La Domination des Daylamites*, Paris, 1932, and *Musāfirī in EI*. However, the province had a number of local rulers as appears from I.H.'s enumeration of the Musāfirī feudatories, *BGA.*, ii, 254.

2. See Minorsky, *Ushnū* in *EI*. Sarāv, now Sarāb (I.Kh., 120: ساراب). Jābrūqān corresponds to I.Kh.'s 119, 121, Jābrvān, which, together with Nirīz, belonged to 'Alī b. Murr. Nirīz lay 14 farsakhs south-east of Urmiya, and Jābrvān 4 farsakhs farther south-east. The two places must be located south of the lake of Urmiya, probably in Sulduz, see Minorsky, *Nirīz* and *Sulduz*, in *EI*.

3. See Minorsky, *Tabrīz*, in *EI*. In the tenth century Tabrīz was an insignificant borough. 'Alā b. Ahmad al-Azdī towards 251/865 was the financial agent for Armenia (and Ādharbayjān) and in 260 rebelled against the new wālī of that province 'Omar b. 'Alī b. Murr, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1584, 1668.

4. See Minorsky, *Marāgha* in *EI*. The son of Bū Sāj is Yūsuf b. Abul-Sāj Dīvdād. On the destruction of the walls [after 296/908] see Iṣṭ., 181.

5. Barzand, 6. Mūqān, and 7. Vartān lie north of Ardabīl, see Minorsky, *Mukān* in *EI*. Vartān (called by the Arabs *Warthān*) lay on the bank of the Araxes, now ruins of Altan.

## II. Armenia.

8. Dvin, cf. Streck in *EI* and Minorsky, *Transcaucasica*, in *four. As.*, July 1930, pp. 41-56.

9. I.Kh., 120: Dākharrāqān, actually Dihkharghān (local Turks call it: *Tukharghan*). Yāqūt, ii, 636, derives the name from that of Kisrā's treasurer Nakhīrjān (?). It is curious that both Maq. and our author should have reckoned this town to Armenia though it lies between Tabrīz and Marāgha both belonging to Ādharbayjān. This arrangement most probably reflects some complications of feudal dependency: single boroughs could still resist the prevailing Daylamites. An apparently ancient Armenian colony exists in Dihkharghān. In 1905 I saw there a number of old tumular inscriptions in Armenian.

10. and 11. see Minorsky, *Urmiya* and *Salmās* in *EI*.

12. The form Arjij (perhaps influenced by the popular etymology *arčē>arzē*) is unusual instead of *Arjish*, in Armenian *Archēsh* (on the north-eastern bank of the Van lake).

13.-16. Malāzgird, Qālīqala (usually *Qālīqalā*, cf. Balādhurī, 193, < Armenian *Karin-K'atak'*), and Mayyāfāriqīn formed the line of Muslim strongholds in Armenia directed against the Byzantines. On the famous battle of Malāzgird of A.D. 1071, see the sources in Baron V. Rosen, *Zap.*, i, 1886, pp. 19-22, 189-202, and 223-32, and lately C. Cahen, *La Campagne de Mantzikert*, in *Byzantion*, ix/2, Brussels, 1934, pp. 613-42. Mayyāfāriqīn in the tenth century belonged successively to the Ḥamdānids, Būyids, and Kurdish Marvānids, see Minorsky, *s.v.*, in *EI*.

16. See Minorsky, *s.v.*, in *EI*.

17. Here begins the more original part of the chapter. Mīmadh (\**Mēmadh*)<sup>1</sup> is found in Balādhurī, 207, and Maq., 51, but only the mention of 18. Ahar as its centre enables us to locate the district in southern Qaraja-dagh (this latter name must be a Turkish popular etymology for some Iranian name like \**Karaj*, see Minorsky, *Urm* in *EI*).

Ibn Rawwād was certainly a member of the Rawwādid dynasty which ruled intermittently in Tabrīz and its neighbourhood from the beginning of the third century A.H. till the Seljuk times, see Balādhurī, 331, I.Kh., 119, cf. Minorsky *Tabrīz*, *Marand*, *Marāgha* in *EI*. More particularly our Ibn Rawwād must be identical with Abul-Hayjā b. Rawwād of whom I.Ḥ., 254, in his famous passage on the local rulers of Ādharbayjān and Armenia, says

<sup>1</sup> There are several names known resembling our *میمند*. I.Kh., 23, mentions a *میمند* in Kūmis and, 43, a *میمند* in Fārs (Iṣṭ., 104: Mā'in, town of the *Mymand* nāhiya); a *میمند*, Iṣṭ., 161, lay between

Sīrjān (Kirmān) and Fārs and, according to Yāqūt, i, 799, was also called *میمند*. It is possible that some of them are connected etymologically.

that from his possessions at Ahar and Varzuqān (this latter situated southwest of Ahar, and upstream from it on the same river) he paid in 344/955 50,000 dinars to the Musāfirid Marzubān b. Muḥammad, cf. Kasravī, *o.c.*, ii, 37. The earlier Rawwādids, mentioned with the *nisba* "*al-Azdī*", evidently belonged to the Arab tribe which first occupied these parts of Ādharbayjān; the later Rawwādids have the *nisba* "*al-Kurdī*", but there is no need to imagine that the later Rawwādids were of a distinct origin from their earlier namesakes; more probably the new *nisba* only refers to the gradual iranization of the family as a result of marriage ties with local elements. Quite particularly such must have been the case regarding the branch established in the wild region of Ahar and depending on the Musāfirids, I.H., 254.

A most unexpected statement is that the said Ibn Rawwād belonged to the family of *Julindī bul* (more probably \**ibn?*) *K.rk.r* (vocalization indistinct). Barthold, *Preface*, p. 39, has rightly noticed the incongruity of this passage in which a quotation from Išt., 140, referring to a pirate chief in the Persian Gulf (§ 29, 3.),<sup>1</sup> is applied to a ruler in Northern Ādharbayjān. Išt. describes جلندی as an Azdite of Yemen and the first idea that occurs is that our author wanted to hint at the Azdite origins of the Rawwādids. However, such an admission would be of no help for the explanation of the patronymic بل ککر accompanying جلندی in our text. It is much more likely, therefore, that instead of the learned Arab genealogy we have to admit here a mere misreading of some little-known complex found in our author's source. The clue to بل ککر is given by the appellation چراغ ککران which the poet Qaṭrān uses with regard to the grandson of Abul-Hayjā mentioned above.

The question is only how to read ککران.<sup>2</sup> Our author obviously uses ککر as a man's name and considering the local possibilities I venture to read the whole complex بل ککر جلندی as \*جلندی بن ککر *Javānshūr ibn Grigor*. In Persian cursive such a confusion has nothing extraordinary about it. If we start from what looks the least mutilated part of our name ککر we must admit its likeness to the Armenian name of *Grigor* which was particularly frequent among the princes of Arrān (Caucasian *Albania*, in Armenian

<sup>1</sup> He belonged to a branch of the Khārijite Julandids of 'Omān among whom the name Julandā seems to have been hereditary. 'Abd and Jayfar, sons of a Julandā, are said to have been converted to Islam as early as 8/629, Balādhurī, 76; Tabarī, ii, 1949 (under 129 A.H.) mentions a Julandā b. Mas'ūd b. Jayfar b. Julandā al-Azdī, see *ibid.*, iii, 77-9. Cf. G. P. Badger, *History of the Imāms of 'Omān*, 1871, pp. xi, 7-8; Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, 1927, p. 125. In Persian the pronunciation seems to be Julindī, cf. O. Mann, *Die*

*Mundart d. Mukri-Kurden*, Berlin, 1909, ii, 361 (the name surviving in Kurdish folk-lore may be a reminiscence of the Azdite tradition in Ādharbayjān).

<sup>2</sup> Kasravī, *o.c.*, ii, 57, spells *chirāgh-i gargariyān* "lamp of the sovereigns" (?), from *gargar* "throne". The former explanation by Ridā-qulī khān was "lamp of the Gargarians" from the little borough of Gargar on the Araxes near Julfā, though there are several other Gargars, cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, pp. 273-4.

*Alvank'*). The real founder of the Mihrān dynasty (which claimed Sāsānian origins) was Varāz-Grigor ("Wild-Boar" Gregory). His son Javānshīr, who lived in the second half of the seventh century and was witness of the Sāsānian fall and Arab invasion, is the best-known prince of Arrān. In the *History of the Alvans* written (towards 980-1000) by Moses Kaṭankatvats'i the records of his exploits, real and legendary, occupy numerous chapters of Book II (Russian translation by Patkanian, SPb., 1861, pp. 137-84). Javānshīr ibn Grigor was certainly a local celebrity<sup>1</sup> and the descent from him was a title of nobility. The last representative of the Mihrān line mentioned in Moses K'atankatvats'i is Senek'erim (second half of the tenth century), cf. Manandian, *Beiträge zur albanischen Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 19, and it would be quite comprehensible if the tottering dynasty, pressed by the Kurdish Shaddādids, tried to improve the situation by matrimonial ties with the other families of their neighbourhood. Nothing would have prevented "Ibn Rawwād" from boasting of his Christian ancestors on the maternal side for in a similar way Qaṭrān, see Kasravī, *o.c.*, iii, 54, calls the Shaddādīd Faḍlūn *sham'-i āl-i Bagratūn* "lamp of the Bagratuni family" because his mother was from that house. On the Transcaucasian border the marriages between Muslim and Christian noble families were particularly numerous. Cf. the extraordinary story related in I. Athīr, xii, 270, of an Erzerum prince who became a Christian in order to marry the Georgian queen Rusudan. Consequently the strange genealogical detail which in our text accompanies Ibn Rawwād's name, most likely reflects the ties by which the rulers of Ahar were trying to "redorer leur blason".

19. S.ngān, mentioned in our text between Ahar and Kapan, must be looked for in the immediate neighbourhood of the Araxes. A parallel name is found in Maq., 374: *Sinjān* (?). The only place I can think of is the present-day *Süngün* which lies in Qaraja-dagh, some 20 Km. north of Varzughān on the upper course of the Irgānā-chay joining the Araxes from the south. Süngün is the well-known centre of ancient copper mines.<sup>2</sup> The term "Kingdom of Sunbāt" may refer to the Bagratunid Smbat I (A.D. 890-914). In 344/955 I.H. speaks of the tribute which some "Banū Sunbāt" paid to the Musāfirid Marzubān, and it is clear that our author, too, mentions Sunbāt as the best-known person in the dynasty and not as a contemporary ruler. It is noteworthy that even at present there are Armenian villages in the northern part of the Qaraja-dagh.

<sup>1</sup> According to Vardan, tr. by Dulaurier, *Jour. As.*, 1860, vol. xvi, p. 294, the Mongols on taking Mayyāfāriqin captured "a fine young man Sevata of Khachēn [south of Barda'a], son of the Grand Prince Gregory", which indicates the persistence of the local hereditary names. The district of Partav (Arabic Bardha'a) situated on the Terter east of Ganja (Elisabethpol) even under Rus-

sian administration bore the name of Javānshīr. [Russian trans. of Vardan by N. Emin, Moscow, 1861, p. 186.]

<sup>2</sup> The syllable *-ān* in common Persian pronunciation sounds *-ūn*. Moreover, a short *i* before *u* (*ū*) may be assimilated to the latter, *bi-kun* > *bukun*. Therefore one can imagine a development *Singān* > *Singūn* > *Süngün*, and finally, in Turkish pronunciation, *Süngün*.

III. *Arrān*.

20. Qabān is the Armenian Kapan ("defile"), a locality lying north of the Araxes (north of Ordūbād), cf. Nasawī, *Sīrat Jalāl al-dīn*, ed. Houdas, p. 164: *Qabān*; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 348; Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, ii, 223-55: Davit'-beg on the wars (circa A.D. 1721) of the Armenians with the Ottomans in the region of K'ap'an (Kapan?).

21. Cf. Barthold, *Bardha'a* in *EI*. The term *tūdh-i sabīl* must be understood in the sense of "mulberries offered for God's sake" (*fī sabīl allāh*), cf. Juvaynī, *Jahān-gushā*, ii, 96, note 5, and Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, 1915, p. 370: "Tut-Rabat (west of Dersim) takes its name from five large mulberry trees the fruit of which is a charitable gift for travellers, being a religious bequest of some long-dead Agha." Iṣṭ., 183, speaks of the silk-worms bred in Bardha'a on the نوت مباح لا مالک له.

22. The ruins of Baylaqān called Mīl-i Baylaqān (*Millār*) are situated south-east of Shūsha, see Minorsky, *Mukān* in *EI*.

23. Bāzhgāh "tollhouse" is probably Javād, below the confluence of the Kur and Araxes [cf. Maq., 373: the station of al-Kurr], where the travellers used to cross the river, cf. Olearius, Book IV, chapter xxi; J. J. Lerch, *Reise nach Persien*, in Büsching's *Magazin*, x, 1776, p. 421, says that near the bridge of Javād 50 Persians were posted in an entrenchment in order to levy the bridge-toll (Brückenzoll) from the travellers and to watch over the bridge. Cf. under *Mukān* in *EI*.

25. Khunān is the district lying 22 farsakhs east of Tiflis, Iṣṭ., 193, between the Kur and its right tributary Ktsia, Vakhusht, *Description géographique de la Géorgie*, ed. Brosset, p. 169. Marquart, *Skizzen zur hist. Topographie vom Kaukasus*, Wien, 1928, p. 26, identifies Khunān with Armenian *Hunarakart*, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, 355, 445.

20. Vardūqiya must be a popular name for \**Bardūj*, the frontier district of Georgia lying south-east of Tiflis on the river Berduj (now Borchala).

27. Qal'a (as in Maq.) is *Qal'a ibn K.nd.mān* which Iṣṭ., 193, locates at 12 farsakhs to the east of Tiflis. Marquart, *o.c.*, 29, suggests the reading \*ګردمان which would suit the Georgian district *Gardaban*, Vakhusht, *o.c.*, p. 179 [to be distinguished from another *Gardman*, Balādhuri, 202, ګردمان which lay farther east on a tributary of the Shamkhor river, cf. Hübschmann, *o.c.*, 352]. *V.i.*, note to 33.

28. Closely following Iṣṭ., 185-7. See Minorsky, *Tiflis* in *EI* and *Transcaucasica*, 1930, pp. 53-62.

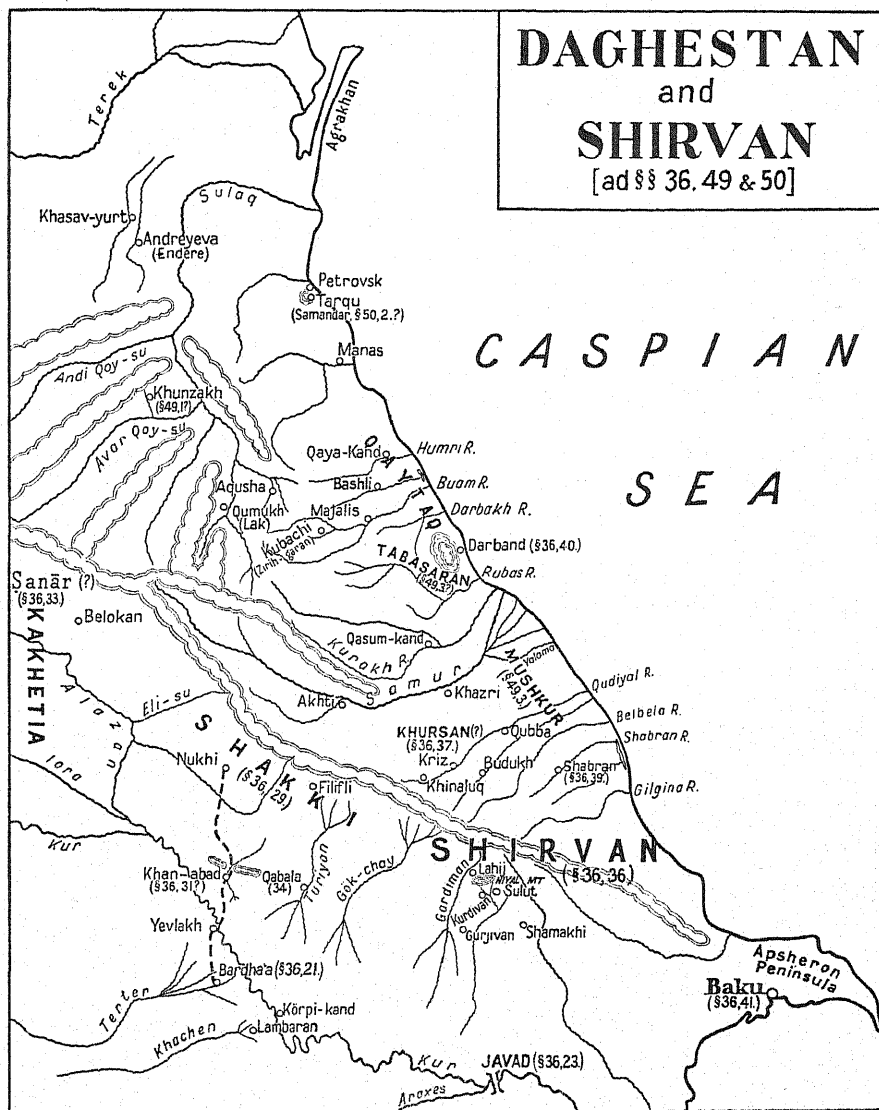
29. Shakkī (in Armenian Shak'ē) is the province lying to the west of Shīrvān immediately south of the range dividing it from Daghestan. The extent of Shakkī is considerably exaggerated. Cf. Minorsky, *Shekkī* in *EI*.

30. On the expedition of the Rūs see Ibn Miskawaihi, *The Eclipse*, ii, 62-78, cf. Barthold, *Preface*, p. 29. Moses Kalankavats'i who wrote about our author's time also recorded this invasion of the Rūzik, Book III,



**DAGHESTAN**  
and  
**SHIRVAN**  
[ad §§ 36.49 & 50]

CASPIAN  
SEA



cf. 31. Mubārakī is unknown.<sup>1</sup> If we accept our author's indication that it formed the beginning of the Shakkī frontier, it must be looked for in the north of Bardha'a, perhaps near Yevlakh, for Shakkī never extended to the southern bank of the Kur. Such a position of Mubārakī would be in keeping with the two names following it which we are trying to locate between Bardha'a and Shakkī. A camp in that region would have been intended to intercept the communications between the northern and southern bank of the Kur. However, a much safer position for the camp would have been lower down on the Kur in the region of Lambarān, which indeed is mentioned in connexion with another expedition of the Rūs in A.D. 1173. Lambarān lies on the lower course of the Khachēn river, flowing south of the Bardha'a river (*Tarter*, Arabic *Tharthūr*),<sup>2</sup> in the direction of the Kur which it does not reach. Lambarān is almost certainly identical with الأندراب "Mesopotamia", which according to Iṣṭ., 182, lay at a distance less than a farsakh from Bardha'a and its gardens and, for a day's distance in every direction, stretched between Karna (or *Kurra*), Laṣūb (\**Lachūb*?), and Yaqṭān (or *Baqṭān*) none of which are now known.

31., 32. As the enumeration obviously proceeds in a northerly direction the Sūq al-Jabal can be tentatively sought near the present-day Aresh, and Sunbātmān near the Kakhetian (33.) frontier in the neighbourhood of Nukhi. At present a direct post road runs northwards as follows: Barda-Yevlakh (near the bridge on the Kur)-Khānābād (= Aresh qal'asi)-Nukhi. Aresh (circa 40 Km. north of Bardha'a) occupies an important position near a passage through the belt of hills (Na'lband-daghi) screening Shekkī from the Kur valley. The name *Sunbāt-mān* may have the meaning of "the house of Sunbāt", but this gives us no clue, for Shakkī lay too far from the Bagratunid dominions, and according to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 68, the king of Shakkī towards 332 A.H. was an Adarnarsa. I.Kh., 122 (= Qudāma, 227), counts 8 stages (*sikak*) from Varthān to Bardha'a and thence 4 stages to منصوره ارمينية. All three places seem to lie in one direct line. Therefore "the Armenian Manṣūra" is to be located to the north of Bardha'a, but nothing can be said yet on its identity with our 31. or 32.

33. *Ṣanār* are the Σαυαπαῖτοι, Ptolemy, viii, ch. 8, § 13, in Armenian *Tsanar-k'*, a spirited Christian people who lived north of the Alazan to the north-west of Shakkī and were probably related to the peoples of northern Daghestan. Iṣṭ., 193 a (MS. C.), between Shakkī and الساربه (read: *Sanāriya*) mentions العربية which may correspond to the valley called in Georgian *Eliseni* and in Turkish *Eli-su*, cf. Minorsky, *Transcaucasica*, p. 102. The name might then be restored as \*اليسية, v.i. 34.

[The identity of the Tsanar (in Georgian *Ts'anar* with ejaculative *ts'*) does not clearly appear from the sources of which the principal are enu-

<sup>1</sup> Unless مبارکی is a mis-reading of سوق الكركي "Sunday market" (*kurakī* > Armenian *kirakē* > κυριακή) which lay in Bardha'a near the "Kurdish Gate"

(*bāb al-akrād*) see Iṣṭ., 183.

<sup>2</sup> As shown by Marquart, *Wehrot*, 6, the river is mentioned in the *Bundahishm*, § 24, under the name \**Tort-rōt*.

merated in Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 424. According to the *Armenian Geography*, ed. A. Soukry, pp. 26-7 (I am using Patkanov's translation in *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Pros.*, ccxxvi, April 1883, p. 30):<sup>1</sup> "in the same mountain [*i.e.* the Caucasus] after the Ardozians [an Alan tribe] live the Dajan, then the Dual, then the Tsakhoy, then the P'urk'a, then the Tsanark'a, in whose land the Alan Gate is situated as well as the other gate called K'tsek'en after this (?) people. After them live the Duts, the Khuž, the anthropophagous \*Kist, the Dzlavat, the \*Gudamakar, the Durtsk, the Dido, the Lek, the Tapotaran, the Alutakan, the Khenav, the Shiłp, the Chilb, the P'wi. Then the Caucasus splits into two branches of which the one goes straight on and includes Shrvan and Khshrvan [§ 36, 37.] down to Khorsvem (?). The other branch having let out the river Arm<sup>2</sup> which flows northwards into the At'l [Atil], runs in a north-easterly direction. In it live the T'avaspar, the Hechmataak, the Ižmakh, the P'askh, the P'uskh, the P'wk'anak (?), and the Bagan, from where starts the long wall of Abzut-Kavat down to the Allminon marsh and to the sea. North of this [chain or sea?] lives the people Mask'ut'an in the Vardanian [?] plain near the Caspian sea. Here the chain approached the sea where the Derbend wall is found, *i.e.* the town of the Chor pass, the great rampart built in the sea. North<sup>3</sup> of it, near the sea, is the kingdom of the Huns (*Honats'*); to the west, near the Caucasus lies the town of the Huns called Varajan, as well as (the towns) of Ch'ungars and Msəndr [\*Semendr]; to the east live the Savir down to the Atil which separates Asiatic Sarmatia from Scythia. These are the Northern Lands (*Apakhhtar*) *i.e.* T'urk'astan. Their king is Khak'an and Khatun their queen, the Khak'an's wife.'

It results from this important passage that the famous Alan Gate (Darial pass) in the Central Caucasus lay in the territory of the Tsanar (and their neighbours?).<sup>4</sup> In 239/853 Bughā sent by the caliph Mutawakkil executed the amir of Tiflis and marched against his allies the Šanār but was defeated by the latter, Ya'qūbī, ii, 588. In the parallel report of the *Georgian Chronicle*, Brosset's transl., p. 266-8 (cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 412), Bughā was attacked in Ch'artalet' by the *Mt'iuli* ("mountaineers"), the latter name usually referring to the highlanders speaking dialects akin to Georgian (Pshav, Khevsur, T'ushi) and occupying both slopes of the Caucasian range, to the east of the Darial pass. In Ist.'s additional passage, *v.i.*, 34, the \**Sanāriya* are mentioned roughly speaking between Tiflis and \**Eliseni*, *i.e.* in Kakhétia (and perhaps more especially in its northern,

<sup>1</sup> Only the preceding part of the text is available in Marquart's translation, *Streifzüge*, 170. Marquart was not aware of the existence of Patkanov's article and the valuable suggestions contained therein.

<sup>2</sup> At another place called *Armna*. According to Marquart, the Terek. Cf. the name of a valley *Arm-khi* occupied by the Veppi clan of the Ingush. This

river (in Russian *Kistinka*) joins the Terek from the east near Jarakh (upstream from Vladikavkaz).

<sup>3</sup> From here to the end Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 58 and 492.

<sup>4</sup> According to the ancient history of *Christianization of Georgia*, the chief appointed by the Sāsānians in the defile was the head of the garrisons of the region.

trans-Alazan, part). It is also noteworthy that both the ruler of the Tsanar and the ruler of Kakhetia are given the same title of *k'orepiskopos/korikos* (χωρεπίσκοπος), cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 409.

S. N. Kakabadze, who has lately re-examined the Tsanar question, points out that, according to Vardan the Great (thirteenth century), some princes of Gardaban (*i.e.* the region lying south of Tiflis, west of the Kur, and north of Shulaveri),<sup>1</sup> probably in the eighth century, moved north and became rulers of the Tsanar, of the neighbouring mountaineers, and finally of Kakhetia. In the ninth to tenth century A.D. the Tsanar are often identified with the Kakhs (inhabitants of Kakhetia). Finally the Georgian-speaking peoples entirely absorbed the Tsanar, see *Bull. Kavkaz. Istor.-Arkheol. Inst.*, Tiflis 1928, Nos. 1-3, pp. 5-6. This gradual evolution of the term Tsanar and the confusion of the original tribe with the territory annexed by its rulers may explain the contradictions in our texts.

As regards the nucleus of the Tsanar tribe, N. Y. Marr, *Izv. Ak. Nauk*, 1916, pp. 1397-8, hinted at its common origin with the present-day Chechen (a north-Caucasian people occupying the region between Daghestan and Vladikavkaz). Such is also the opinion of A. N. Genko, the undisputed authority on that part of the Caucasus, see *Zap. Koll. Vostok.*, v, 1930, p. 711, and a personal letter of 24.iv.1936.]

34. Qabala, Ptolemy, *Χαβάλα*, in Armenian K'avalak'. Its ruins are situated to the south-west of Shamākhī at the confluence of the two branches of the Tūriyān river. See now a special article on Qabala by my master A. E. Krimsky, *Iz istorii severn. Azerbejjana*, in the *Festschrift to S. F. Oldenburg* (in Russian), Leningrad, 1934, pp. 289-305. Towards 332/943 Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 68, mentions the King of Qabala عنسة الاعور "the one-eyed Lion (\*Leo?)" and Iṣṭ., 193a, seems to refer to the same king in a passage which is found only in the Constantinople codex:

وبين الكز و شروان حدّ وبين شروان والليزان حدّ متاخم وبين الليزان والموقانية حدّ وكذلك بلاد العبسية وهى كورة ليست بكثيرة القرى فيها قلعة حصينة ظهرها مما إلى بلاد الكز الى جبالها وهم يحامون عليها لملل صاحب العبسية اليهم وحسن جواره آياهم ثم بلاد شكّي ثم العبرية ثم السارية ثم تفليس

"the Lakz have a common frontier with Shirvān, and so has Shirvān with \*al-Lyzān, and so has al-Lyzān with al-Mūqāniya as well as with the land of al-'Absiya (\*'Anbasa?); and this (al-Lyzān?) is a district with not very many villages and in it stands a strong castle backing, in the direction of the Lakz, on their mountains; and they (*i.e.* the people of Lyzān) guard these mountains on account of the good disposition to them of the master of al-'Absiya and his good neighbourly relations with them. Then comes Shakkī, then العبرية (\*al-'Isiya < Eliseni), then the \*Sanāriya, then Tiflis." It is true that العبسية would be more easily restored as *Eliseni* (*v.s.*), but the description shows that it lay to the east of Shekkī. Therefore بلاد العبسية

<sup>1</sup> More exactly some Khaldian (*v.i.*, p. 420) emigrants backed by the Gardamians, see Vardan (transl. by Emin), p. 126.

(or perhaps <sup>العنسة</sup> much more likely corresponds to the (hereditary?) possessions of 'Anbasa's family.

35. In de Goeje's edition of Iṣṭ, 187, the names بردج and برنج have been accepted as independent names though they are undoubtedly mixed in the MSS. According to I.R., 89<sub>14</sub>, the Araxes flows past Warthān towards the town of \*Barzanj and beyond it (*idhā jāwaza-hā*) joins the Kurr.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 75, says that the Kurr flows at 3 miles' distance from Bardha'a, then past Bardāj [برداج with *imāla* must be identical with بردج \**Bardēj*] which is "one of the districts of Bardha'a", and finally joins the Araxes near the village al-Ṣanāra<sup>2</sup> (جواد?). In the description of roads Iṣṭ., 192, gives the following distances: "from Bardha'a to برنج (variant بردج) 18 farsakhs; thence to the ford on the Kurr<sup>3</sup> and (?) to Shammākhiya 14 farsakhs, thence to Shīrvān 3 days, thence to al-Abkhāz (?) 2 days; thence to the Samūr bridge 12 farsakhs; thence to Bāb al-abwāb 20 farsakhs." As in the parallel passage Maq., 381, gives 1 marḥala from Bardha'a to Bardij and thence 2 marḥalas to Shammākhiya, we are led to conclude that the name of the place where the Kurr was forded (cf. also I.H., 251) was Bardij (\**Bardēj*) and that it lay much nearer to Bardha'a than is indicated in Iṣṭ., 192 (I.H., 251). There are reasons for locating Bardij on the right bank of the Kur, opposite the present-day Körpi-kānd, "the bridge village". The place situated above the estuary of the southern branch of the Terter river is certainly suitable for crossing the Kur; its distance from Bardha'a is *circa* 34 Km., and from Shamākhī *circa* 100 Km., which roughly corresponds to one light stage and two heavy ones. Our برنج may be a mistake for بردج. In any case, Mas'ūdī's بردج is in favour of a form without *n*. Much less certain is the situation and even existence of برنج for which we have to depend on I.R.'s vague indication (which may even refer to the well-known Barzand, *v.s.* 5., situated between Varthān and Ardabil?).

### IIIa. Shīrvān.

36.-41. On Shīrvān see Dorn, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwan-schache*, in *Mém. Ac. des Sciences*, SPb, 1840, iv, pp. 523-602; Pakhomov, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbayjana*, Baku 1923; Barthold, *Derbend*, *Shīrvān*, and *Shīrvānshāh* in *EI*; A. Z. Validi, *o.c.* On the localities neighbouring on Shīrvān see under § 50. See Map xi.

The history and historical geography of the region still raise numerous

<sup>1</sup> I do not think A. Z. Validi is right in locating Barzanj near Javād. The road to Shamākhī had to cross the Kur much farther upstream from Javād. Iṣṭ.'s distances cannot be considered as decisive.

<sup>2</sup> [\**Chināra*?].

<sup>3</sup> *Wa min Barzanj ilā ma'bar al-Kurr*

*ilā al-Shammākhiya 14 farsakhan*. Very probably instead of *ilā ma'bar al-Kurr* we must read \**alā ma'bar al-Kurr* and place Barzanj "at the ford". The MS. C has the variant *wa min-hā yu'bar al-Kurr* (confirmed in Yāqūt, iii, 317<sub>20</sub>) indicating that the river was crossed immediately beyond Barzanj.

questions and for the better understanding of our text we shall have to examine the following points:

The old centres of Shīrvān.

The dynasties of Shīrvān-shāhs.

The Mazyadid dynasty

\*Lyzān, "al-Abkhāz", and Lāhij.

Kh.r.sān-shāh.

THE OLD CENTRES. The earlier transmitted form of the name *Shīrvān* is *Sh.rvān* (شروان \**Shīrvān*?). It does not seem to be connected with the name of its ancient capital 39. Shāvarān (Iṣṭ., 187: Shābarān) situated on the northern slope of the south-easternmost extension of the Caucasian range. It stood in the plain on the left bank of the river Shabran which flows to the Caspian to the south of Qubba (between the Belbele and Gilgine rivers).<sup>1</sup> The Arabic history of Darband, see A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, p. 41, says that the earlier (Mazyadid) rulers of Shīrvān were buried in Shābarān, and that Shābarān was fortified [only] in 373/983-4 (one year after the composition of the *H.-Ā.*). To the south of the Caucasian range lay the centre of the \*Lyzān fief held by a collateral branch of the Mazyadids and probably corresponding to the present-day Lāhij (*v. i.*). The second important place to the south of the range was Shammākhiya, so named in honour of Shammākh b. Shujā', ruler of Shīrvān towards A.D. 796-9, see Ṭabarī, iii, 645, Balādhurī, 210, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 455. This place rose to notoriety under the name of Yazīdiya<sup>2</sup> when the Shīrvān-shāh Yazīd II rebuilt it in 307/918-19, cf. A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 44 (where Yazīd's genealogy is wrong), but still later only the original name Shammākhiya (>Shamākhi) survived. Iṣṭ., 192, counts from Shammākhiya to Shīrvān (= Shābarān!) 3 days.

THE DYNASTIES. Four dynasties of Shīrvān-shāhs are known.<sup>3</sup>

I. The original Shīrvān-shāhs of Sāsānian times. In the enumeration of the Caucasian "gates" (*bāb*) I.Kh., 124, does not mention Shīrvān but among the kings appointed by the Sāsānian Ardashīr, *ibid.*, 17, he quotes (in Ādharbayjān) a شیران شاه who may be identical with Shīrvān-shāh.

II. After the Arab conquest the descendants of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī became masters of Shīrvān (end of the eighth century to middle of the tenth, or even of the eleventh century).

III. The Kasrānid dynasty, very probably of Iranian origin, is numis-

<sup>1</sup> Its ruins are mentioned by the travellers on the road from Darband to Baku. Gmelin, *Reise durch Russland*, SPb., 1774, iii, 36, speaks of 'die traurigen Überbleibsel des ehemaligen Schabrans, welche in Steinhauften, verheerten Festungen und einigen unbewohnten Häusern bestehen'. See also F. A. Marschall v. Bieberstein, *Beschreibung d. Länder zwischen den Flüssen Terek und Kur*, Frankfurt, 1800,

p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Though Yāqūt, iv, 147, identifies Yazīdiya with Shamākhi it is possible that more exactly Yazīdiya corresponds to the \**lashkar-gāh* where according to our text the king resided and which lay at 1 farsakh's distance from Shamākhi.

<sup>3</sup> See Dorn, *o.c.*, Barthold's supplement to his translation of Lane Poole's *Muhammadan dynasties*, pp. 294-6, Zambaur, *Manuel*, pp. 151-2.

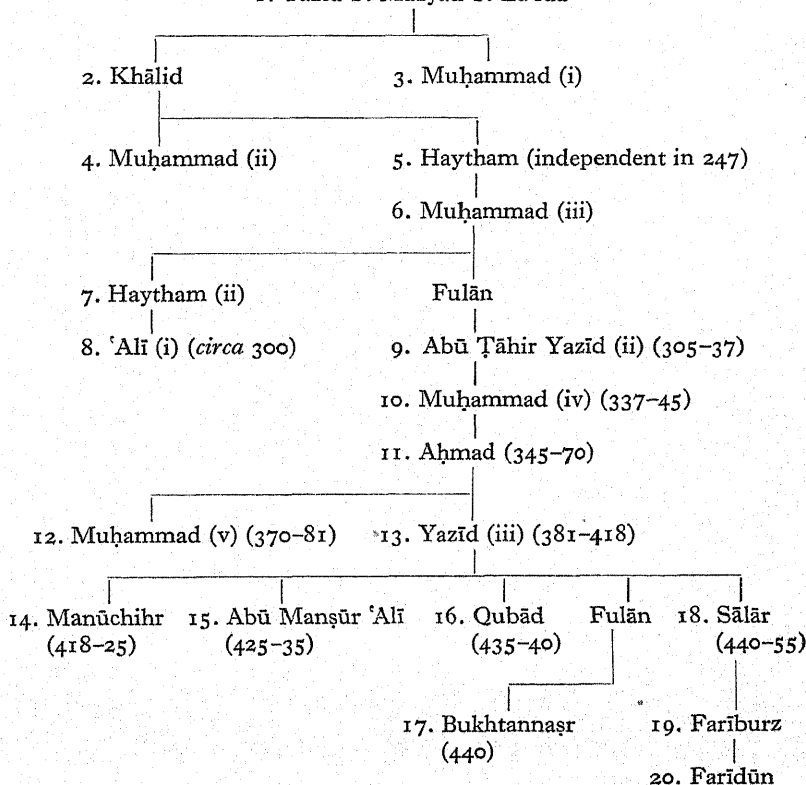
matically known since the second half of the eleventh century A.D., but its origins must be earlier for it seems to be connected with the great Daylamite movement of the tenth century, see E. A. Pakhomov, *Kratkiy kurs*, p. 28, and a personal letter dated Baku, 19.xii.1932.

IV. In 784/1382 Shaykh Ibrāhīm Darbandī founded the last dynasty of Shīrvān-shāhs which lasted till the occupation of Shīrvān by Shāh Tahmāsp in 957/1550.

THE MAZYADIDS. Our knowledge of the chart of this dynasty is chiefly based on the work of Aḥmad b. Luṭfullāh Münejjim-bashi. This author (d. in 1113/1702) wrote his *ġāmi' al-duwal* in Arabic but it is accessible only in a Turkish abridged translation printed in Istanbul in 1285/1868 under the name of *Şahā'if al-akhbār*. Münejjim-bashi uses very good sources and among them an old Arabic *Ta'rikk Bāb al-Abwāb* (tenth or eleventh century?), as shown by A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, who had the opportunity of consulting in Istanbul a MS. of the original *ġāmi' al-duwal*.

The following is the Mazyadids' chart based on the *Şahā'if al-akhbār*, iii, 172-5 (cf. Dorn, *o.c.*, pp. 341-50, Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis Muham.* *Dynastien*, Berlin, 1923, No. 18, and Zambaur, *Manuel*, 181-2).

1. Yazīd b. Mazyad b. Zā'ida



The last three generations of the chart do not inspire much confidence and their Iranian names would suggest that some important changes were taking place in the rulers' house. It is even possible that these princes ought to be quoted under the Kasrānid dynasty (*v.s.*).

On the founder of the dynasty and his sons we possess a long paragraph in Ibn Khallikān (de Slane's translation, i, 68, and iv, 218-32), according to whom Yazīd died in 185/801 and Khālid in 230/844-5. [Ṭabarī, iii, 650, says that Yazīd died in Bardha'a in 175/791.]

Several important dates are found in Mas'ūdī and I.Ḥ. The former in his *Murūj*, ii, 21, says that at the time of the well-known Russian invasion (soon after 300/912-13) the king of Shirvān was 'Alī b. Haytham which fully agrees with Mūnejjim-bashi. Mas'ūdī adds, ii, 4 and 69, that 'Alī b. Haytham having perished [in a war with the Khazars, &c., as we learn from Mūnejjim-bashi, iii, 174], the power, about the time of the composition of the *Murūj*, was seized (*taghallub*) by Muḥammad b. Yazīd who (previously?) killed his uncles. As Mas'ūdī wrote in 332/943, the beginning of Muḥammad IV's rule must either be placed a few years earlier than in our chart, or Mas'ūdī must actually have in view Muḥammad's father Yazīd (the builder of Yazīdiya). According to Mas'ūdī Muḥammad and his father were originally masters of یران to which now were annexed Shirvān, Mūqāniya, and even Darband (*v.i.* 40.). Muḥammad claimed to be a descendant of the Sāsānian king Bahrām Gūr but we need not interpret this ambitious assertion as a break in the Mazyadid line for Mas'ūdī's text suggests that his rivals were his uncles, and even the names of Muḥammad b. Yazīd and his descendants follow the onomastic traditions of the family. The claim of Sāsānian origin is most probably to be explained by Muḥammad's birth from a lady belonging to some noble local family, and we learn, for example, from the *Murūj*, ii, 4, that the masters of the neighbouring Sarīr were also "true" descendants of Bahrām Gūr.

Another interesting indication is found in the list of feudatories of the Musāfirid Marzubān emanating from the latter's minister Abul-Qāsim (344/955), and transmitted in a trustworthy text (I.Ḥ., 250, 254). In it is quoted the name of *Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azdī* (sic) *ṣāhib Shirvānshāh* (sic). The contemporary of Abul-Qāsim could be only 10. Muḥammad b. Yazīd and if I.Ḥ. really refers to 12. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad the latter's name must have been subsequently introduced into the table to bring it up to date (I.Ḥ. completed his work *circa* 378 A.H.). The puzzling *al-Azdī* (instead of *al-Shaybānī*) may be an auditive slip for *al-Yazīdī* which latter would eventually indicate that the ruler was one of the *banū Yazīd b. Mazyad*.

RULERS OF \*LYZĀN AND THEIR FIEF. One detail must particularly attract our attention. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 6, affirms that originally Muḥammad b. Yazīd and his father<sup>1</sup> were rulers of یران (variants: یران الا یران, &c.).

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 69, more decidedly: *hurwa wa man salafahu min ābā'ihī*, i.e., his ancestors, but perhaps on his mother's side!



This geographical name has been studied in detail by Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 119, who finally adopted the reading \**Ērān-shāh* and thought that the bearers of this title were the princes of the Arrān proper, *i.e.* the region between the Kur and Araxes. Marquart's principal argument seems to be that the passage of the *Murūj*, ii, 5, suggests for the land of "Lāyrān" a position between Shirvān and al-Mūqāniya. However, the *Murūj*, ii, 68-9, distinctly states that the Mūqāniya in question<sup>1</sup> lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Qabala and was different from the Mūqāniya situated on the shore of the Caspian, see Minorsky, *Mukān* in *EI*. Of great importance for the location of Lāyrān is the passage of Išt., 193 a (*Lyrān*, *Lyzān*), translated above under 34. If our interpretation of it is right, "Lyrān" must have lain above Qabala on the southern slope of the Caucasus range, somewhere to the west of Shamākhī.<sup>2</sup> Such is also the impression given by Yāqūt's additional passage on Bāb al-abwāb, missing in Wüstenfeld's edition, i, 438<sub>23</sub>, but quoted in the notes to *BGA*, i, 187 [we must assume that the description starts here from some point on the coast in a westerly (?) direction]: "and on the coast of the (Caspian) sea, this side (*dūna*) of M.s.q.t (§ 50, 3.) lies the town of al-Shābarān, small, fortified, and possessing numerous rustāqs. Above it is the rustāq of حشمدان and beyond it (*warā'* *dhālika*) the villages of الحجل (\**Jabal*, *v.s.* 31. *Sūq al-Jabal*?) and Shirvān down to the frontier of Bākūh, D.rnyq (?), al-Lakz,<sup>3</sup> and the confluence of the two rivers [Kur and Araxes?]. Then al-Lyrān lying behind these (*khalfa dhālika*) and in it stands a great and strong castle in which springs coming down in cascades (*kharrāra*) are said to exist, and it is a very inaccessible castle."

The source of the *H.-'Ā.* at this place is undoubtedly the same as the one underlying Mas'ūdī's passage and there is no doubt that our king with the threefold title is either Mas'ūdī's Muḥammad b. Yazīd, or one of his descendants. Our text completes Mas'ūdī very essentially. The name of Lyzān-shāh's celebrated stronghold, mis-spelt in the *Murūj*, ii, 69: نيار, appears in our text in the perfectly correct form of نياں *Niyāl* which is the name of the mountain (6,566 feet high) which separates our 37. Kurdivān (in the south) from Lāhij (in the north). We may then assume with a great degree of probability that the second fortress mentioned in the same neighbourhood is no other than Sulūt (situated at 7-8 Km. to the east of Niyāl) of which an author writing about A.D. 1500 says: "on account of its loftiness the tent-cords of its inhabitants are tied to the pegs of the celestial vault" (*Tārīkh-i Aminī*, Bib. Nat. Paris, fonds persan 101, fol. 134v, *in fine*). These two fortresses undoubtedly marked the original centre of the Lyzān-shāh's fief, and it is tempting to identify the *nāhiyat* of Lyzān with the present-day Lāhij valley which is situated at the sources of the Gardimān-chay flowing to the Kur east of the Gök-chay. Immediately

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Georgian *Movakan*, which perhaps comprised the lands between the northern bank of the Kur and Eliseni (to the west of Shakki).

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* much farther to the north than the position indicated by Marquart.

<sup>3</sup> The mention of the Lakz in this connexion is unexpected.

north of Lāhij several passes lead into the territory which must be considered as the original Shirvān and into southern Daghestan (the presumable home of the "Lakz"). The ruins of Qabala lie at *circa* 80 Km. to the south-west of Lāhij. The Niyāl mountain, our firm point, overhangs Lāhij from the south.

\*LYZĀN, "AL-ABKHĀZ", LĀHĪJ. Though the name لران has numerous variants (see their list in Marquart, *o.c.*, 119), the majority of MSS. indicate an initial *L*; the dot over *z* is also sufficiently attested and generally speaking there are more cases of *z* being mis-spelt as *z* than vice versa. As regards our text, the neighbourhood of the perfectly transmitted name of Niyāl is a favourable indication for the authenticity of لران with *z*. In view of the analogies explained below the reading \**Layzān* is preferable to \**Līzān* or *Lēzān*.

Not only geographically is \**Layzān* to be placed near the present-day Lāhij, but even etymologically the two names must be connected. Both seem to be composed with suffixes of origin. In several Iranian names of the Caucasian region appears the suffix *-z*, corresponding to *-zī*, *-č*, *-čī*, *-jī*, &c. of the other dialects.<sup>1</sup> By the side of such names as *Gur-z* (§ 42, 15.) and *Lak-z* (§ 50, 3.) our name is likely to represent *Lay-z*. Lāhij,<sup>2</sup> too, is apparently formed with a similar suffix, but before comparing the essential part of the two names separated by more than a millenary we have to consider another name of the same region slightly younger than *Layzān*. Išt., 187, enumerates the localities of Arrān in the following order: . . . "al-Shammākhiya, Shirvān,<sup>3</sup> *al-Abkhāz*, al-Shābarān,<sup>3</sup> Qabala, Shakki, &c.", and further, 192 (= Maq., 381) in the description of the route from Bardha'a to Bāb al-abwāb (*v.s.* 35.), places *al-Abkhāz* between Shirvān (*i.e.* Shābarān?) and the bridge on the Samūr river, undoubtedly in the region of Qubba, see Minorsky, *Kubba* in *EI*, and A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 39. The form لاجاز has been adopted by the editor of the *BGA*<sup>4</sup> but Marquart who collected all the relevant quotations in his *Streifzüge*, 174-5, was the first to recognize that the MSS. are in favour of some form like اللايجان \**Lāyijān*, *Lāyjan*. [In the additional note, *ibid.*, 508, he less happily connected the variant لاجان with Balādhuri's (p. 197) بخ *Bukh*.]

The inhabitants of the Lāhij valley are at present called Tāt, this Turkish term (cf. Kāshgharī, i, 378, ii, 227) applying in general to sedentary, particularly Iranian, populations, see Minorsky, *Tāt* in *EI*. They are undoubtedly of Iranian origin and the dialect they speak (*Tātī*) is closely akin to the modern Iranian vernaculars of the Caspian region. The fact

<sup>1</sup> To Marquart, *ZDMG*, xlix, 1895, pp. 664-7, belongs the merit of having shown the toponymic importance of these suffixes of origin. B. V. Miller, *o.c.*, p. 35, confirms the existence of this suffix (*-is*, *-iz*, *-is*) in the Tātī dialects.

<sup>2</sup> The name is known only in Russian transcription of which the original must

be لاهج, but the form لاهج is also possible.

<sup>3</sup> Shirvān and Shābarān are strangely separated.

<sup>4</sup> Here it has nothing to do with the well-known Abkhāz people of the Black Sea coast (cf. § 50, 4.)!

that the Lāhij sub-dialect slightly differs from the rest of the Tātī group<sup>1</sup> suggests that its speakers have been secluded in their valley for a considerable period, very probably since the times of the \*Layzān-shāhs. The "small" area of \*Layzān (*v.s.*, Išt., 193 a) could hardly account for \*Layzān-shāh's prodigious career had he not some supporters elsewhere. The fact is that the Qubba district is another considerable centre of the Iranian Tāts who still (in spite of the gradual turkicization of the region) occupy 108 villages and form 17 per cent. of the local population. All these Iranian elements of the ancient Arrān territory most probably date back to the Sāsānian epoch when the deliberate policy of the kings was to settle in the sub-Caucasian region a faithful population of frontier guards.<sup>2</sup> These ethnological and historical considerations make it probable that the master of \*Layzān in his conquests found succour from the Iranian frontier populations, and on the other hand that these populations were as closely connected in the ninth and tenth centuries as they are nowadays. Therefore the supposition is admissible that their names, *viz.* لایجان and لایزان, are also related. The former is attested in the ninth-century authors (Balādhurī, 196, I.Kh., 124); the latter is found only in the tenth-century geographers (Išt., I.H., Maq.). The term Layzān in the tenth century (I. Faqīh [in Yāqūt], Mas'ūdī, Išt.) seems to survive only as a traditional title.<sup>3</sup>

The difference of the terms \*Lay-z and Lāy-j (or Lāy-ij) is then reduced merely to that of the vocalic length (resp. *a/ā*) and even in this regard we possess an intermediate variant in Mas'ūdī's لایزان \*Lāyizān or Lāyzān. We may also remember such parallel forms as Arabic آذربيجان and Persian آذربایجان now آذربایجان (the two latter with a long *ā* after *b*). The earlier Arab writers often used *l* with *imāla* to render Persian *ē* (*v.s.* 35. برداج for *Bardēj*) and to them their short *a* appeared probably more adequate for rendering the special timbre of the Persian *ā*. The existence in Arabic of

<sup>1</sup> B. V. Miller, *Tātī i yikh rasseleniye*, Baku, 1929 (*Bull. de la Société scient. d'Azerbaïdjan*, No. VIII, fasc. vii), p. 11, an excellent survey of the Tāt settlements in the Bākū-Shamākhī-Qubba region.

<sup>2</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 2. Balādhurī, 194-5, 197, and I. Faqīh, 288, 291, call them الساسجون, &c., cf. Marquart, *Ērān-shahr*, 120. In his *Ādina in Festschrift Szinnyei, Ungar. Bibliothek*, xiii, 1927, p. 83, Marquart restores the name as الساسجون \*spāsīgān "Dienstleute". In his *Kulturanalecten in Ungar. Jahrbücher*, ix/1, 1929, pp. 71 and 78, he suggests that the "Tātī" speaking Jews of Daghestan are descendants of the former camp-followers of the spāsīgān. [In *BSOS*, viii/2, 1936, p. 616, J. H.

Kramers quotes some forms in the MSS. suggesting the reading *nišāstag* "the settled ones, settlers".]

<sup>3</sup> I.H., 250, after the Shīrvān-shāh mentions a king of الابخاز "possessing a kingdom which adjoins some of the Qabq mountains, and his districts (*nawāhī*) are known under the name of *al-Abkhāzshāh* (*sic*)". However, in the enumeration of Marzubān's feudatories, *ibid.*, 254, this king does not appear, and I strongly suspect that this *malik al-Abkhāz* is no other than the لایانشاه who on p. 254 appears only in his new avatar of Shīrvān-shāh! If so, the very confusion of اللایجان and الابخاز = الایجان\* is a new indication in favour of the identity of the two names.

two transcriptions of the same name could be paralleled by the double appellation of the Georgians who in the older sources are called *jurz* (with -z) and in the later authors (since the Seljuk times) *Gurj* (with -j).

We can now return to the present-day Lāh-ij of which the likeness to \**Lāyij* (Lāyiz) is very striking. The inhabitants of Lāhij explain this name by the tradition that their ancestors came from Lāhijān (in Gilān). This latter name appears in *Zahīr al-dīn*, p. 130, and other local historians as *Lāhijān* لاھجان but the oldest attested form of it is *Lāfijān* \**Lāfijān* (v.s., § 32, 25.) [cf. Ptolemy, vi, 2: *Nūḫavānda* > later *Nihāvand*]. We must then admit that the original place in Gilān retained the old form of the name longer whereas in the Caucasian colony the evolution *Lāfijān* > *Lāhijān* > *Lāyijān* (or لایان) proceeded more rapidly.<sup>1</sup> The evidence in favour of the Lāhij tradition would be considerably corroborated if it were possible to prove that the name of the Niyāl mountain is also to be found in the Lāhijān region. In Melgunov, *o.c.*, 203-5, *Niyaku* (\*Niyākūh?) is a village belonging to Lāhijān; another village *Liyālassān* or *Liyārastān* is mentioned on the road Lāhijān-Langarūd (*Liyāl* < \**Niyāl*?). The Caucasian Lāhij would not be the only colony of Lāhijān, for south-west of the Urmiya lake a whole district (now inhabited by the Mukrī Kurds) is called Lāhijān and several villages of the same name are known in Ādharbāyjan, Fārs, &c., see Minorsky, *Lāhidjān* in *EI*. See Map x.

Incidentally it is interesting to confront the Lāhij tradition with the possible meaning of the name Shīrvān. In the latter -vān may be a suffix similar to that of the neighbouring Kurdivān (also v.s., p. 335).<sup>2</sup> The remaining element *Shīr/Shir* is reminiscent of the name of another Caspian locality *Shīrriz* (< *Shīr-iz*) in Ṭabaristān, Ṭabarī, i, 2658, which in later times was called شیرجان (< \**Shīr-ij-ān*), *Zahīr al-dīn*, p. 291, cf. Marquart, *ZDMG*, xlix, pp. 650-4.<sup>3</sup> Such an interpretation would suggest that the two groups of the Mazyadid subjects were originally transplanted from two neighbouring localities of the southern Caspian provinces! Cf. the names Damāvand and Balkan (Balkhān) of which the former travelled from

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that north of the Alazan and south of Zakatali there still exists an isolated village called *La'ij* which corresponds to the لاھجان stage of the name. Russian maps spell it Лаидж, differently from Lāhij (Ларич; B. V. Miller: Лахидж). However, *La'ij* may be due to the Georgian pronunciation in which *h* is dropped. It is further possible to imagine that the local form of the name (\**Lāyij*) has been at a later time influenced by the better-known literary form of Lāhijān.

<sup>2</sup> V.s., p. 404, the form *Shīrīyān-shāh* = *Shīrvān-shāh*?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *ibid.*, 660, the personal

name شیران شاه of one of the ancestors of the Daylamite Buyids. [*Shīrjān* (*Shīrūd-hazār*) is definitely substituted by *Zahīr al-dīn*, 291, to Ṭabarī's, iii, 1884, *al-Shīrriz*. Both Ṭabarī, iii, 1015, and Yāqūt, iii, 275, reckon *Shīrriz* to Daylam. The river *Shīrūd* flows to the Caspian in Tunikābun, the district intermediary between Gilān and Māzandarān, see Stahl's map in *Petermann's Mitt.*, 1927, Heft 7, Tafel 13. On the other hand some *Shīrriz* is often coupled with *Lāriz* which presumably lay much farther east, Marquart, *Erān-shahr*, 127, 135, Vasmser, in *Islamica*, iii/1, 1927, 119-20.] See Map x.

the Caspian region to Kirmān [cf. p. 375, l. 25], and the latter from the east coast of the Caspian sea to the Balkans [cf. p. 205, l. 27].

KH.RSĀN-SHĀH. As regards the third title of our king, Barthold has already recognized its connexion with حرسانشاه mentioned in Balādhurī, 196 *in fine*, as the title of the king of the Lakz. On the common frontier of the Lakz with Shirvān see Išt., 193 *a* (quoted above) and Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 510. Our author under 37. explains that Kh.rsān (*Khursān*?)<sup>1</sup> lies between Darband and Shirvān near the mountain Qabq. If it is true that the people of \*Layzān had to protect the lord of Qabala against the inroads of the Lakz, it is very probable that *Lakz* in this case refers to the southern Daghestanian tribes (Budukh, Khinalugh, Kriz, Haput, &c.) whose remnants occupy the northern slope of the mountains between Lāhij and Qubba.<sup>2</sup> The Lakz are also named under § 50, 3.

40. The description of Darband is extremely brief and poor in comparison with Išt., 184. According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 5, Muḥammad b. Yazīd of Shirvān seized Bāb al-abwāb after the death of his son-in-law (or father-in-law *šihr*) 'Abdullāh b. Hishām (\*Hāshim?), descended from one of the prophet's *anṣār*. [The close relations of the Shirvān-shāhs with the Darband Hāshimids can be inferred also from the joint action of 'Alī b. Haytham and the ruler of Darband against the infidels of Sarīr, Shindān, and Khazar, see Mūnejjim-bashi, iii, 174.]

41. The spelling Bākū shows the antiquity of the present-day form. Išt., 190, writes *Bākūh*. The Persian form Bādkūba is a late popular etymology "wind-beaten". The Daylamites used naphtha for military purposes; cf. Ibn Miskawaihi, *The eclipse*, ii, 153; *mazāriq al-naft wal-nūrān*, a sort of tenth-century "Flammenwerfer".

### § 37. Arabia

I.Kh., 128-53; Hamdānī [d. 334/945-6], *Ṣifat ʿaṣāʾir al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, 1884; Išt., 12-28; I.H., 17-35; Maq., 67-113. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern, 1875, and *Postrouten*, pp. 108-59 (among other materials Sprenger utilizes the MS. *Ta'rikh al-Mustanṣir* by Ibn al-Mujāwir who wrote towards 630 A.H.).

See also the seas § 3, 3 *b c*; the islands § 4, 17.; the mountains § 5, 17.; the rivers § 6, 57.; the deserts § 7, 10.-12.

The origin of the details under 4., 6., 9., 11., 12., 15., 19. could not be traced. Other details seem to be due to several different sources. Thus the description of Mekka evidently follows I.Kh. The item on Ṣan'ā' can be explained through Hamdānī whose work may have become known rapidly

<sup>1</sup> In Moses Kaṭankatvats'i, book ii, chapters 42-45, the envoys of the "Hun" king of Varač'an are called Zirdkin-Khursan and Chat-Khazr. The second elements of the names undoubtedly refer to the ambassadors' nationality,

*i.e.* respectively *Khursan* (*sic*) and *Khazar*. The name *Zirdkin* is of Iranian origin (*zird* "heart").

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Balādhurī, 207, quoted in the note to § 50, 3c.

through the pilgrims returning from Arabia. The mention of monkeys in Yemen coincides with Iṣṭ. The items on the coins and measures (cf. also the curious terms under § 10, 39.) are not identical with Maq., 97-9.

In the description of frontiers \**Khaulān* must be read instead of *ḥaulān* (the latter name, Maq., 154, belonging to one of the six districts of Damascus). The list of principal divisions is confused and incomplete (cf. Maq., 68, and Sprenger, *Postrouten*, p. 108). *نِزَوِين* is most probably *بحرين* as the latter (26.) is an important province and its place after Yamāma would be right. The name may have been confused with *Nazwa* (var. *Nazway*, Iṣṭ., 26g) situated at some 150 Km. to the south-west of Masqaṭ on the southern slope of the 'Omān range. Its only title to distinction is that it was an important Khārijite centre. Another *Nazwa* is shown on the eastern side of the Cape Qatar (but the dual of *Nazwa* would be *نِزَوِين*). Among the Arab tribes *جسان* is a puzzle unless it stands for *غسان*.

The enumeration, as usual mechanical and erratic, begins with the two sacred towns to which Ṭā'if is adjoined (1.-3.); 4.-13. lie in southern Yemen; 14.-15. in the south-western corner of Arabia; 16.-20. in a zone beginning in northern Yemen and ending in the Hijāz opposite Mekka; 21.-23. on a line between southern Yemen and the north-eastern corner of Arabia; 24.-26. on the southern coast of the Persian Gulf; 27.-32. across Arabia from the east to the north-west.

1. Mekka. For the measurements of the Mosque and the Ka'ba our author agrees with I.Kh., 132, and Maq., 72; cf. also Yāqūt, iv, 279. The circuit "round the stone" seems to be a wrong translation of *ḥijr* (an enclosure adjoining the Ka'ba), which the author must have misread into *ḥajar* ("stone"). I.Kh. precisely evaluates the circuit of the *ḥijr* (*daur al-ḥijr*) at 50 cubits, whereas Maq. assigns to it only 25 cubits. The meaning of the last of the measurements quoted becomes clear in the light of I.Kh. and Maq., who at this place give the length of the circumambulation of the Ka'ba (*dhar' al-ṭawāf*), viz. 107 cubits. The "150 cubits" standing in our text must be the scribe's error provoked by the "50 cubits" mentioned immediately before it. The corrected text ought to run thus: \**va az gird-i ḥijr 50 arash va darāzā-yi ṭawāf 107 arash*.

6. Ṣa'da. Hamdānī, 67, only says that before Islām it was called Jumā' and in the days of old (*fī qadīm al-dahr*) possessed a castle with plastered walls (*qaṣr mashūd*). I.Kh., 136, speaks of the tanneries in Ṣa'da.

7. *صمدان* evidently stands for the important district of *همدان* which Hamdānī, 109, also places "between Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'da". Cf. Schleifer, *Hamdān* in *EI*. On the other hand, in view of the mention of the \**Banū Ḥimyar*, *صمدان* may have been confused with *قطان*. Maq., 87, says "al-Ḥimyarī is the town (*balad*) of Qaḥṭān between Zabīd and Ṣan'ā' ". Iṣṭ., 26 (= I.H.), 33, mentions the Ḥimyar tribe only in Saba' and Ḥaḍramūt.

8. Ṣan'ā'. The detail on the crops stands practically as in I.R., 109, and more remotely reminds one of Hamdānī, 199. As regards the antiquity of the town Hamdānī, 55, says that it is the most ancient of the towns (*aqdam mudun al-arḍ*) having been built by Noah's son Shem.

9. Dhimār, cf. Schleifer, *Dhamār* in *EI*. 10. probably Shibām-Ḥarāz situated at 2 days' distance to the south-west of Ṣan'ā', see A. Grohmann, *Shibām* (1) in *EI*.

11. Zabīd, chief place in the coastal region of Yemen, I.Kh., 107, Maq. 84, cf. Barthold, *Preface*, pp. 20-1, 40.

12. Mankath near Yarīm, Hamdānī, 101. 13. Ṣuhaib, I.Kh., 139, Hamdānī, 54.

Iṣṭ., 26<sub>12</sub>, confirms that monkeys are very numerous in Yemen: they gather in masses and obey their chief as the bees obey their queen. Cf. W. Schmidt, *Das südwestliche Arabien*, 1913, p. 49, who says: "Gelegentlich trifft man . . . Paviane."

16. The mis-spelling: 'Alī for 'Akk is common, cf. Qudāma, 192 *aa*. On 'Akk see Hamdānī, 119, Maq., 88.

17. I.Kh., 148. The town of 'Aththar is Baysh, Hamdānī, 120, Maq., 70, 86.

18. Mahjara, I.Kh., 135, Hamdānī, 186, Maq., 111. According to Qudāma, 189, between Sharūm-Rāḥ and Mahjara stood a tree forming the frontier between Yemen and Ḥijāz.

19. Iṣṭ., 14, takes Sirrayn for the starting-point of the line dividing Yemen from Ḥijāz. Ibn Mujāwir, in Sprenger, *Postrouten*, p. 132, places it on the coast, 17 farsakhs south of Mekka.

21. On this famous centre of the Sabaeans and Ḥimyarites cf. Tkatsch in *EI*. 'Uqāb is mentioned on the road from Ṣan'ā' to Ḥaḍramūt, Sprenger, *Postrouten*, 139. [Sprenger quotes Bakrī as his authority, but Prof. Grohmann tells me that the route is most probably quoted after Ibn Mujāwir.] Wādī Mijān, *i.e.* \*Bayḥān, "a long valley with fields and palms", which Ibn Mujāwir, *ibid.*, 142, mentions on the road from 'Aden to Shibām at 7 farsakhs from Dathīna, I.Kh., 138. On \*Bayḥān see Landberg, *Arabica*, Leiden, 1898, v, 4. مِصَاع looks like مِصَاع which I.Kh., 142 mentions under the *mikhlaḥs* of Ṣan'ā'.

22. Shiḥr, capital of Mahra, Iṣṭ., 25.

23. 'Omān spelt with the usual mistake 'Ommān.

24. Sharja is here evidently the place on the western side of the cape Musandam (*Sharja ibn al-Khaṭṭāb*) and not the dependency of Zabīd, Maq., 53 and 92.

25. Hajar is the ancient town in the 26. Baḥrayn region. Hajar lay inland and its port probably was al-'Uqayr. I.Kh., 60, 152, Qudāma, 193. Cf. Buhl, *Ḥaḍjar* in *EI*, and Tkatsch, *Gerrha* (Γέρρα πόλις) in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*.

27. Fayd, belonging to the Ṭayy territory, Iṣṭ., 20, lies half-way between Qādisiya and Mekka, Maq., 251, cf. § 5, 16.

28. Jabala, a castle in Wādī Sitara, north of Mekka, on the road to Medina (between Baṭn Marr and 'Uṣfān), I.Kh., 131, Iṣṭ., 20.

29. Fur', a district of Medina lying at 4 days' distance to the south of it, I.Kh., 129, Iṣṭ., 18.

30. All situated on the Tabūk road, Maq., 250: Tabūk-Taimā'-Wādī

al-Qurā. 31. Jār, the ancient port of Medina (our author's *bārkaḥa* corresponds to *furḥa* in Iṣṭ., 19). 32. Madyan, Iṣṭ., 20.

### § 38. Syria

Iṣṭ., 55-68, I.H., 108-28, Maq., 151-93. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890 (map), Gaudefroy Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, Paris, 1923; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzant. Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels, 1935 (published as vol. iii of Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*), and a series of very valuable articles in *EI*. Maps: *Syria and Palestine* 1: 1,000,000 (international series) and *États du Levant*, 1: 500,000, Beirut, 1931.

The elements of this chapter are mostly borrowed from Iṣṭ. but arranged differently. Our author's enumeration runs along the routes, in which he also differs from Maq., 154, who describes administrative divisions.

1.-5. and 16. lie west of the Euphrates loop and 1. (?), 16. (as well as 27.) have already been mentioned under Jazīra; 6.-11. are situated in the basin of the Jayhān; 12.-14. in Cilicia; 15. on the Mediterranean coast; 17. on the eastern fringe of Syria; 18. in the extreme south in the 'Aqaba gulf; 19.-22. in the region of Aleppo; 23., 24. in the region of Ḥimṣ; 26., 27. in the region of Damascus (27. already mentioned in § 34, 9.); 28., 29. in the Khārijite highlands; 30.-31. in the Jordan valley; 33.-39. in Palestine; 40.-42. in the basin of the Dead Sea.

1. Cf. note to Jazīra (§ 34, 16.).

2. The river of Sanja according to Le Strange, *The lands*, 124, is Bōlam-su, one of the sources of the Kakhtā river, which empties into the Euphrates south-east of Malatya. On the bridge see Iṣṭ., 62.

3. The bridge-head mentioned under Jazīra 16. lay east of Manbij.

4. The two places are united arbitrarily. Ḥiṣn-Manṣūr is now called *Adi-yaman*. Qūrus, Iṣṭ., 65 and 67, lay much more to the south at 2 marḥalas from Manbij and at 1 day's distance from Aleppo.

10. Cf. Iṣṭ., 63.

14. The detail about the Byzantine sanctuaries is not found either in Iṣṭ. or in I.H. Cf. also Le Strange, *Palestine*, 404.

15. This enumeration of maritime towns seems to follow a map. صحبه (?) which is not found in Iṣṭ. and I.H., seems to correspond to السويدية al-Suwaidiya mentioned in Maq., 54.

17. A similar arrangement of the localities on the eastern border of Syria. The details on the inhabitants are based on Iṣṭ., 61, 65.

18. Ayla corresponds to the *Ēlath* of the Jews and the *Aelana* of the Romans, now al-'Aqaba, see Nallino in *Battānī*, ii, 17. See now a very complete study by Ph. Schertl, *Ela-'Aqaba* in *Orientalia Christ. periodica*, ii/1, 1936, pp. 33-77.

20. Just south of Iskenderun. A slight development of what Iṣṭ., 65, says about the *dār al-diyāfa*.



21. So in some MSS. of Išt., *BGA*, iv, 386, and I.H., 118 m, but in Maq. Ma'arra Qinnasrīn. This place is to be distinguished from Ma'arra Nu'mān lying some 50 Km. south of it, see Honigsmann in *EI*.

23. A slight development of Išt., 61. I.H., 117, instead of the nice looks (*jamāl*) of the inhabitants speaks of their vices (*khabāl*). The details about the reptiles seems to be a lapsus, as Išt. (and still more vigorously I.H.) deny their existence in Hims.

24. Kafr-Tāb not in Išt. or I.H. but in Maq., 54.

26. Maq., 181, among the produce of Damascus mentions *ṣufriyāt*, which means "copper vases", *BGA*, iv, 281, but the variant gives *mṣfryāt* (?), of which *turanj* (?) - *i zard* may be a tentative rendering.

27. Raqqa, already mentioned under Jazīra 9.

28. Ruwāt, the town of the Syrian Jibāl, mentioned in Išt., 58, and I.H., 113, but absent in Maq. Ya'qūbī, 326, calls the capital of al-Jabal 'Arandal, cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 395.

29. Aduḥ, north of Mu'ān (Ma'ān), see Le Strange's map in *Palestine*, and Lammens, *Adroḥ* in *EI*.

40.-42. Išt., 56, distinguishes between Zughar, Diyār-qaum-Lūt, and *Jibāl al-shurāt* (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 28). Zughar, as shown by Le Strange, lay near the south-eastern bank of the Dead Sea. Išt., 58, 66, counts from Rihā (Jericho) to Zughar 2 days, and from Zughar to Jibāl al-shurāt 1 day. Maq., himself a native of Jerusalem, instead of *Zughar* writes *Ṣughar*, thereby following still closer the Hebrew name *Ṣo'ar* (*Tso'ar*) "smallness", Gen. 19, 22, *Zoar*. The Jibāl al-shurāt are evidently the highlands (Edom) east of the Diyār-qaum-Lūt. Balqā' is the locality around 'Ammān in Transjordan, Išt., 65, cf. F. Buhl, *Balkā'*, in *EI*.

### § 39. Egypt

Išt., 48-55; I.H., 87-108; Maq., 193-215. R. Guest's maps in his edition of al-Kindī's *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, GMS, 1912; Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, in *Mém. de l'Inst. français du Caire*, 1914; [Prince] Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta cartographica Africae et Aegypti*, vol. iii: "Époque arabe", fasc. 1, 1930, p. 569: quotations relative to Jayhānī; fasc. 2, 1933, pp. 664-6: text and translation of the relevant passages from the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*; fasc. 3, 1933; fasc. 4, 1934, pp. 825-68: Idrīsī (a truly monumental collection of texts and beautifully reproduced maps).

The original traits of this chapter are the quotations from some unknown Book of Marvels, see 5., 6., 8., and perhaps 10. A hint at the political situation in Egypt (?) is found in § 10, 32. (since A.D. 969 the Fāṭimids were masters of Cairo). On the lakes see § 3, 19.; on the mountains § 5, 23.-24.; on the rivers § 6, 62.-64. In our enumeration 1.-6. and 8. represent lower Egypt, and 7., 9., 10. Upper Egypt (*al-Sa'id*).

1. Of the long description in Išt. only the detail about Shāfi'i's tomb (Išt., 51) appears in our author.

2. These two names are interesting as not appearing in Iṣṭ., and consequently borrowed from some other source. In I.H., 102 and 103 *a*, the two localities are found together, and the variant of the second name ذبقوا accounts for our دنقرا. The correct form is دبق (vocalized: *Dabqu*) or *Dabqū*, see Maq., 54, 193, but the place is better known as Dabīq, from which the celebrated textiles came. See Becker, *Dabīk*, in *EI*.

3., 4. Cf. Iṣṭ., 52-3.

5. The lake of Alexandria is that of Maryūt and not of Tinnīs. The detail on the invisibility of the lighthouse does not seem to be found elsewhere (personal communication by G. Wiet).

6. I.Kh., 159, attributes the construction to "Baṭlimiyūs al-Qalūdihī al-malik" (*sic*) and quotes an inscription written in *musnad*, of which the text is: بنيتهما فمن كان يدعى قوة في ملكه فليهدمهما فان الهدم ايسر من البناء cf. also I. Faqih, 68. Our Arabic quotation resembles it only in the meaning. The size and the item on medical and astronomical inscriptions coincide in both sources. Iṣṭ., 51, I.H., 100, and Maq., 210, say nothing of Hermes. Maq. transcribes I.Kh.'s text of the inscription.

8. Iṣṭ., 53, too, speaks of the *saḥara Fir'aun*; Iṣṭ., 154, and I.H., 106, quite briefly remark that off Būṣīr and Fuṣṭāṭ the crocodiles do no harm.

9. For Bulaynā Iṣṭ., 53 *i*, gives the variant *al-Bulaynā* (for *Isnā* given in the text).

10. The details on mines and wild asses not in Iṣṭ., I.H. or Maq. Cf. § 5, 23.

#### § 40. Maghrib

Iṣṭ., 36-48; I.H., 41-73 (this remarkable chapter remained unknown to our author); Maq., 215-48. Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, tr. by Mac Guckin de Slane, extract from *Jour. As.*, 1858.

This chapter chiefly follows Iṣṭ. with a sprinkling of details from some unknown source. The qualifications "prosperous", "having great wealth", &c., seem to be personal additions to the names by our author.

3., 1., 5. the present-day Italian possessions (in a systematic enumeration from east to west the localities ought to come as follows: 3., 1., 2., 4.); 2., 4., 6., 7.—Tunis; 8.—13.—Algiers; 14.—18.—Morocco.

There are two Zawilas, see Grohmann in *EI*. The one is the suburb of Mahdiya and the other (which is meant here) a town of Fazzān (SSE. of Tripoli), see al-Bakrī, *o.c.*, pp. 28-9, and E. Banse, *Fazzān*, in *EI*. Iṣṭ., 47, Maq., 246, without any detail evaluate the distance from Qayruwān to Zawila as one month, while I.H., 66, counts from Zawila to Ajdabiya 2 months, and from Ajdabiya to Fazzān 15 marḥalas. Cf. note to § 60, 1.

6. Iṣṭ., 38, *awwalu 'adwat Andalus*.

7. Qalsāna is mentioned by I.Kh., 87, among the towns of Qayruwān; Maq., 247, places Qalshāna at one marḥala from Qayruwān.

9. On scorpions cf. Iṣṭ., 38; I.H., 60. But corals only in Iṣṭ.

11. is Algiers, see Yver, *Alger* in *EI*. The name of the Berber tribe is

usually mis-spelt: Išt., 38, *Maḡhannā*, and 37 d, R.'by. Maq., 217, 228, *Zaḡhannāya*, some MSS. *Ra'nāya*, &c.

12. "Like Tanas", probably in that it lies on the coast.

13., 14. Developed after Išt., 39. Sijilmāsa, the capital of the Tafilēt group of oases, which lay on the Wādī Ziz. Cf. G. S. Colin, *Sijilmāsa*, in *EI*.

15. Išt., 38, also says that Baṣra lies opposite (*bi-ḥidhā'*) Gibraltar and in a variant, 39 a, the form Buṣaira is also given. However, Baṣra was an island town, cf. Yver, *Baṣra* in *EI*, and I.H., 55, gives a correct description of it.

16. Išt., 39: *aqṣā al-ma'ābir ilā al-Andalus*.

17. Cf. Išt., 39, where Ṭanja is described as a great province (*kūra*) and Fās said to be still in the possession of the (Fātimid) Idrisids, but in our author's times the Spanish Omayyads were masters at Fās (from A.D. 973).

18. The details about gold and panther-skins are not in Išt., I.H., or Maq., but Jāḥiẓ in his interesting treatise on the different classes of merchandise, *Tabaṣṣur bil-tijāra*, published by Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tunisi, Damascus, 1351/1932, p. 21, mentions among the produce of the Berber country and Maghrib: "panthers, *qarax* ('leaves of the *salam* mimosa' used as a dyeing stuff), saddle-cloths (*lubūd*), and black falcons", and, p. 18, particularly praises the Barbarī panthers of which the skins are striped in sharp white and black, and which in spite of being of small size reach the price of 50 dīnārs.

### § 41. Spain

I.Kh., 89-90, Išt., 41-4 (under Maghrib), I.H., 73-82; Maq., 222, 233-6 (under Maghrib). Dozy et de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi*, 1866; Ed. Saavedra, *La geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid, 1881.

This chapter is entirely based on Išt. and bears no trace of borrowings from I.H.'s additions. Additional details on Spain are found under § 5, 25.-26. and § 6., 67. On the northern neighbours of Spain see § 42, 19. and 21.

1.-2. the two greatest cities; 3., 4. Tudela, Lerida, Saragossa, Shantabriya in the north-eastern part of Spain; 4.-8. starting with Ēcija in the south the author, without much system, enumerates the inland towns, moving west, then north, and finally east. 9.-14. southern coast from east to west (all on one route in Išt., 41).

1. Three days' distance from Córdoba to the sea seems to fall short of the reality. I.H., 80, gives 7 days from Córdoba to Mariyya, port of Pechina (near Almeria).

3. On the abundance of *samūr* in Tudela, Išt., 44. Tudela not mentioned in I.H.

4. Bīrūnī, *Canon*: "Lārīda on the Gh.l.j.sk frontier (*thaghr*)."  
*Shantabriya* (?), mentioned in the neighbourhood of the eastern watershed of Spain (§ 5, 25.), corresponds to *Shantabriya* where Išt., 42, places the sources of

the Tagus. The province of Shantabriya (Centobriga) comprised more or less the present provinces of Teruel and Cuenca; the capital lay probably at the junction of the Guadiela with the Tagus, see Saavedra, p. 42. Rayya (I.H., *Rayū*) is the present province of Málaga, cf. Seybold, *Archidona*, in *El*. Saavedra, 23, interprets the name as "regia, or regium" and compares it with the Phoenician name of Málaga, *Malkhā*. Isinja, so too in Iṣṭ. Ghāfiq was the capital of the Faḥṣ-Ballūt province, Iṣṭ., 43, which was conterminous with Rayya. According to Saavedra, 50, Ghāfiq corresponds to Castillo del Almogávar, situated at 14 Km. from Los Pedroches in the north of the Córdoba province.

5., 6. Iṣṭ., 47, Bāja to Qūriya six days. Bāja lies west of Guadiana in southern Portugal; not in I.H.

7. Iṣṭ., 43, too, places Merida (and Toledo) "among the greatest cities of Spain".

8. The detail is not in Iṣṭ.

9. So, too, in Iṣṭ., 41. On Ghalijaskush and Ifranja see under Rūm (§ 42, 20.).

11. Iṣṭ., 42 (cf. also 45), among the produce of Málaga mentions السفن الذى تتخذ منه مقابض السيوف. According to Lane *saḥan* is "rough skin, thick or coarse, such as the skins of crocodiles, which is put upon the hilts of swords; rough piece of skin of the lizard called *dabb*".

13. Oconaba, or Osonaba, is the southernmost part of Portugal (Faró) in which Santa Maria de Algarve is situated. [Its ruins, as H. A. R. Gibb tells me, lie at 8 Km. north of Faró.]

14. Iṣṭ., 42, also says that Shantarīn is the only place in the Mediterranean and Atlantic where amber is found. The town Shantarīn (Santarem) lies a considerable distance up the river Tagus (§ 6, 67.). Consequently the expression *ākhirīn shahrī-st az hudūd-i Andalus bar karān-i daryā* must refer to the province of Santarem. Iṣṭ., 47, reckons from Beja to Shantarīn 12 days "and to the extreme limit of the Shantarīn province (*aqṣā kūra Sh.*) 5 days (more)".

#### § 42. Byzantine Empire

I.Kh., 100-13, Qudāma, 252-60, Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 323, and *Historiae*, ii, 171-8; I.R., 119-30; I. Faqīh, 136-56 (see also under Yāqūt); Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 176-89; Iṣṭ., 8, 45 (Kharshana), 68-71; I.H., 128-37 (an interesting and independent report based chiefly on Abul-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tadmūrī); Maq., 147-8, 150; Yāqūt, ii, 861-6, who quotes a long description of the provinces which he attributes to I. Faqīh, though it is not found in *BGA*, v; Idrīsī, ii, 209-304 sq. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus*, ed. Becker, Bonn, 1840 (cf. *idem*, *De administrando imperio*: additional remarks on Charsianon, *Λυκανδον*, &c.)<sup>1</sup>; W. R. Ramsay, *Asia Minor*; Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien*, in *Sitz. WAW*, 1891, cxxiv, pp. 1-106; Gelzer, *Die Genesis d. byzant. Themenver-*

<sup>1</sup> I have also used the commented Russian translation by G. Laskin, Moscow 1899.

fassung in *Abh. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.*, 1899, xviii, No. 5, pp. 1-134 (a Map); Brooks, *Arabic Lists of the Byzantine Themes*, in *Four. of Hellenic Studies*, xxi, 1901, pp. 67-77 (I.Kh., Qudāma, Mas'ūdī, and I. Faqīh as transmitted in Yāqūt); Le Strange, *The Lands*, 127-58; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze*, passim.

In addition to the present chapter some interesting details on the Byzantine Empire are found in § 3, 11. 12. (the lakes); § 5, 18., 20., 21., 25., 28. (the mountains); § 6, 58.-60., 66. (the rivers). On the northern and eastern frontiers of the Empire see under each of the countries mentioned.

As Marquart, *Streifzüge*, xxxiii, 28, 207, &c., has shown, the principal sources from which the earlier Muslim geographers derived their information on the Byzantine Empire were Muslim b. Abī Muslim al-Jarmī and Hārūn b. Yahyā. On the former we possess a notice in Mas'ūdī's *Tanbih*, 190, according to which he lived on the Arabo-Byzantine frontier (*thughūr*) and wrote "on the history of the Byzantines and their kings and dignitaries, on their land and its roads and routes, the times (favourable) for the raids into their territory,<sup>1</sup> the campaigns therein, on the neighbouring kingdoms of the Burjān, Abar, Burghar, Ṣaqlība, and Khazar". Mas'ūdī also gives the exact date (231/845-6) at which Muslim was redeemed from Byzantine captivity. I.Kh. *expressis verbis* quotes Muslim as his source.

Much less is known of Hārūn who also was a prisoner of war and taken from 'Asqalān (§ 38, 15.) to Constantinople whence at a later date he may have travelled to Rome. He wrote towards the very end of the ninth century (*v.i.* 17.) and his writings are known to us through the important excerpt in I.R., 119-32, and some items in Zakariyā Qazwīnī, ii, 406-7 and 397-9. I believe that some traces of his account can also be discovered in the *H.-'Ā.* and *Gardīzī*.<sup>2</sup>

On the whole our author follows I.Kh. (<Muslim). One point is particularly characteristic in this respect. In the introduction of the present chapter he says that the northern Byzantine frontier ran along "some parts of the Ṣaqlāb and \*Burjān countries and some parts of the Khazar sea".

<sup>1</sup> This part of Muslim's writings has survived in Qudāma, 259.

<sup>2</sup> See now an English translation of Hārūn's report by A. A. Vasiliev, with extremely apposite additions by G. Ostrogorsky, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Prague 1932, v, 149-64 and 251-7; critical review by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, Brussels 1932, pp. 666-73. The upshot of the conclusions of these Byzantine scholars is that Hārūn, captured probably towards the end of Leo's reign describes Constantinople under the brief reign of the Emperor Alexander (11 May 912-6 June 913). [The most striking of Ostrogorsky's arguments is Hārūn's silence about the presence at

the ceremony either of the Empress or of the Emperor's co-regent, which only suits Alexander's reign. However, it appears from p. 252 that, between the years 893 and 894, 896 and 899, and finally 900 and 906, his predecessor Leo VI lived as a widower. This leaves a gap for my tentative dating of Hārūn b. Yahyā's report *circa* 900. The absence of a co-regent may be due to some temporary circumstances, or to Hārūn's oversight. The date 912, even admitting that it is not too late for I.R., may be too late for Jayhānī, if the latter, as is quite probable, was I.R.'s direct source on this point.]

These indications are directly borrowed from I.Kh., 105, who uses the same very uncommon term بحر الخزر for the Black Sea. Through his blind imitation our author falls here into contradiction with his own terminology, cf. § 3, 5. and 6. and § 22, 14. The influence of Hārūn's data is apparent in our 15. and 17., to say nothing of the general conception of §§ 22, 46, and 53.

I.Kh.'s (<Muslim's) description of Byzantine provinces is very much to the credit of the Arab intelligence service. Gelzer calls I.Kh. "eine höchst zuverlässige zeitgenössische Quelle ersten Ranges". The data refer to the times of the Amorian dynasty (820-67)<sup>1</sup> for which no similar systematic descriptions in Greek are available.

I.Kh., 105, quotes 3 themes in Europe and 11 in Asia (τὰ περατικὰ θέματα) and the same number is preserved in Qudāma and our author, though the order of enumeration is different in each of the sources as appears from the following table [in each column the numbers refer to the place of the theme within the respective list].

H.-'Ā.	I.Kh.	Qudāma
1. Ṭāblān	1	1
2. Thrace	2	2
3. Macedonia	3	3
4. Thracesion	7	7
5. Opsikion	6	6
6. Optimaton	5	5
7. Seleucia	13	9
8. Anatolicon	8	8
9. Buccelation	10	12
10. Paphlagonia	4	4
11. Cappadocia	14	10
12. Charsianon	9	11
13. Armeniacon	11	13
14. Chaldia	12	14

Qudāma's order of enumeration<sup>2</sup> is perhaps geographically the best (see Gelzer's map) but our author's system is very curious as indicating that he had a map before him, for starting three times in the south (4., 7., 11.) he each time moves straight towards the north!

The spelling on the whole is nearer to Qudāma than to I.Kh.

H.-'Ā	Qudāma	I.Kh.
Ṭāblān	Ṭaylā	Ṭāflā
Tarqasīs	Ṭarqasīs	Tarqasīs
Uṭīmāt	Uḅīmāt	Uḫī-māṭī
Nāṭlīq	Nāṭlīq	Nāṭulūs
Aflakhūniya	Aflaghūniya	Aflajūniya
Kharshana	Kharshana	Kharsiyūn
Khāldiya	Khāldiya	Khaldiya

<sup>1</sup> See now the French edition of A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, t. 1, *La dynastie d'Amorium*, Brussels, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> With which that of I. Faqīh (in *Yāqūt*) totally agrees.

The name 1. Ṭāblān (numerous variants in different sources: طلاقا طابلا طلايا طلايا) has been explained by de Goeje (I.Kh., 105, note i) as *Táφραι* (*Táφρος*). Suidas, *Lexicon*, ed. 1853, p. 1053: *τάφρος· τὸ περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὄρυγμα· καὶ τάφρη... παρ' Ἡροδότῳ*. Consequently the popular name would refer to the Great Wall (τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος, I. Faqīh in Yāqūt, ii, 863, مقرن تخس) or rather to the moat (ὄρυγμα) round it. Gelzer, *o.c.*, 86, accepts the interpretation "*Θέμα τῆς τάφρου, or τοῦ τεύχους*" and compares it with the terms ἡ Ἀστική and *provincia suburbicaria*. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 1912, p. 224, thinks that "the solution (of I.Kh.'s term) has not been discovered". He starts, however, from the form \**Tālāyā*, whereas the better attested forms are \**Tāflā*, *Ṭāblān*.

Our author takes no notice of the changes which had taken place between Muslim's times and his own. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, writing half a century before him (A.D. 932), enumerates 12 themes in Europe and 18 in Asia; of the latter, 4 are islands and the rest is as follows: a. Ἀνατολικόν; b. Ἀρμενιакόν; c. τῶν Θρακησίων; d. Ὀψίκιον; e. Ὀπτίματον; f. Βουκελλαρίων; g. Παφλαγόνων; h. Χαλδία; i. Μεσσοποταμία; k. Κολωνείας; l. Σεβαστείας; m. Λυκανδοῦ; n. Σελευκείας; o. Κιβυρραιωτῶν.

H.-'Ā.	Const. P.	H.-'Ā.	Const. P.
4	c	10	g
5	d	11	..
6	e	12	..
7	n	13	b
8	a	14	h
9	f		

Constantine Porphyrogenitus does not separately mention our 11. and 12. He speaks of Cappadocia under Armeniacon and adds that *Χαρσιανόν* is the middle part of Cappadocia, *De them.*, pp. 18–20. Cf. now E. Honigmann, *Charsianon kastron* in *Byzantion*, x, 1935, pp. 129–60. On the other hand Constantine mentions *i, k, l, m, o*, unknown to our three authors. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, going his own way, mentions 5 provinces in Europe (inclusive of Salonika and Peloponnesus) but only 9 in Asia, *viz.* our 8., 5., 4., 11., 9., 6., 13., 10. plus Decapolis (mentioned between 4. and 11.).

As regards the number of troops in the provinces our text is certainly out of order. According to Qudāma, 258 (<Muslim) the number varied from 15,000 (in Nāṭliq) to 4,000 (Kharshana, Cappadocia, Khaldia).

15. The paragraph on the Gurz ("Georgians") is one of the most confused in the book. *Gurz* is a parallel Iranian form of *Gurj*, modern Persian (and Turkish) *Gurji*, Russian *Gruz-in*. The element -*z* (-j) is a suffix of origin, see Marquart, *ZDMG*, 49, p. 664; cf. also § 36, 36.: *Laysān* and § 50, 3.: \**Lakz*. The older form of *Gur-z* is attested in Armenian *Vīr-k'*, pointing to Middle Persian \**Vr-kān*. The earlier Arabic transcription is جرجان (*i.e.* \**Gurz-ān*), Balādhurī, 202, but already Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 519, gives جرجان \**Gurj-ān* and the later authors write كرج \**Gurj*, see Ibn al-Athīr, *passim*, Yāqūt, ii, 219. See now Markwart (Marquart), *Iberer und*

*Hyrkanier*, in *Caucasica*, viii, 1931, p. 78. The variation of the forms *Gurz*/*Gurj* must be due to some dialect distinctions, cf. *-nz/-nj* in the name of Ganja: earlier Arabic جنزة, I.Kh., 119, and later Arabic كنجة, cf. Minorsky, *Four. As.*, July 1930, p. 72.

Some of the information contained in this paragraph undoubtedly refers to Western Georgia drained by the rivers flowing to the Black Sea. With the exception of the early Balādhurī, p. 202 (conquest of "Armenia"), the Arab authors know nothing of Western Georgia, whereas they usually include Eastern Georgia (watered by the Kur) in Armenia, as also does our author, cf. § 36, 28. (Tiflis). The inclusion of (Western) Georgia in the Byzantine Empire, which may be explained by the fact that the Georgians belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, is responsible for the statement (§ 49) on the Byzantine Empire being conterminous with the Sarīr. Under § 5, 21. our author speaks of a *Kūh-i Gurz*, perhaps identical with § 5, 17 B. These details refer to the real Georgia.

On the other hand, the designation of the Black Sea as *daryā-yi Gurziyān* is entirely without a parallel, and it is astonishing to see the Pontos baptized after a people never known as navigators. Still more amazing is the representation of the Gurz as living "on small islands", whereas there are no islands in the eastern part of the Black Sea.<sup>1</sup>

As already stated in the note to § 3, 6., this part of the information may be due to a confusion of رنك, \*Warang and كرز, \*Gurz, not impossible in Arabic script. *Warang*, very rarely met in Muslim sources, is another appellation of the Norman *Rūs* (§ 44) who according to some earlier source lived on an island. A series of errors with regard to the whereabouts of the real Maeotis (§ 3, 8.) may have caused our author to dissociate the rare *Warang* from *Rūs* and finally to misread it into another rare name *Gurz*. Bīrūnī is the earliest known author mentioning بحر رنك but he must have found it in some literary source.<sup>2</sup>

The other source of confusion may have been I.Kh., 105 (<Muslim al-Jarmī), according to whom the themes of Ṭāflā (Constantinople) and Trāqiya (Thrace) bordered in the north on بحر الخزر. This unusual appellation of the Black Sea crept into the introductory paragraph of our § 42, though under § 42, 3. Thrace is said to lie by the *Daryā-yi Gurz*. In our author's terminology the *Khazarian* Sea is the Caspian. With regard to the general frontiers of the Byzantine Empire (extended up to the Sarīr!) I.Kh.'s strange term may have passed unobserved, but in the particular case of Thrace our author could not help noticing that this province does not lie by *his* Khazarian Sea (*i.e.* Caspian). Therefore he may have

<sup>1</sup> By some mistake Idrīsī, ii, 396, mentions an island ٤٥ between Taman (on the Azov Sea) and Trebizond. [Const. Porph., *De adm. imp.*, ch. 42, mentions an island near Tamatarkha (evidently a part of the Taman peninsula) and several islands

off the coast of *Zuxla* (Circassia), near the estuary of the Kuban, but none of them has any relation to the Georgians.]

<sup>2</sup> On some curious points of contact between our author and Bīrūnī cf. § 10, 55., § 11, 9., § 26, 13., &c.



supposed that I.Kh.'s *خر* referred not to the *Khazar* but to the *جوز* *Jurz* (a classical confusion in Arabic script). It only remained, then, for our author, who shows a notable predilection for Iranian terminology, to substitute Persian *Gurz* for Arabic *Jurz*. Cf. *supra*, p. 182.

16. and 18. These peoples are no more distinct than the Spartans and Lacedaemonians. Both names refer to the Danubian Bulgars who, moreover, seem to be described as "Inner Bulgars" (§ 45) and "V.n.nd.r" (§ 53). I.Kh., 92, 105, 109, and Qudāma, 257, systematically following Muslim al-Jarmī, call the Danubian Bulgars *Burjān*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Hārūn (I.R., 130) applies this term to the Burgundians whereas he calls the Danubian Bulgars *Bulghar*.<sup>2</sup> Hārūn, too, is most probably responsible for the term *V.n.nd.r* (= Onoghundur-Bulgars). As it was impossible to unravel such complications in a compilation, our author's source (Jayhānī?) must have solved the difficulty by incorporating all these names as if they referred to separate entities. Consequently the *Burjān* and *Bulgharī* were differentiated artificially: the former being imagined to be more submissive plain-dwellers, and the latter highlanders<sup>3</sup> "perpetually at war with the Rūmīs" (as in I.R., 126<sub>22</sub>). The *Bulgharī* are called *Rūmī* because they were christianized from Byzantium in A.D. 864. The qualification *kāfir* is rather strange. One may remember that Bakrī, 45<sub>20</sub>, calls the *Burjān* "Magians" (*majūsiya*) and this term is constantly applied to the Normans as well, cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Madjūs* in *EI* and Idrīsī-Tallgren, pp. 80 and 140.

17. This short paragraph is of great importance as indicating our author's sources. I.Kh., 105, quoting by name Muslim al-Jarmī, thus describes the boundaries of Macedonia: in the east the walls (*v.s.* 1.) stretching between the Black Sea (*Baḥr al-Khazar*) and the Syrian Sea (*Baḥr al-Sha'm*, here evidently "Marmora Sea"); in the south, the Mediterranean; in the west, the lands of the *Ṣaqāliba*; in the north, the *Burjān*. This quotation leaves no doubt that by the "*Ṣaqāliba* lands" the Serbian territory is meant. However, much more decisive is I.R., 127, who quotes Hārūn b. Yaḥyā's description of a road from Constantinople, over *Salūqiya* (read: *Salonica*)<sup>4</sup> and Venice (*B.nd.qīs*) to Rome. The text is out of order, but Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 237-59, has suggested a series of very ingenious corrections of it. At 3 days' distance to the west of \**Salonica* lies *Mutr.n* (Marquart: \**Qutron* < *Kl̥rpos*); "beyond it you travel through wooded lowlands (*ghiyād min al-shajar*) among the *Ṣaqāliba* who live in wooden

<sup>1</sup> It is true that Muslim, *v.s.*, is also said to have written of the *Burghar* but this term could possibly refer to the Volga, or Azov Sea, Bulgars.

<sup>2</sup> The name (I.R., 126<sub>18</sub>) stands first erroneously for *Belgrad* (*v.s.*, § 6, 66.) but after this passage on the water conduct comes (I.R., 126<sub>22</sub>) the remark on the perpetual war going on between the *real* Bulgars and Byzantines. This last

item looks like an interpolation but it is found both in I.R. and our source (18.). Therefore, if it is an interpolation, it must belong to the two authors' common source (Jayhānī?).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 5, 28. on their mountain and § 6, 66. on their river.

<sup>4</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 318, also has *Salūqiya* for *Salonica*.

houses. They are Christians; they were (gradually) converted (*kānū yatanassirūna*) in the time of the king بسوس (\**Basil*) and to-day they hold the Christian faith. Among them you travel for a month across their woods until you reach the town of B.lātīs (\**Spalato*, Const. Porph. Ἀσπάλαθος)." In our text *al-Ṣaqlība al-mutanaṣṣira*, standing in the Arabic garb, without any doubt reflects Hārūn's account (through Jayhānī's medium?). According to Marquart, *ibid.*, 207, Hārūn must have drawn up his report between A.D. 880 and 890, but the text seems to indicate that the Emperor Basil I's time (A.D. 866-86) was regarded as past; therefore we may bring Hārūn's date down to the years 890-900. The exact date of the conversion of the Serbs cannot be established. In the years 867 and 870 Basil I subjugated the Serbs (Narentani, Croati) on the Dalmatian coast, and in 879 for the first time the bishop of Moravia (*i.e.* probably of the Serbian region lying along the southern affluent of the Danube, *Morava*) is mentioned, cf. F. Dvorník, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1926, p. 239 (where it is assumed that Basil I converted the Slavs between A.D. 879 and 882). To sum up: the mention of "the Christianized Slavs" is a clear indication that besides al-Jarmī our author knew also Hārūn's report. If so, we may assume, contrary to Marquart, *o.c.*, 28, that in other chapters too, particularly those on the Magyars, V.n.nd.r, and Mirvāt, our author's source was Hārūn, who was recording the situation towards the very end of the ninth century, and not al-Jarmī, who belonged to the earlier part of that century. [This admission has a considerable importance for the history of Magyar migrations, *v.s.*, § 22.]

19.-23. are a drastic epitome not devoid of misunderstandings. Rūm (Byzantine Empire) is supposed here to comprise all the countries lying by the Rūm Sea (Mediterranean). The original authority seems to be Iṣṭ., 43 (and also, 68-71), who says: "and among the different classes of infidels who adjoin Andalus the most numerous are the Ifranja whose king is called Qārula (\**Carolus*), but the Ifranja coterminous with the Muslims are less numerous than the other classes of infidels on account of the fact that the Ifranja protrude into the sea (*dukhūluhum fil-baḥr*) and on account of the buffer (*hājiz*) which other countries of polytheism constitute between the Muslims and the Ifranja. Next in numbers (after the Ifranja) are the Jalāliqa, and less numerous still the Baskunas (though they) are more warlike (*ashaddu shaukatān*). The places on the Andalus border neighbouring the Baskunas are Saraquṣṭa, Tuṭayla (Tudela), and Lerida. Then follows a Christian people called Ghalijaskas who are less harmful than the Baskunas (*aqalluhum ghā'ilatan*); they constitute a buffer between them (the Baskunas) and the Ifranja." I.H., 43, says that the frontier line following the eastern coast of Andalus joins on the sea the Ifranja country, and on the west that of the Ghalijaskas "who are a tribe of *al-Ankubarda* (Lombards?)" then the Baskunas country, then that of the Jalāliqa, then the sea.

Our author entirely omits the important Jalāliqa (Galicians). The Baskunas are Vascones (Basques). The Ghalijaskas are the inhabitants of the

Jacá region, south of the important pass in the Pyrenees (at present Jacá is connected by a railway tunnel with Oloron on the French side). The Jacá people were already known to the classical authors under the names of *Jaccetani*, Ἰακκητανοί (Ptolemy, ii, ch. 5), *Lacetani* (Livy, xxi, 60-1). Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 355, says that north of Saragossa lies the town of Tudela, situated towards the land of the unbelievers called *Baskunas*, and that to the north of Tudela lies Huesca (*Washqa*) situated towards a tribe of the Ifranj called الحاسس (the latter name has a variant الحسمين corrected in a different hand into الحافة, read: الحاقية *al-jāqiya*; cf. also Ibn al-'Adhārī, ii, 302: الشاكسه). Ya'qūbī's passage leaves no doubt on the identity of the people. On the different forms of the name Codera says: "la confusión pudo quizá originarse por la semejanza de nombres entre Jacetanos y Lacetanos de los autores antiguos", but more probably it is attributable to the usual vagaries of Arabic script. I. Faqīh, 87, is wrong in placing علبشكن (جل اسكن "near the sea"). Cf. de Goeje, *Specimen exhibens descriptionem al-Magribi sumtam e Libro Regionum al-Ḥaqubii*, Leiden, 1860, pp. 112-13, and F. Codera, *Límites probables de la conquista drabe en la cordillera pirenaica*, in *Estudios críticos de Historia Árabe española*, vii-ix, Madrid, 1917, pp. 235-76. I owe the indication of the last work to the kindness of Prof. A. Gonzalez Palencia. Bīrūnī, *Canon*, places Lerida over against the *Gh.l.j.sk*, see § 41, 4.

About 19. Rūmiya (Rome) I.Kh., 10, says that it was [in turn] the seat of 29 Roman kings (emperors). 21. Britannia is not in I.Kh., Iṣṭ., or I.H., but I.R., 130 (after Hārūn b. Yaḥyā) mentions Barṭīniya (note the spelling of our source, too!) as a large town on the coast of the Western Sea. On the confusion about Yūnān and Athīnās see the original text of Iṣṭ., 70: "Athīnās is the seat of learning of the Ionians (*Yūnāniyūn*) and there their sciences and learning are preserved", cf. Barthold, *Preface*, pp. 21 and 41.

### §§ 43-53. Eastern Europe.

The following list of the principal sources, as well as of the works utilizing Muslim sources on Eastern Europe, may be not unwelcome. For details see notes to single chapters.

I.Kh., passim, see Index; I. Faqīh, 270 (= I.Kh., 124, but the merchants are called *tujjār al-Ṣaqālība*); even the Mashhad MS. of I. Faqīh does not seem to contain any new details on the Rūs, Ṣaqlāb, &c., to judge by A. Z. Validi, in *Izv. Ross. Akad. Nauk*, 1924, pp. 237-48; I. Rusta, 138-48 (Khazar, Burdās, Bulkār, al-Majghariya, al-Ṣaqlabiya, al-Rūsiya); I. Faḍlān, *Risāla* (quoted and utilized by Yāqūt under *Itīl*, *Bāshghurd*, *Bulghar*, *Khazar*, *Khawārizm*, *Rūs*, and *Wisū*); Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 1-77 (Rūs, Burghar, W.l.nd.riya, Caucasian peoples); the passage on the Slavs edited in Marquart's *Streifzüge*, 97-101; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh* (Burṭās p. 62; W.l.nd.riya pp. 180-3; Burghar, Ṣaqlāliba, Rūs, Sarīr, passim); Iṣṭ., 220-7 (Khazar, al-Sarīr, Burṭās, Bulghār, Rūs, &c.); I.H., 278-87

(Khazar, Burtās, Basjirt, Bulghār); [Ibrāhīm b. Wasif-shāh], *L'abrégé des merveilles*, tr. Carra de Vaux, 1898 (Slavs, pp. 45-6; Burjān, pp. 123-4); Maq., 360 (Itil, Rūs, Bulghār, Suwār, Khazar—very brief); Gardizī, 78-126 (Bachanāk, Khazar, Burdās, Bulkār, Majghar, Saqlāb [sic], Rūs, Sarīr, Alān); al-Bakrī, ed. Rosen, SPb., 1878 (Ṣaqlālib, Bajanākiya, Khazar, Furdās, Bulkār, Majghariya, Sarīr, Burjān); 'Aufī, *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, part iv, ch. 16, in Barthold, *A new Muslim report on the Russians* (in Russian), *Zap.*, ix, 1895, 262-7; [the rest of 'Aufī's data on the Khazar, Burdās, Majghariya, Ṣaqlābiyān are an abridgement of I. Rusta; the data on Gurj, Uslān (\*al-Lān?), Sarīr, and Darband are very brief, see Br. Mus., Or. 2676, ff. 67-9]; Yāqūt, *Itil*, i, 112-13, *Burtās*, i, 567 [this paragraph refers chiefly not to the Burtās but to the Bulghārs], *Burghar*, i, 568 (after Mas'ūdī), *Bulghar*, i, 722-7, *Bāshghurt*, i, 468-70, *Khazar*, ii, 436-40, *Khawārizm*, ii, 484-5, *Rūs*, ii, 834-40, *Ṣaqlab*, iii, 405; *Wīsū*, i, 34 and iv, 944; Ibn Iyās, in F. Arnold, *Chrestomatia Arabica*, i, 73-6: Rūs, Bulghār.

Frähn, *Veteres memoriae Chasarorum ex Ibn Foszlano, Ibn Haukale et Schems-ed-dīno Damasceno and De Baschkiris quae memoriae prodita sunt*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, t. viii, 1822, pp. 577-620 [separately printed under the title Frähn, *De Chazaris excerpta ex scriptoribus arabicis*, pars i, 1822, 44 pp., *ibid.*, *De Baschkiris*]; Frähn, *Ibn Foszlans und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, SPb., 1823; Hammer, *Sur les origines russes*, SPb., 1827; A. C. Mouradja d'Ohsson, *Des peuples du Caucase et des pays au nord de la Mer Noire et de la Mer Caspienne dans le 10<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1828; Frähn, *Drei Münzen der Wolga-Bulgharen aus d. X. Jahrhundert*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série vi, t. i, 1832, pp. 171-204; Frähn, *Die ältesten arabischen Nachrichten über die Wolga-Bulgharen aus Ibn Foszlans Reiseberichten*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série vi, t. i, 1832, pp. 527-77; Charmoy, *Relations de Mas'oudi et d'autres auteurs musulmans sur les anciens Slaves*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série vi, t. ii, livraisons 3 et 4, 1834, pp. 297-408; Frähn, *Ibn-Abi-ḥakub el-Nadīm's Nachricht von der Schrift der Russen im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série vi, t. iii, 1836, pp. 507-30; P. S. Savelyev, *Muhammadan Numismatics as related to Russian History* (in Russian), SPb., 1846; Defrémery, *Fragments de géographes et historiens arabes et persans relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie méridionale*, in *Jour. As.*, 1849, t. 13, pp. 460-77 (al-Bakrī); Chwolson, *Izvestiya o Khazarakh &c. Ibn Dasta* [read: *Ibn Rusta*], SPb., 1869; A. Garkavi (Harkavy), *Skazaniya musulmanskikh pisateley o Slav'anakh i Russkikh*, SPb., 1870 (Supplement 1871); A. Kunik and Baron V. Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bakrī i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i slav'anakh*, SPb., i, 1878, ii, 1903; Dorn, *Caspia, Über die Einfälle der alten Russen in Tabaristān*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série vii, t. xxiii, no. 1, 1875 (Russian edition of the same work, *ibid.*, t. xxvi, annex i, 1875); G. Jacob, *Welche Handelsartikel bezogen die Araber des Mittelalters aus den nordisch-baltischen Ländern?* 2nd ed., Berlin 1891; F. Westberg, *Ibrāhīm's-ibn-ḥa'kūb's Reisebericht über die Slavenländer aus dem Jahre 965*, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, série viii, t. iii, no. 4, 1898 (a revised edition in Russian: *Kommentariy na zapisku Ibrāhīm ibn*

Yakuba, SPb., 1903, with a very complete list of literature on Ibrāhīm); Westberg, *Beiträge zur Klärung orientalischer Quellen über Osteuropa (Erste Hälfte des Mittelalters)*, in *Bull. Acad. SPb.*, 1899, t. xi, No. 4, November 1899, pp. 211-45, No. 5, December 1899, pp. 279-314; Barthold, *Geografiya Ibn Sa'īda*, 1898; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 1903, passim; A. A. Spitsin, *On the Degree of Trustworthiness of I. Faḍlān's Risāla* (in Russian), in *Zap. Imp. Russ. Arch. Obsk.*, new series xi, 161-6; Baron V. G. Tiesenhausen, *In Defense of I. Faḍlān* (in Russian), *Zap.*, xiii, pp. 024-032; Baron Rosen, *Prolegomena k novomu izdaniyu Ibn-Faḍlāna*, in *Zap.*, xv/2, 1904, pp. 39-73; Westberg, *K analizu vostochnikh istochnikov o vostochnoy Evrope*, in *Zhurnal Min. Narodn. Prosv.*, new series, 1909, xiii, February, pp. 364-412, xiv, March, pp. 1-52; S. M. Seredonin, *Istoricheskaya geografiya*, posthumous edition, SPb., 1916 (Bulgars, pp. 89-96; Khazars, pp. 97-106; Eastern Slavs, pp. 106-52; Pechenegs, Torks, Polovtsi, pp. 153-96; Finnish peoples, pp. 197-220; Variags, pp. 221-40); P. Smirnov, *The Volga route and the ancient Rus'* (in Ukrainian), ed. by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev, 1928, 228 pp. (a very interesting work in which the passages from Muslim geographers including the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* have been utilized in translation); A. Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici*, Oslo, i, 1896 (excerpts from 50 Arabic authors; texts), ii, 1928 (variants); P. K. Kokovtsov, *Yevreisko-khazar-skaya perepiska v X veke*, ed. Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R., 1932 (a critical re-edition of the Hebrew documents on the Khazars). Krachkovsky, *On the Preparation of a Corpus of Arabic Sources regarding the History of Central Asia* (in Russian), in *Zap. Institut. Vostokov. Akademii Nauk USSR.*, Leningrad, 1932, i, pp. 55-62.

### § 43. The Slavs.

See especially Chwolson, *Izvestiya . . . Ibn Dasta* [*\*Rusta*], pp. 123-45; Baron Rosen and Kunik, *Izvestiya al-Bakrī* (Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb, circa A.D. 965); Westberg, *Ibrāhīm's-ibn-fa'kūb's Reisebericht*, 1898, and *Komentariy*, 1903; also passim in *Beiträge*, 1899, and *K analizu*, 1908; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 95-160 (Mas'ūdī on the Slavs), 188-206, 466-73 ("Jayhānī" on the Slavs) and passim; Lévi-Provençal, *Ṣaḥāliba* in *EI* (the Slavs in Spain), Barthold, *Slav* in *EI*. Our §§ 43 and 44 have been edited and translated by Toumansky in *Zap.*, X, 1896, pp. 121-37 (where the names quoted are illustrated by parallel readings in the other authors).

Of the sources which were undoubtedly utilized by our author, I. Kh. must be responsible for the item on the Slavs living on the upper course of "the Rūs river"; Iṣṭ. (<Balkhī), pp. 4, 7, 10, besides being too vague, has very little to say on the Slavs whom he probably mixes up with the Rūs; the third and most complete source, which was also utilized by I.R., Gardīzī, and 'Aufī<sup>1</sup> has principally influenced our text, as will be seen from

<sup>1</sup> Bakrī used it, too, but with regard to the Slavs he chiefly quotes the independent and excellent source—the record of the Jewish traveller Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb

the following comparison [D.—ditto; N.—absent; A.—approximate likeness].

I.R.	Gardīzī	H.-'Ā.
10 days' distance from the Bajanāk	D. and 10 days from the Majgharī	different
town of وایب near the frontier	D. Vāntit	D. Vābnīt
wooded plains; no vines or fields	D.	A. vast wooded plains
bee-hives, 10 <i>ibriqs</i> honey from each	D. each hive 50-100 <i>mann</i> honey; some people possess 100 <i>khum</i> of honey	A. much honey; honey-wine; wooden casks; some people prepare 100 casks of wine
herds of swine	D.	D.
the dead burnt; women scratch their faces; commemorative feasts on the tumulus	D.	A. the dead burnt
favourite wife hangs herself	N.	A. commits suicide
fire-worshippers	cow-worshippers	D. as in I.R.
sow millet; thanksgiving for harvest	D.	A. sow millet
string instruments and flutes	D.	A. various string instruments
honey-wine and music at funeral feasts	A.	N.
horses scarce	D.	N.
N.	shirts and <i>tabarī</i> shoes	shirts and shoes
javelins and spears	D.	D. and shields
chief called سوبج	D. سوبج	N.
principal chief Swyyt-mlk	D. Swyt-mlk, Jrāwt	D. Smūt-swyt, Khurdāb
lives in Jrwāb	N.	A. drinks milk
and drinks mare's milk	build fortresses against the Majgharī	N.
N.	in winter in fortresses, in summer in woods	underground dwellings in winter
cold climate; people live in underground huts; heat them with vapours	N.	A. the Slavs serve the king
the king receives a garment from each member of a household	D.	N.
thieves punished	adultery punished	N.
N.	marriage customs: dowry	N.
N.		

The geographical data on the Slavs scattered in our source seem to refer to two different groups of this people. On the one hand in § 3, 6., the

(A.D. 965), adding to it some details from Mas'ūdī. Of this account, as well as of Mas'ūdī's detailed chapter on the Slavs (Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 95-160), there is no trace in our author. [Some expres-

sions in Ibrāhīm (e.g. on the women scratching their faces with knives after a death) point to the use of the literary source utilized by I. Rusta.]

Şaqlāb are placed to the north of the Black Sea, between the *Inner Bulghārs* and the *Burjān*. The identity of these Slavs is disclosed by the comparison with § 42, 16.-18. where the "Christianized Slavs" come in the enumeration between the *Burjān* and the *Bulgharī*.<sup>1</sup> With this agrees the beginning of § 43 which places the Inner Bulghārs to the east of the Slavs. As explained in the note to § 42, 17. the "Christianized Slavs" correspond to the Macedonian Slavs, and only through a misunderstanding they have been transferred to the shores of the Black Sea.

The essential characteristic of the other group is that it lives in the immediate neighbourhood of the Rūs [the latter not being mentioned among the nations living on the Black Sea coast]. In § 6, 44. the Rūs river flowing eastwards is said to rise on the Slav territory, then skirt the Rūs towns, and finally fall into the Ātil. In § 44<sup>2</sup> the Rūs are positively the eastern neighbours of the Slavs, but in § 43, by some sort of compromise, our author wants the Slavs to border in the east both on the Inner Bulghār "and some (!) of the Rūs". In § 3, 8. the Maeotis (*i.e.* the northern Russian lakes or the Baltic, *v.s.*, p. 181) is placed north of the Şaqlābs.

For our author all the Slav lands look apparently as one stretch of territory and in this respect he may have been influenced by I.Kh. who, p. 105, mentions the Şaqlāba as the western neighbours of Macedonia (cf. our § 42, 17.), couples them, pp. 92 and 119, with the Avars (*al-Abar*), and places them "north of Spain". On the other hand, p. 124, he says that the Khazar town Khamlīj (§ 50, 3 *b.*) "lies on the river (Volga) which comes from the land of the Şaqlāba" and further, p. 154, adds that the Rūs merchants "who are a kind of Şaqlāba" travel from the farthestmost region of *Şaqlaba* to the Rūm sea (Black Sea?); if eventually they "travel by the Tanīs [*\*Tanaïs* = Don], river of the Şaqlāba, they pass to Khamlīj"<sup>3</sup> وان ساروا في تنيس نهر الصقالبة مروا بخمليج they either visit Africa or "follow the road behind Rome in the Slav lands and then to Khamlīj" (خلف رومية في بلاد الصقالبة ثم الى خمليج). I. Kh., 17, gives the king of the Slavs the title قنّاز *qinnāz*, *i.e.*, князь *knež*' (from Germanic *\*kuning*), common among Slav nations.

The source utilized by I. Rusta and Gardizī seems to have in view a more definite territory. The items regarding the habits and customs of the Slavs are somewhat ambiguous, but the names of the rulers and towns may serve as clues. According to Ibn Rusta, 144, the supreme chief of the Slavs bore the name of *Swayyt-mīk* (رئيس الرؤساء يسمونه سويّت ملك); the vice-regent (*khalī-fatū-hu*) (living in the centre of the Şaqlāb country?)<sup>4</sup> was called سويج or سويج. [Similar forms are found in Gardizī whereas in the *H.-Ā.* only the king is

<sup>1</sup> *Burjān* = *Inner Bulghār* = *Bulgharī*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* the Slavs among the Rūs.

<sup>3</sup> Though the Don and Volga are often connected in Muslim geographers, here the verb *marrū* may indicate that the merchant had to cross over from the

Don to the Volga. The two rivers off Tsaritsin flow very near to each other. The sources of the left affluent of the Don İlovl'a almost reach the Volga near Kamishin. See Map xii.

<sup>4</sup> The text is suspect here, Marquart, *o.c.*, 470.

mentioned whom the people call *S.mūt-swyt*, بسموت سويت خوانند. Westberg, *o.c.* (1918), p. 12, very ingeniously supposed that the first part of the name is only a disfigured يسمونه ("they call him") standing in the Arabic text.<sup>1</sup> Chwolson restored سويت ملك as *Suwit-bulk* < *Svetopluk* (< *Svetoplükü*), and \*سوبنج as *županets* (?) and thought that the first referred to the well-known king of Moravia proper, Svetopluk I (870–94) whom Const. Porph., *De admin. imp.*, cap. 40, &c., calls Σφενοπλόκος. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 470, admits that this identification dawns naturally on the reader. However, thinking, *ibid.*, 200, 203, that I. Rusta's report is based on Muslim al-Jarmī and refers to an earlier epoch, namely to the time before the advent of the Norman dynasty in Kiev (and even before the subjugation of the Pol'an'e by the Khazars) Marquart himself suggests, *ibid.*, 471, the identification of the Slav king with the king of the White Croatsians Βελο-χωρβάτοι whose capital must have been Cracow-on-the-Vistula.<sup>2</sup> The king's capital جرواب (Gardizi, جرات, *H.-'Ā.* خرداب, 'Aufi خزان) is then restored as *Khorvāt*<sup>3</sup> and taken as a confirmation of the above theory. Apart from the still doubtful attribution of I. Rusta's report to [or rather exclusively to] Muslim al-Jarmī, the weak point of Marquart's theory is that no *Svetopluk* has yet been discovered in Cracow. A fact which remained unknown to Marquart is that according to the *H.-'Ā.*, § 6, 45., the capital of Khurdāb was situated on the Rūtā river. It is difficult to say whether this detail belongs to the original source, or is merely our author's guess. The description of the Rūtā flowing from the Rūs to the Šaqlābs, *i.e.*, westwards (?) is very embroiled (*v.s.*, § 6, 45. and cf. § 45) and the river could perhaps with some imagination be taken for the Vistula on the upper course of which Cracow stands. However, this interpretation of a doubtful passage would not be supported by any other contemporary evidence and the comparison of our text with Gardīzī, who apparently is more faithful to the source responsible for the details on the Magyars, V.n.nd.r, and Mirvāt (§§ 22, 46, 53), suggests that the prototype of our *Rūtā* is \**Dūnā* (Danube). In this case the town of \**Khorvāt* standing on the \**Dūnā* might refer to the capital of the southern Danubian Croatia. As regards the king's name, it seems safer to revert to Chwolson's hypothesis. The Moravian king Svetopluk was certainly a close neighbour, if not the suzerain of the southern Croats. Const. Porph., cap. 13, says that *south* of the Magyars

<sup>1</sup> 'Aufi, Or. 2676, fol. 67b says: *va išan-rāra'isī-st ki ū-rā Swyt khvānand*.

<sup>2</sup> There is not much certainty about this kingdom "dessen Existenz auf Grund der späteren polnischen und tschechischen Sagen notwendig vorausgesetzt werden musste, für welche aber bisher nur äusserst dürftige und unbestimmte Zeugnisse aus älterer Zeit beigebracht werden konnten", *ibid.*, 471. Very characteristic, too, is Marquart's admission, *ibid.*, 139: "wenn wir nun

auch Chorwätin unzweifelhaft [*sic.* V. M.] mit den Belochorwaten an der Weichsel gleichzusetzen haben, so scheint es doch, dass er selbst [*i.e.* Constantine] sie mit den illyrischen Chorwaten zusammengeworfen hat" [*sic.* V. M.].

<sup>3</sup> Chwolson, *o.c.*, p. 142, took جرادست for *Grādist* < *Hradištye*, the residence of Svetopluk, cf. Šafarik, *Slavische Alterthümer*, ii, 501. [Very doubtful.]



(Τούρκου) lay "Great Moravia, that is the land of Sfindoplokos, which was totally ruined by these Magyars and occupied by them", whereas the Croats<sup>1</sup> lived "next to the Magyars on the mountain side". In cap. 40 Constantine positively says that the Croats are the *southern* neighbours of the Magyars. From the comparison of these two passages it appears that at least some Croats lived immediately south of Great Moravia which had belonged to Svetopluk. [P. 67, l. 24 on Khurdāb is fantastic.]

Although the recent authority, F. Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vus de Byzance*, Prague, 1933, p. 240, admits that Svetopluk's conquests in Pannonia (*i.e.*, the region between the Danube and Sava) had an ephemeral character, they may have been sufficient to create the impression that he was the supreme lord (*ra'īs al-ru'asā*) of the Khorvāt. Already Marquart, *o.c.*, 470, pointed out that I.R.'s text on the relations between *Svvyt-mlk* and the *sūbanj* (\**shūbāng*?) and Chwolson's restoration of it as \**šupanets* (\**šupan*?), if right, would tally with Const. Porph., according to whom, cap. 30, Croatian lands were divided into ζοναίαι.<sup>2</sup>

Very uncertain is the reading of the other Slav town. I. Rusta says that the journey from the Pechenegs to the Slavs lasted 10 days and thereupon adds that at the beginning of the Slav land (*fī awā'il ḥaddihā*) stands the town راب. In Gardizī, رانیت follows the mention of the road from the Majgharī to the Slavs (10 days' journey). In our text رانیت is the first town on the east of the Slavs and a resemblance of its inhabitants to the Rūs suggests that it lay on the Rūs frontier. Already Harkavy thought to connect this town with Kiev, the capital of the Slav *Pol'an'e*. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 189, first restored the name as دانست *Dānast* but finally, *ibid.*, 509, read it زانیت *Zānbat*, which he compared with Σαμβαράς which in Const. Porph., cap. 9, is a surname of Kiev (τὸ κάστρον Κιοῦβα τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Σαμβαράς).<sup>3</sup> Marquart's theory is hardly contradicted by the fact that in the chapter on the Rūs (§ 45) Kiev seems to come up again under a name belonging to a different tradition (Iṣṭ. < Balkhī), but in principle it is strange that in Arabic script *z* should correspond to Greek *s*.<sup>4</sup>

In any case the two towns of the Slavs very probably were situated at the

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether northern (White) Croats, or southern (Danubian) Croats are meant here.

<sup>2</sup> Niederle, *Manuel*, i, 141, note 1: "les comitats (*šupa*) ne sont attestés que chez les Slaves du Sud et les sources ne nous autorisent pas à les transporter dans le Nord." In the north "les termes *šupan* et *šupa* (préfet, comitat) ne sont attestés que plus tard et dans un autre sens, celui de 'fonctionnaire' et de 'service de ce fonctionnaire'".

<sup>3</sup> The origin of the name is still a moot question. A. I. L'ashchenko, *Kiev i Σαμβαράς*, in *Dokladi Akad. SSSR*, 1930,

No. 4, pp. 66-72, mentions 22 different explanations of *Samvatas* (Slavonic, Scandinavian, Hungarian, Armenian, Lithuanian, &c.) and inclines towards the Khazar origin of the name as suggested by Y. Brutzkus.

<sup>4</sup> If the previous restoration of the name by Marquart as *Dānast* be adopted, the eastern Slav town might be sought on the Dniester, cf. Idrīsī, p. 395, دنست. Westberg, *o.c.*, 1908 (March), p. 22, connected \**Vānti* with the Vēntiči (Вятичи), the Slav tribe on the Oka, which is very doubtful.

opposite ends of the Slav territory. Nor is it necessary to think that such details as the heathen customs of the Slavs,<sup>1</sup> or the cold climate of their country belonged to the lands under Svetopluk's control. In a text referring to a vast territory they may have in view the eastern Slavs, living under the Rūs, p. 159, the Bulghārs, and the Khazars, cf. Barthold in *EI*.<sup>2</sup>

#### § 44. The Rūs.

See bibliographic note before § 43. The translation and analysis of the principal Muslim sources will be found in the works of Frähn, Chwolson, Garkavi [commented translations from 26 Muslim authors on the Slavs and Rūs; the text used mostly in older, now superseded editions]; Barthold, *Zap.*, 1895 (Muḥammad 'Aufī); Toumansky, *Zap.*, 1896 (the text and translation of the present chapter); Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 200-4, 330-53 (Mas'ūdī). The literature in which Muslim data on the Rūs' have been utilized is enormous, see V. A. Moshin, *Var'ago-russkiy vopros in Slavia*, Prague, 1931, x/1-3, pp. 109-36, 343-79, 501-37 (a digest of the more important works on the subject), and his *The origins of Rus'.* *The Normans in Eastern Europe* (in Russian), in *Byzantinoslavica*, Prague, 1931, iii/1, pp. 33-58, iii/2, pp. 285-307. See also Prof. P. Smirnov, *The Volga route* (in Ukrainian), Kiev, 1926, which particularly deals with the earlier Muslim sources. [Seippel, *v.s.*, p. 427, and Minorsky, *Rūs in EI*.]

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century the origin of the name of Russia (Рѹсь, Россія) has been the subject of hot discussion in Russian and western European literatures. Though the geographical names containing the element *Rus-* or *Ros-* may have more than one source, it is certain that the name *Rus'* as referring to the founders of the Russian state is of Scandinavian origin. The authentic Scandinavian form is doubtful (cf. the name of the coast *Roslagen*) but even now the Finns call the Swedes *Ruotsi* and this Finnish form may have given origin to the Slavonic *Rus'*, as the name of Finland itself *Suomi* has become *Sum'* in Russian. The name *Rus'* practically had the same meaning as the somewhat later *Variag* (Варягъ, i.e., *Varegū*, Βάρυγος, *Waring*<sup>3</sup> referring to the parties of Norman adven-

<sup>1</sup> Const. Porph., cap. 31, calls the Βελοχρωβάτοι (White Croats to whom perhaps the name of the Carpathians *Karpat* is due) ἀβάντιστοι.

<sup>2</sup> Chwolson, *Izvestiya*, p. 143, pointed out that in *Svyvyt-mik* the first element as restored \**Svet-* suggests an eastern Slav transmission instead of which one would expect in the West a nasalized form *Svet* < *Svent*, cf. Σφενδοπλόκος. The exact time at which nasal sounds disappeared in Slavonic languages is of course difficult to define. According to Shakhmatov in the ninth century no more nasal sounds were in existence in

Russian. As regards the Czech the ninth-century form of the name in question was probably *Sventopluk* > now *Svatopluk* (my friend Dr. B. Unbegaun's letter, Paris, 23.ii.1936).

<sup>3</sup> In Arabic بَرِيْج, is first attested in Birūnī, but cf. § 24, 15. [The late Prof. A. A. Shakhmatov, *Introduction to the history of the Russian language* (in Russian), Petrograd 1916, p. 62, thought that the name *Variag* "reflected that of the *Franks* or *Frangs*, as all the western Europeans in general were called in the Balkans and the Levant, though the ways of the transformation *Frang* >

turers bound by an agreement or vow (*vār*). Since the beginning of the ninth century the fluvial system of the present-day Russia and Poland was constantly used by the Normans for their trade and war expeditions, as it appears from the abundant historical, archaeological, and toponymic evidence, cf. lately M. Vasmer, *Wikingerspuren in Russland*, in *Sitz. Preuss. Ak.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1931, pp. 649-74.

The traditional version of the Russian chronicles is that the Variags coming from beyond the sea used to levy tribute on the Čud', Sloveni, Mer'a, and all<sup>1</sup> the Kriviči [of whom the first and third are undoubtedly Finnish tribes and the second and fourth Slavs]. In A.D. 862 the Variags were expelled beyond the sea, but in their absence internal wars broke out. Therefore the above-mentioned peoples invited the Variags called *Rus'* and so the viking *R'urik* (\**Hraerekr*) built the town of Ladoga on the Volkhov river and his two brothers occupied the neighbouring country. In 882 *R'urik's* successor *Oleg* (\**Helgi*) occupied the capital of the Dnieper Pol'an'e and this was the beginning of the Russian Kiev state. The Scandinavian element of the new body politic was scarce (court, warriors, and perhaps merchants) and in a century's time the mass of Slav population succeeded in assimilating the strangers, see Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave*, Paris, 1923, i, 209. Even Russian chronicles clearly give us to understand that the *Rus'* were not the first Scandinavian vikings in Eastern Europe. The Byzantine sources know them at least from the earlier part of the ninth century. The most remarkable fact for our purpose is that the Byzantine embassy which in May 839 visited the Emperor Louis the Pious in Ingelheim was accompanied by some men of the people *Rhos* who were the envoys sent to Constantinople by their king *Chacanus* and who now wanted to return home; on this occasion it was discovered that the people *Rhos* was of Swedish origin (*gentis esse Sueonum*), see V. Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia*, Oxford, 1877, p. 39, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 202.

The principal Muslim sources refer to the momentous period of the establishment of the Northmen among the Slavs and it is essential to disentangle the data referring to its successive stages. Our oldest source I.Kh., as already mentioned p. 429, l. 25, mixes up the Rūs with the Slavs and traces their commercial activities between Spain and China. There is no trace in I.Kh. of a Rūs state. He calls the Don (?) "river of the Slavs".

The common source of I. Rusta, *H.-'Ā.*, Gardizī, 'Aufī, &c., most formally distinguishes the Rūs from the Slavs. The latter, primarily the

*Varang* are still obscure." *Ibid.*, 68, he says that the *Rus* were known long before the so-called "invitation of the Variags". He further gives expression to the view that the *Rus* were the earlier Scandinavians established among the Slavonic and Finnish tribes, whereas

the Variags represented a new wave of Scandinavian movement.]

<sup>1</sup> The Russian word corresponding to "all" is here an evident mistake for the homonymous \*Бесъ, the name of another Finnish tribe.

Western Slavs, are represented as living under their own princes (cf. § 43), whereas the Rūs are described as occupying a damp island which has an area of 3 days by 3 days and lies amid a lake. These data point to the northern lands and seem to refer to the times before the foundation of the Kiev state,<sup>1</sup> but it is characteristic that in spite of the modest size of the territory the king of the Rūs is given the pompous title of *Khāqān Rūs* and that according to Gardīzī the island contained a population of 100,000 men (*mardum*). [Cf. also Yāqūt, ii, 834, where a similar statement is ascribed to Maq., though it is not found in *BGA*, iii.]

The Balkhī tradition (Iṣṭ., I.H.) knows very little about the [Western] Slavs (*Ṣaqālība*) between whom and the [Volga] Bulghār it places the Rūs. Here we have evidently to do with the Kiev period of Russian history. Iṣṭ., 225-6, distinguishes three "kinds" (*ṣinf*) of Rūs. The prince of those who live nearest to the Bulghār resides in the town of \*Kūyāba, *i.e.* probably Kiev (Const. Porph., cap. 8, Κιοῦβα or Κιοῦβα). The farthest distant Rūs are called ملاوية *Ṣ.lāwiya*,<sup>2</sup> which looks very much like a parallel form of *Ṣaqālība*, perhaps referring specially to the *Sloveni*<sup>3</sup> of Novgorod among whom the Normans first settled. The third group are the اراتية (many variants) whose king lives in اراتا (many variants). They are the wildest and kill the strangers who would penetrate into their country from which they themselves export black martens and *raṣāṣ* (tin or lead?) by a waterway. Since Frähn's *Ibn Fozzlan*, Annex I, p. 162, the name *Arthā* (*Arthā*) has been interpreted as *Erz'a*, which is the name of one of the two great divisions of the Mordva (§ 52).<sup>4</sup> The Constantinople MS., Iṣṭ., 226 n, very definitely says that the اراتا (*Arbā*, \**Arthā*) "are [or perhaps: trade?] between the Khazar and the Great (*a'ṣam*) Bulghār", which eventually suits<sup>5</sup> the *Erz'a*.<sup>6</sup> If the interpretation is right it indicates that there existed some Rūs centre in the Oka region.<sup>7</sup> Frähn pointed out that at Oleg's times a lieutenant of his lived in the town of Rostov on the territory of the Finnish Mer'a, and it is possible to imagine a similar situation obtaining in the region of the Mordva who, according to Nestor's "Initial" Chronicle,

<sup>1</sup> The "island" most probably refers to Novgorod (in Norse *Hólmgarðr*, *i.e.* "the island town"), cf. Thomsen, *o.c.*, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. xxxiv, 201, Westberg, *o.c.*, 1908, iii, 25.

<sup>2</sup> I.H., 285, adds: "and their king is in *Ṣ.lā*, a town of theirs." The variant ملاوية might indicate the reading of ملاوية as \**Ṣ.lāv-* (?), which, however, would be inexplicable.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Hypatios chronicle the original settlers in Novgorod were *Sloveni* (Словени).

<sup>4</sup> The story of the *Arthā* killing the strangers might favour the theory that the tribe belonged to the Mordva whose name is supposed to be an Iranian

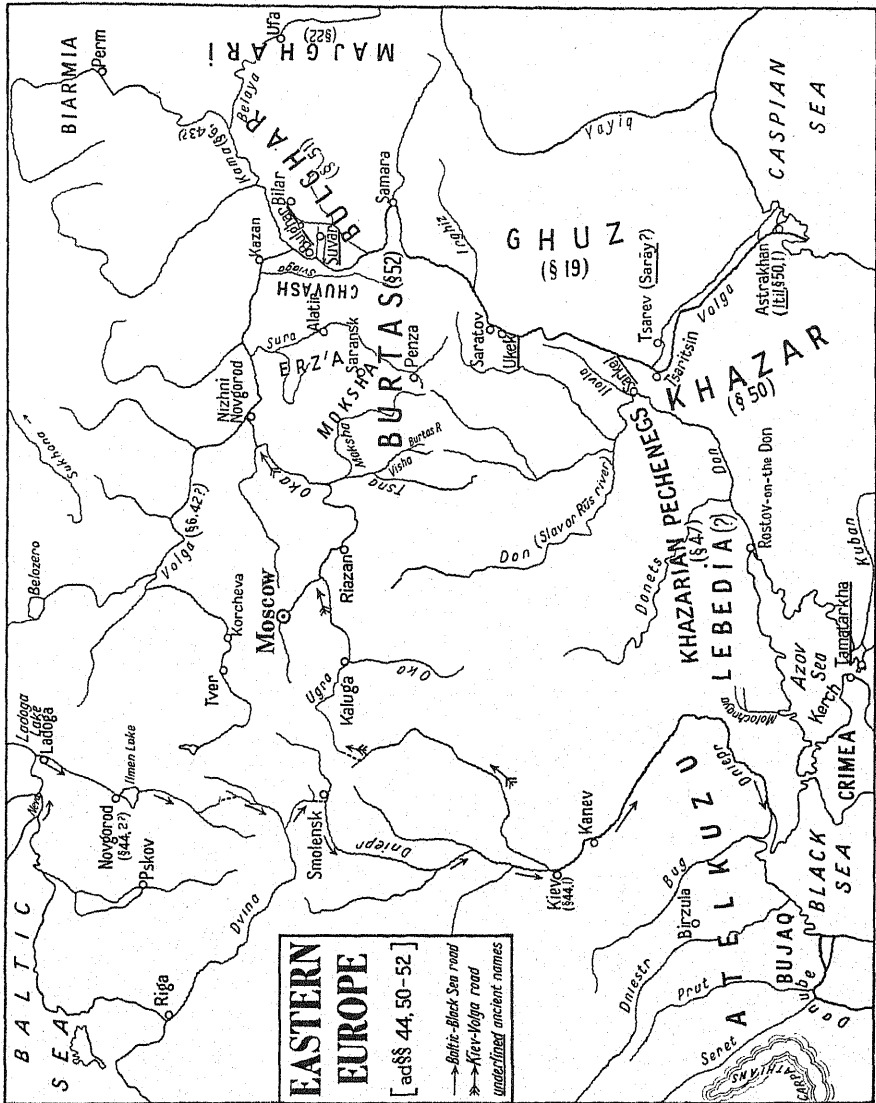
equivalent of the Herodotian ἀνδροφάγοι, *v.i.*, § 52.

<sup>5</sup> If the latter is the Bulghār town on the Volga, but the meaning of the term is not clear, *v.i.*, p. 439, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Westberg, *o.c.*, 1908, p. 398, attaching too much importance to the export of *raṣāṣ*, interpreted as "tin", thought that *Arthā* was Scandinavian! In the Persian translation of Iṣṭ., 226 k, ارزیز renders رصاص. Our §§ 4, 9, and 25, 13. show that *arziṣ* means both "tin" and "lead"; *qal'i* which only means "tin" may be an arbitrary addition by the translator who hesitated between the two meanings of *arziṣ*.

<sup>7</sup> *V.s.*, p. 217.

Map xii



equally paid tribute to the Rūs.<sup>1</sup> The identification *Arthā* = *Erz'a* conflicts with Išt.'s indication concerning Kūyāba being the nearest to Bulghār, but on the other hand *Arthā* must have lain to the east of Šlāwiya which was the farthest territory of the Rūs (with regard to Bulghār from which the description apparently starts).<sup>2</sup> [*Kūyāba* may be the "territory of K.".]

Our text is essentially a rearrangement of the above-mentioned sources. The dependence on the common source used by I. R. and Gardīzī appears from the following synoptic table. [ʿAufī in the first part of his report closely follows the same tradition.]

I.R.	Gardīzī	H.-ʿA.
the Rūs live on a wooded, damp island	D. 100,000 inhabitants (!)	entirely different (after Išt.)
Khāqān Rūs	D.	D.
raid Slavs by sea, sell them to the Khazar and Bulkār	D.	A. victorious over the neighbours
no agriculture: import food from the Slav land	D.	country rich in necessities; Slavs among the Rūs
newly born presented with swords	D.	N.
no villages*	N.	N.
traders in furs	D.	furs
neatly dressed; gold bracelets	D. linen clothes	woollen bonnets [linen mentioned under § 43]
kind to slaves and guests	D.	some of the R. practise chivalry
numerous towns*	D.	vast country
sulaymānian swords	D.	A. valuable swords
united against enemies	D.	N.
trial by kings; duels	D.	N. tithe to the government
physicians powerful	N.	A. physicians respected
courageous, enterprising;	N.	A. warlike
sailors, not horsemen		
trousers of 100 cubits	N.	D. as in I.R.
treacherous	N.	N. quarrelsome
nobles buried with all belongings and wives	N.	A. as in I.R.

\* Trace of contradictory sources.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the important town of R'azan' may be also connected with Erz'a. The town (first mentioned under A.D. 1095) was founded in the region where the Slav V'atichi (<Ventič'i) lived, but originally (from the 7th to the 9th century) the lands along the Oka probably belonged to the Mordva territory. Cf. V. A. Gorodtsov, *The ancient population of the R'azan' province*, in *Izv. otdel. russ. yazika*, 1908, t. 13, pp. 147-9. [However, the Erz'a, at least now, live to the east of the Moksha, *v.i.*, § 52.]

<sup>2</sup> *Arthā* has a variant *Arthā* which suggested to Chwolson the identification of \**Abārma* with Biarmia (Perm) of the Scandinavian sagas (Anglo-Saxon *Beormas*, Old Norse *Bjarmar*, cf. Thomsen, *o.c.*, 31). Eventually this identification would have the advantage of explaining our passage on the Pecheneg mountains (Ural?) which formed the eastern boundary of the Rūs and of better suiting the list of produce of the territory. Some indirect evidence in favour of Biarmia might be gathered from the fact that Išt. does not mention the two northernmost

The third source (Balkhī > Iṣṭ.) having supplied our author with the names of the three Rūs territories [*shahr*, "town or land"] the item on the damp "island" (I.R., Gardizī, 'Aufī) had to be thrown overboard. The country was then described as "vast" [cf. I.R.'s inconsequent mention of "many towns"] and couched into the habitual frame of boundaries. In the description of the "towns" the details on blades and swords are very probably a simple development of I.R.'s and Gardizī's item on the *sulaymānī* swords which the Rūs possess (*lahum al-suyūf al-sulaymāniya = wa andar miyān shamshūr-i sulaymānī farāvān bāshad*). On "Solomonian swords" see the *Qor'ān*, xxxiv, 10-12, cf. Chwolson, *o.c.*, 195. The detail on Ṣ.lāba is a development of Iṣṭ.'s indication as to its remoteness.

The only original statements which we can squeeze out of our text are those regarding the frontiers of the Rūs and the course of the Rūs river (§ 6, 44.).

The situation of the Rūs country, as understood by our author, appears from the following table:

Northern Lands		
Ṣaqlāb	RŪS	Pecheneg Mts.
Rūtā river		

which must be supplemented by the indications that the Majgharī (§ 23) had the Rūs to their north and west [=NW. ?], and that the Turkish Pechenegs (§ 20) lived to the south of the river Rūtā (*sic*) and had the Majgharī and the Rūs to their west [*resp.* to the west and north-west?]. As the Pechenegs are placed north both of the \*Bulghārs (§ 51) and \*Burtās (§ 52), which peoples were separated by the Volga, it is necessary to admit that the Pechenegs (see note to § 20) lived on both banks of this river. If so, it is difficult to find any other correspondence than the Oka for the river separating the Turkish Pechenegs from the Rūs (*v.s.*, p. 217). The Pecheneg mountains (Ural?) would then form the Rūs boundary somewhere in the region to the north-east of the Volga.<sup>1</sup> The latter river itself, at least down to its junction

peoples Isū (*Ves'*) and Yura (*Yugra*) of which the first, according to R. Hennig, must be sought near Cherdin (Чердынъ) on the Kama, see *Der mittellalterl. arab. Handelsverkehr in Osteuropa*, in *Der Islam*, xxii/3, 1935, pp. 239-65. [But cf. Marquart, *Arktische Länder*, 304, who still follows Frähn's theory according to which the Isū must be placed near Belozero.] In any case the reading *Arthā* is better attested. Quite lately V. Moshin took Arthā for the Tmutarakan'

colony of the Rūs (on the Taman' peninsula, east of the entrance channel of the Azov sea) but this hypothesis goes counter to Iṣṭ.'s indication as to the inaccessibility of the Arthā land, and its exports.

<sup>1</sup> See § 5, 19. where a mountain (Urals) is described as stretching between the end of the Rūs and the beginning of the Kimāk. Cf. also the eventual restoration of ابارة/اربا as \**Abārma* < *Biarmia*?

with the Oka, was evidently thought to flow in Rūs territory (§ 6, 44.) but the description of the "Rūs river" (upper Volga)<sup>1</sup> does not imply that *Urtāb*, *Š.lāba*, and *Kūyāfa* stood on its banks. The text only indicates that the river watered their "confines". Their enumeration logically goes in the inverse order to Išt. who certainly wrote as if he were looking from Bulghār westward. [*Urtāb* ارتاب corresponds to ارتابه < ارتان\*, v.s., p. 434.]

In his very interesting work on the "Volga route" Prof. P. Smirnov has lately advanced the thesis (see his conclusions, o.c., 223-9) that before the foundation of the Kiev state there existed on the middle Volga a Norman state under a *qaghan*. To support this theory he very ingeniously utilized such data as the report on the embassy from the *Chacanus* of the *Rhos* in A.D. 839, the mention of the *Khāqān Rūs* in the common source of I.R., *H.-'Ā.*, and Gardīzi, and the item of our source on the Rūs river. Along the latter he disposed the three towns so that *Kūyāfa* (?) comes to occupy the place of the future Nizhni-Novgorod at the junction of the Oka with the Volga; *Š.lāba*, that of the later Yaroslavl, and *Arthā* (?) is tentatively sought between the two, perhaps in the Oka basin. This hypothesis revolutionizes the accepted views on the origins of the Great-Russian nation. Here is not the place to enter upon its consideration as a new theory, but as regards the arguments derived from our source (which the author knew through Toumanský's excerpts) it is to be feared that no particular and decisive weight can be attributed to a text which is mainly a compilation and a re-arrangement of written sources with a dangerous tendency towards artificial systematization.<sup>2</sup>

#### § 45. The Inner Bulghār.

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 503-6, 517-19; Westberg, *K analizu vostoč. istoč.*, in *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, February 1908, pp. 387-9.

The term undoubtedly belongs to Balkhī for only the two geographers who remodelled his work mention the *Bulghār al-dākhil*. Išt., 226, writes: "the Rūs trade with the Khazars, Rūm, and Great Bulghār (*Bulghār al-a'zam*). They border from the north on the Rūm; their numbers are great and their might is reported to be such that they have imposed the

<sup>1</sup> I.Kh., 124, is evidently responsible for the indication that it flows from the Slav territory (see note to § 44).

<sup>2</sup> Among other sources Smirnov, o.c., 202-7, utilizes Idrīsī, ii, 401, who adds to Išt.'s data some characteristics of the three towns (*Š.lāwa* "sur le sommet d'une montagne"; *Arthān* "jolie ville sur une montagne escarpée", at 4 days' distance from the two other towns, &c.). No trust, however, can be put in these details, for which there is no authority in the earlier sources. These additions

left alone, the three names of Russian towns were undoubtedly found by Idrīsī in the traditional sources and must be clearly distinguished from Idrīsī's original data on his contemporary *Rūsiya* and *Qumāniya*, ii, 397-400. Therefore Idrīsī's كاي Kiev may easily be another avatar of the older كاي. Idrīsī combines various sources of different epochs and Marquart has shown how inaccurate ("Schwindelwerk") he is in eastern regions, cf. *Ērānshahr*, 261-2 (India), *Komanen*, 102-4 (Central Asia).



*kharāj* on those of the Rūm and Inner Bulghār who live near to their country. The Inner Bulghār are Christians." I.H., 286, gives a considerably different version: "the Great Bulghār border on the Rūm from the north; their numbers are great and their might is reported to be such that in the old days (*qadīman*) they imposed the *kharāj* on those of the Rūm who lived near them. As regards the Inner Bulghār there are among them Christians and Muslims." To this I.H. adds that in his time (*fī waqtinā hādihā*) no trace (*baqiya*) was left of the Bulghār, Burtās, and Khazar for the Rūs having attacked them appropriated their lands. Those who escaped from the Rūs lived scattered in the neighbouring places "in view of their attachment to their lands and in the hope that they would be able to enter a pact with the Rūs and place themselves again under the latter's authority".<sup>1</sup>

These parallel passages reflect some vagueness and confusion in the original source. The term "Inner Bulghār" is evidently opposed to "Outer Bulghār" (*Bulghār al-khārīja*) which name is given by Išt., 10, to "a small *madīna* (town, or country) having few dependencies and known only as the trading centre of those [northern] countries"; cf. a more complete description of the Volga Bulghār in Išt., 225.<sup>2</sup> The Inner Bulghārs were identified by Westberg, *l.c.*, with the Black Bulghars mentioned both in Const. Porph., *De admin. imp.*, ch. 12 and 42, and in Russian chronicles (as raiders of the Crimean Chersonese).<sup>3</sup> However, in the introductory part of his work, Išt., 7, describing the breadth of the earth and starting from the Ocean and Gog and Magog goes on as follows: "then [the line] skirts the farther side (*ṣahr*) of the Ṣaḡālība, crosses the land of the Inner Bulghār and Ṣaḡālība and goes along the Rūm country and Syria." Marquart, *o.c.*, 517, interprets this passage in the sense that Inner Bulghār and Ṣaḡālība both, as a sort of *hendiadyoin*, refer to the Danubian Bulghars ("so weist das darauf hin, dass beide Namen bereits Wechselbegriffe geworden waren"). This interpretation<sup>4</sup> is hardly correct and the impression of the

<sup>1</sup> I.H., 281, places the devastation of Bulghār by the Rūs in 358/968-9 referring undoubtedly to Sviatoslav's eastern raids. As Barthold has suggested in his *Mesto prikaspyskikh oblastey v istorii musul. mira*, Baku 1925, p. 43, the date properly refers to I.H.'s sojourn in Ṭabaristān where he collected the information on Sviatoslav's raid of 965.

<sup>2</sup> The difference between the *Inner* and *Great* Bulghar is not clear. The latter name according to I.H.'s improved text refers to the Danube Bulghār. In older Greek sources the "Old, or Great Bulghar" refers to the seats of the Uturghur, to the east of the Maeotis, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 503. In the explanation of *Bulghār al-a'ṣam* Marquart, *ibid.*, 518, hesitates between the Volga

and Danube. In Russian chronicles (1236) the "Great town of Bolgar" (великий городъ Болгарьскый) is the town on the Volga. Similarly the Hungarian Dominican monk Julian who, in search of the Hungarian kinsmen, travelled in A.D. 1234-6 beyond the Volga calls the country of the Volga Bulghars *Magna Bulgaria*, see G. Fejér, *Cod. diplom. Hungariae*, Budapest 1829, iv/1, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 503, places the Black Bulghars between the Dniepr and the Khazar lands, and further identifies them with the Kuturgur mentioned in Syriac and Byzantine sources.

<sup>4</sup> Marquart refers to the *Tanb̄h*, 141, where the Burghar are defined as a sort of Slavs. [Cf. p. 429, l. 25.]

text is that the Inner Bulghārs lived north of the [Western] Ṣaqālība, or in close contact with them, cf. the indications of the present paragraph.

Our author tries to weld together the data found in Iṣṭ. and in his other source but the result of this operation cannot be trusted. The details on the Ṣaqālība as the western neighbours of the Inner Bulghārs and on the Russo-Bulghār wars hail evidently from Iṣṭ., 7 and 226. The Mirvāt living to the east of our Bulghār along the Black Sea (cf. §§ 3, 6. and 46) reflect a wrong interpretation of the source which is better preserved in Gardīzī (*v.s.*, § 22 on the basic error with regard to the Majgharī territory).

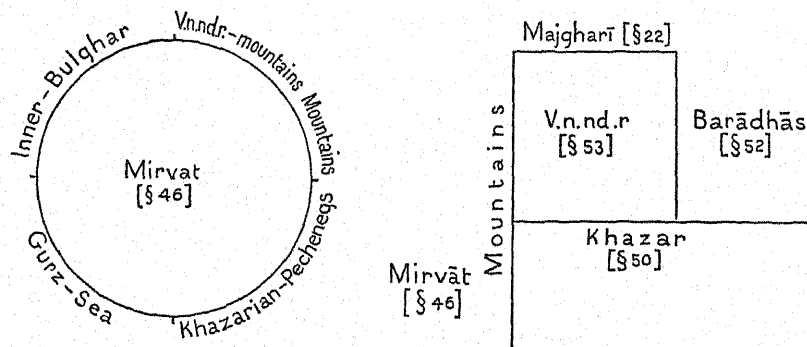
To sum up: our chapter is worth only as much as is due to Iṣṭ. who himself knows very little about Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Westberg's theory is too specious and Marquart seems to be right in identifying the *Inner Bulghār* with the Danubian Bulgars. Our author must have taken the different names found in his sources for four distinct peoples:

I.Kh.	Burjān (§ 42, 16.)
I. Rusta	Bulgharī (§ 42, 18.)
Iṣṭ.	Inner Bulghār (§ 45)
source common with Gardīzī	V.n.nd.r (§ 53) (?)

#### § 46. The Mirvāt.

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 118-20 and 539; Bury, *The Treatise "De admin. imperio"* in *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, xv, 1906, pp. 511-77 (especially pp. 561-8); Géza Fehér, *Ungarns Gebietsgrenzen in der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts*, in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, ii/1, 1922, pp. 37-69; Macartney, *The Magyars*, pp. 147-51; F. Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode*, Prague, 1933, pp. 212-47, 276.

This chapter ought to come logically after § 53. Our author's geographical indications can be resumed in the following schemes:



but all the tentatives to disclose the identity of the Mirvāt from this internal evidence have lamentably failed.<sup>1</sup> The solution came from another side.

<sup>1</sup> I have been trying successively to identify the Mirvāt with the Magyars expelled by the Pechenegs from their

Azov seats (cf. § 47), with the Crimean Goths, and with *Mopdia* mentioned by Const. Porph., *v.s.*, notes to § 20.

The only sure parallel of our *Mirvāt* (so vocalized) is Gardīzī's *M.r.dāt*. The discovery of our author's basic mistake with regard to the Majgharī territory (see notes to § 22) has shown the futility of the attempts of reconciling the views resulting from this erroneous conception with Gardīzī's passage which follows the tenor of the original report without trying to fit it into an imaginary scheme of "frontiers" (*ḥudūd*). Assuming that Gardīzī describes the Atelkuzu stage of Magyar migrations we have further identified the *N.nd.r/V.n.nd.r* with the Onoghundur-Bulgars living beyond the *Dūbā/Rūtā*, i.e. Danube, or perhaps Sereth (§ 53), and we shall now proceed one stage farther along the same road suggesting that the *M.r.dāt/Mirvāt* must be the "Moravians". Const. Porph., *De admin. imper.*, ch. 38, p. 170, says that after several years spent in Atelkuzu the Magyars were attacked by the Pechenegs and had to look for a new habitat; so they drove out the inhabitants of Great Moravia (ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία) and settled in the land "in which they are still living". In ch. 40, p. 173, the mention of Σέρμιοι (situated at 2 days' distance from Belgrade at the estuary of a river),<sup>1</sup> is accompanied by the note that beyond it (ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε) lies "the Great Unbaptized Moravia which the Magyars (Τοῦρκοι) destroyed and over which previously ruled Sventopluk (Σφενδοπλόκος)". Finally, ch. 42, p. 177: "The Magyars live beyond the Danube in the Moravian land (εἰς τὴν τῆς Μοραβίας γῆν) and also on this [i.e. southern] side of it between the Danube and Sava."

Gardīzī's source undoubtedly refers to the Magyars before their occupation of their present country ("Landnahme"). If so, this country lying to the north-west of the Carpathians was still in Sventopluk's possession and following Const. Porph.'s use could be called *Moravia* \*مراوة, to which مروات strikingly resembles.<sup>2</sup> The distance of 10 days which according to Gardīzī separated the *N.nd.r* from the *M.r.dāt* is also acceptable<sup>3</sup> if we consider the difficulty of communication across the Carpathians.

The name مراوة (var. مراره مراره) is indeed found in Mas'ūdī's report on the Slavs, *Murūj*, iii, 61-5,<sup>4</sup> where it is associated with \**Khurvāt-in* (Northern Croats? v.s., § 42) and \**Sākh-in* (Czechs?). As Mas'ūdī wrote in A.D. 943-4, i.e. after the "Landnahme", it is natural that he restricts the use of the term to Moravia proper and that he mentions the kingdom of the Turk (Τοῦρκοι = Magyars) in the neighbourhood of the kingdom of \**al-Firagh* (Prague).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sirmia (Sryem) lies north of the Sava and upstream from Belgrade.

<sup>2</sup> A transposition of l and j in Arabic script is extremely frequent, and for the substitution in Persian of a ت for the final ة, we have an example in خلت for \*جله in § 22, v.s., p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> If the *N.nd.r* = Danube Bulgarians, we have to reckon these 10 days from the old Bulgarian capital Preslav (at 4 hours' distance to the west of Shumen).

<sup>4</sup> The text was first edited and explained by Charmoy, in *Mém. Acad. SPb.*, ii, 1834, pp. 297-408, and in the last place by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 95-160.

<sup>5</sup> In Mas'ūdī's *Tanbih*, 67, the "Slavonic Nām-j-in and Murāwa" are mentioned on the river called \**Dunabawa-M.lāwa*. Mas'ūdī adds that many Burghar settled in this locality after their conversion to Christianity. Marquart, *o.c.*, 116, thought that this

We can now return to our author who has complicated the situation by arraying the triad of nations: Majgharī-V.n.nd.r-Mirvāt from north to south, so that the Mirvāt, instead of being found "behind the [Carpathian] mountains", came to live on the northern coast of the Black sea, to the west and north of the Khazarian Pechenegs (§ 47); from the latter they were screened by a phantom mountain which (*v.s.*, the sketch) was apparently imagined as a southern continuation of the "V.n.nd.r mountains" forming the frontier in the north. This mountain is a reminiscence of Gardīzī's mountain standing on the bank of the river "above" the N.nd.r,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* north of them. In the west and north the Mirvāt are made to border on the "Inner Bulghārs", whose name belongs to a different source (§ 45). All this is possible only in total oblivion of the Magyar seats on the Black sea coast!

As regards the general characteristics of the people in question Gardīzī says that the Christian M.rdāt dress like the Arabs and trade chiefly with them. The vestimentary detail has nothing strange in itself but the second item is more puzzling, unless we admit that Arab merchants could penetrate into Moravia from the Adriatic coast, or through Macedonia. Both Mas'ūdī's report and that of Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb, though of a later date, render possible the supposition that some relations existed between the Arabs and Sventopluk's dominions. Entirely fantastic are our author's assertions that the Mirvāt knew Arabic and were tent-dwellers. These may be merely personal deductions from the fact that the Mirvāt dressed like "Arabs".<sup>2</sup>

The confusion in our source is blatant and we are obliged to go in the first place by Gardīzī's less sophisticated parallel text. It could be objected that the identification of Mirvāt with Moravia conflicts with the description of the *Ṣaqāliba* (§ 43), subjects of the same Sventopluk. We must, however, admit that the source on the *Ṣaqāliba* has been utilized by I. Rusta, the *H.-'Ā.*, and Gardīzī, whereas the combination of *V.n.nd.r* and *Mirvāt* is known only to the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī who in this case must have used some special source [or additional passage!] to which we have to assign a date of circa A.D. 900. Therefore the mention of Moravia (= ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία) could easily be disconnected from its famous ruler, associated in the other source with the *Ṣaqāliba*.

passage referred to the Serbian Morava, *i.e.* to the southern affluent of the Danube, downstream from Belgrade. This Morava lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Bulgaria and from king Krum's times (d. A.D. 844) was under Bulgarian sway.

<sup>1</sup> Looking from Constantinople as the point of observation.

<sup>2</sup> All these details made me at first suspect the author of some knowledge of the Crimean peoples, of whom the Goths were Christians, recognized the

supremacy of Byzantium, entertained good relations with their Turkish neighbours of the steppe, and probably carried on maritime trade. See Westberg, *Die Fragmente des Toparcha Gothicus* [circa A.D. 963], in *Zap. Akad. SPb.*, 1901, series VII, tome v, No. 2, and lately A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (in Russian), *Izv. Gosud. Akad. Istorii Materialnoy Kulturi*, i, 1-80, ii, 179-282 (especially 239-49). Cf. also note to § 50, 4.

## § 47. The Khazarian Pechenegs.

In § 20 the older territory of the Pechenegs is described, up in the north, *grosso modo* between the Urals and the Volga. Our § 47 refers to the new seats of the Pechenegs when, following the events of A.D. 889-93, they came to occupy the Magyars' lands near the Azov sea. This chapter belongs to the Balkhī>Išt. tradition (cf. notes to § 20 where Išt., 10, is quoted) and corresponds to the historical facts. On the contrary, geographically we are in the region where our author artificially strings together information derived from different sources.

Išt. says only that the Pechenegs settled between the Khazar and Rūm.<sup>1</sup> Our author places some "Khazar mountains" east of the Khazarian Pechenegs.<sup>2</sup> The latter are imaginary unless they refer to the watershed between the Volga and the Don, but at all events we are given to understand (cf. § 50) that in the east they separated the Khazarian Pechenegs from the Khazars. In the south the Khazarian Pechenegs bordered on the Alān (cf. § 48) and in Mas'ūdī's account of the *W.lnd.rī* federation (which comprised the Pechenegs) it is said that these Turkish tribes lived on peaceful terms with the Khazar king and the Master of the Alān (*sāhib al-Lān*), *v.i.*, notes to § 53. The detail on the Gurz sea lying to the west of the Khazarian Pechenegs is due to some wrong idea about the configuration of the north-eastern corner of the Black Sea. To the north (and partly to the west, cf. p. 440) the Mirvāt are named as the neighbours of the Khazarian Pechenegs, but here we are certainly on a purely imaginary ground for between the Azov sea and the Danube our author tries to drive in, as a wedge, the Mirvāt whose name he found in his special source [or passage] unknown to I.Kh., I. Rusta, or Išt. The latter author, *v.s.* p. 314, l. 1, is right when he suggests that the Pechenegs extended westwards down to the Rūm, *i.e.*, practically speaking, to the Danubian region, for such was the case in the beginning of the tenth century when the Magyars had already left Atelkuzu behind. With this agrees Mas'ūdī's embroiled account of the *W.lnd.rī* hordes operating against the Byzantine empire. But the above-mentioned particular source, common to the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī, refers to the situation circa A.D. 900 (cf. § 42, 18.) when for a short period the Magyars screened the Pechenegs from Bulgaria (associated with the "Rūm" in point of religion). The situation in the steppes in this period is extremely dark and, following Mas'ūdī's account, we may imagine that some "swarming" of the tribes was taking place. In any case the victorious Pechenegs, after the Magyars had surrendered to them their Lebedia home, most probably remained in touch with the Magyars, for after a short while they again attacked them and drove them out of their new habitat stretching between the Dniepr and the Sereth. Consequently, at the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Const. Porphy. quoted in the notes to § 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 5, 18. where *miyān-i nāhiyat-i*

*Bachanāk-i Khazarī biburradh*, to suit § 47, ought to read: *miyān-i Bachanāk-i Khazarī [va Khazar] bigudharadh(?)*.

Atelkuzu period of Magyar migrations, which the special source [circa A.D. 900] had in view, our author ought to have mentioned the Magyars as the western neighbours of the Khazarian Pechenegs. He, however, not knowing what to do with the names *V.n.d.r* and *Mirvāt* arranged the bearers of them from north to south, so that the Mirvāt came to occupy the region somewhere about the Crimea (instead of Transylvania!). So, briefly speaking, the items on the north-western frontier of the Khazarian Pechenegs must be due exclusively to our author's speculations.

For the further destinies of the Pechenegs 'Aufi's text published by Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 99, and Marquart, *Komanen*, 40, is of great interest. 'Aufi (thirteenth century) writes that the arrival of the *Q.ri* (*Qūn?* v.s., notes to §§ 14, 1. and 21) in the Sārī land made the inhabitants of the latter move into the land of the Türk-māns [= Ghuz] with the result that the Ghuz [= Türk-mān] went to the land of the Pechenegs near the coast of the Armenian (= Caspian?) sea.<sup>1</sup> Marquart, *Komanen*, 54, places these events in the beginning of the eleventh century but finally, p. 202, leaves the whole question in suspense. Barthold (in his review of Marquart's book) admits that 'Aufi has in view the migration of the tribes in the eleventh century when the Qipchaq (see notes to § 21) drove the Ghūz out of their steppes. For a short time the supremacy in the southern Russian steppes passed to the Ghūz. Russian chronicles under A.D. 968 register the first incursion of the Pechenegs into Russian lands. In their turn the Pechenegs must have been considerably weakened by A.D. 1036 when Yaroslav of Kiev defeated them.

#### § 48. The Alān.

Vsevolod Miller, *Osetinskiye et'udi*, iii, Moscow, 1887, pp. 1-116; J. Kulakovsky, *Christianity of the Alans* (in Russian), in *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik*, v, 1898, pp. 1-18 [according to the author the Alans were converted *en masse* only in the beginning of the tenth century, while Nicholas the Mystic was patriarch in Constantinople in 901-7 and 912-25]; J. Kulakovsky, *The Alans according to Classical and Byzantine Authors* (in Russian), Kiev 1899 [a very thorough study]; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 165-71; Täubler, *Zur Geschichte der Alanen*, in *Klio*, ix, 1909, pp. 14-28 (notes on ancient history); Barthold, *Allān* in *EI*; Marquart, *Komanen*, pp. 107-9 (the Alāns to the east of the Caspian Sea); Bleichsteiner, *Das Volk d. Alanen*, in *Berichte d. Forschungs-Institutes f. Osten und Orient*, Wien, ii, 1918, pp. 4-16; Marquart, *Iberer und Hyrcanier*, in *Caucasica*, fasc. 8, 1931, pp. 79-88 (critical remarks on Täubler). [J. Charpentier, *Die ethnographische Stellung d. Tocharer*, in *ZDMG*, 71, 1917, pp. 347-88, contains (pp. 357-66) a detailed study of the Osset connexions; the author makes a point of showing the identity of the *Wu-sun* (Chinese name of a people in the neighbourhood of the Issikul), *Ἀσίοι*, *Asiani* (who towards

<sup>1</sup> The term دریای ارمینه (*sic*) is very strange and suits the Caspian better than the Black sea which we would expect at this place!

A.D. 200 became the lords of the Tocharians, as results from Justin's epitome of Trogus Pompeius) and *Alani* [?]. As regards the Caucasus Charpentier, p. 363, considers the Ossets as an independent branch of the great Alān people.]<sup>1</sup>

§§ 48 and 49 ought to come logically after § 36 (Shirvān).

The Iranian Alāns, later called Ās (cf. § 50, 4. Tūlās) were the ancestors of the present-day Ossets (from Georgian *Ovs-et'i* < *As*). All the bearings of the frontiers in this paragraph must be rectified by 90° (e.g., instead of *east* read: *north*; instead of *west* read: *south*). The item on the Alāns bordering in the west (\**south*) on the Rūm is explained by the fact that the Georgians (Gurz) are described under the Byzantine Empire (§ 42, 15.).

[*Additional note.* In the *Armenian Geography* composed towards the eighth century (?) the westernmost Alans are called *Ashtigor*. The name, most probably, is an Armenian rendering of \**As-Digor*. *Digor* (further appearing in the same *Geography* as *Dik'or*) is the name of the present-day western Ossets, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 170. *Ash* as an original form is hardly possible there being no *š* in Osset (at least in the present-day dialects) and the appearance of this foreign sound must account for the surd *t* of *Tigor* (instead of \**Digor*).<sup>2</sup> The restoration \**As* can be supported by the fact that nowadays the Ossets call their western neighbours the Balqar Turks *Asiag* and their territory *Asi*<sup>3</sup> having evidently transferred to them the name of their own tribe which formerly occupied the region near the Elburz.<sup>4</sup> Some temporary elevation of this particular branch may account for the generalization in Muslim literature of the Mongol epoch (thirteenth century) of the term *Ās*, instead of the older *Alān*. However, the Mongol dominion, under which many *Ās* were carried away as far as China must have dealt a fatal blow to the western Ossets. Probably at that time (?) the region near the Elbrus (i.e. the valleys along the westernmost sources of the Terek and the easternmost sources of the Kuban), was occupied by the Turks now respectively called *Balqar* and *Qara-chay*.

According to I.R., 148, the noblest (*ashraf*) of the four Alān tribes, the one to which the king belonged, was called دحساس \**D.khs-Ās*.<sup>5</sup> The \**Tuwal-Ās* mentioned in our § 50, 4. may be another ramification of the *Ās*. As the *Tuwal-Ās* are coupled together with the Abkhaz their notoriety may be due to their holding some important pass (e.g. the Klukhor connecting the Qara-chay territory with Abkhazia). At present *Twal-tā* is the name of the Ossets living on the southern slope of the Caucasian range but they may have been pushed south-eastwards by some wave of Turkish invasion.]

<sup>1</sup> All this is rather obscure.

<sup>2</sup> That the Osset *s* sounded to a foreign ear like *š* is shown by such names on the Turkish (former Osset) territory as *Ashtotur* < Oss. *Was-Totur* "Saint Theodore", Miller, *Oset. Et'udi*, iii, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Miller, *o.c.*, iii, 6-7.

<sup>4</sup> Const. Porph., *De cerimoniis*, ii, 48, speaks separately of the ἐξουσιοκράτωρ Ἀλανίας and the ἀρχοντες Ἀζλας (in whose land the Κασπείαι πόλεις = Darial are situated). This Ἀζλα may possibly refer to the *Ās*?

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps \**Rukhs-Ās*, cf. *Rox-alani*?

1. Kāsak (as in Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 184: الكاسكية) but *Murūj*, ii, 45: كشك,<sup>1</sup> corresponds to Byzantine *Κασαχία*, old Russian Касогы,<sup>2</sup> i.e. the present-day *Cherkes* (Circassians) who are of Caucasian race and speak a non-Indoeuropean language. According to the *Murūj*, ii, 45-6, the Kashak who did not live united under one king, were weaker than the Alāns but could resist them in the fortresses situated along the coast. Our author must have misunderstood his source for he speaks of the Kāsak under the Alān and consequently draws the latter's northern (read: \*western) frontier along the Black sea coast. Marquart, *Komanen*, 181, explains the later name *Cherkes* from Persian \**chahār-kas* "the four tribes of the Kas" (?), cf. also *Streisüßge*, 10, 145, 161, 175, 479. The Cherkes call themselves by an entirely different name *Adige*.

The Kashak are not mentioned in I.R., Iṣṭ., or Gardizī and here again, as in the account of *Lyzān* (§ 36, 36.) we find in the H.-'Ā. some common traits with Mas'ūdī.

2. *Khaylān* (?) is otherwise unknown, unless it is a repetition of *Khaydān* mentioned under the Sarīr (§ 49, 2.), but *Khaydān* was separated from the Alān territory by the whole length of the Sarīr.

3. *Dar-i Alān*, cf. § 5, 18 D., is the celebrated *Bāb al-Lān*, i.e. the Darial pass in Central Caucasus on the Military Georgian road connecting Vladikavkaz with Tiflis. The Ossets now live astride of the pass [cf. § 36, 33.]. Our author shows no direct knowledge of the description of the Alān castle (*Qal'at al-Lān*) in Mas'ūdī, ii, 42. The item about the 1,000 guards of the fortress is found in Ibn Rusta, 148.<sup>3</sup> The detail about the Christian religion of the king agrees with Ibn Rusta, 148, and Gardizī, where it is expressly stated that the king's subjects are heathens. *V.s.*, p. 444, l. 26.

According to Mas'ūdī, ii, 42, the capital of the Alāns was called معص \**Maghaṣm* meaning "piety" (*ḍiyyāna*). It is not mentioned in any other Muslim source but may be connected with the city *A-su Mie-k'ie-sz'* (probably "M., city of the Ās") which is several times mentioned in Chinese sources (*Yüan-shi*, &c.) in the accounts of Mangū's expedition in Northern Caucasus in A.D. 1239, cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, i, 316-7.<sup>4</sup> See also Pelliot, *Jour. As.*, April 1920, pp. 168-9, who further identifies the town of the Chinese sources with مکس or مکس mentioned in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, pp. 43, 47, after the expeditions to قریم (*Qrim*? "Crimea") and before that to Darband. However, in Juvayni, GMS, i, 222, مکس (var. مشکو) mentioned together with Bulghār seems to refer to the Moksha (a Mordvan tribe, cf. § 52) and such may be the case of p. 225<sub>1</sub>; p. 224<sub>4</sub> آس is perhaps also a mis-spelling of the same name.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Tanbih*, 184, both *Kāsak* and *Kashak* are mentioned erroneously as separate peoples.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *Garš* and *K'ut* in the *Armenian Geography*, Marquart, *Komanen*, 181, suggests to read *K'arš* (i.e.

*Kashak*, *Cherkes*) and *Gut* (i.e. Crimean [?] Goths). <sup>3</sup> *V.s.* p. 68, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> It is more difficult to connect the Chinese name with the eastern neighbours of the Ossets the Chechen called in Russian sources *Michkiz*, *Mizjeg*, &c.



## § 49. The Sarīr.

*Sarīr* is no original name of the country, being only an abridgement of the title *ṣāhib al-sarīr* "Master of the Throne" which the Arabs gave to the local king (on his golden throne *sarīr*, in our text *takht*, see I.R., 147, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 41, Iṣṭ., 223). I.R. and Gardīzī, 101, call the king respectively *اور* and *اراز*. This detail suggested to Marquart and Barthold (*Daghestān* in *EI*) the identification of the Sarīr with the Avar people in Daghestan (on the middle one of the Qoy-su rivers of which the united waters, under the name of Sulaq, flow into the Caspian south of the Terek).<sup>1</sup> Balādhurī, p. 196 *in fine*, discussing the titles given by Anūshīrvān to the princes of Daghestān says: "the khāqān of the mountain (*khāqān al-jabal*) who is the Master of the Throne is called *وہرارانشاہ* (variants: *وہرارانشاہ*, *وہرارانشاہ*)". Thomas Artsruni (tenth century) mentions the people Aurhaz-k' (*Աւրհազք*) jointly with the Tsanar-k' (*Տանարք*, § 36, 33.), cf. Marquart, *o.c.*, 496. In the *Zafar-nāma* (written in A.D. 1424), i, 772, 777, 779, the Daghestan Avars are called *Auhar*, and this form is very much like the first element of the king's name in Balādhurī.<sup>2</sup> Mas'ūdī, ii, 41, relates a story of the descendance of the Master of the Throne from Bahrām Gūr, and abusively confers on him an additional title of *Filān-shāh* (*v.i.*, § 50, 3c.). The connexion with the Master of the Throne seems to have been much appreciated for not only Mas'ūdī speaks of the matrimonial ties between the Alān and the Sarīr princely families but we know that Ishaq b. Ismā'il, ruler of Tiflis *circa* A.D. 830–53, was married to a daughter of this king, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1416, and Thomas Artsruni, transl. Brosset, pp. 143, 168. The important historical role of the Avar principality is shown by the fact that the Avar language is still a sort of *lingua franca* in Daghestan. This language, belonging to the local eastern Caucasian group has, however, nothing to do with the original language of the Avar invaders who first organized the principality of the Sarīr. See Map xi.

[The Avars were the great conquerors of the fifth century who about A.D. 461–5 drove the Sabirs westwards. They are the people which the Chinese call *ŷou-jan* or *ŷuan-juan* and which, according to P. Pelliot, was of Mongol race.<sup>3</sup> In A.D. 551 they were vanquished by the Turks (T'u-chüeh)

<sup>1</sup> The Avars are now an entirely Daghestanian people, but their name may reflect that of some former dynasty issued from the pre-Islamic *\*Aβapoi*, *\*Aβāpeis*, see I.Kh., 92 and 119: *al-Abar*, cf. Marquart, *Komanen*, 74–5.

<sup>2</sup> In Armenian *Aurhazk'*, *k'* is the suffix of plural and the group *rh*, with usual metathesis, must stand for *hr*. In *\*Auhraz* I consider *z* as an Iranian suffix of origin similar to that of *Gur-z*, *Lak-z*, *Lāy-z* (§ 36, 36.). Consequently the Armenian form *\*Auhra-z* (easily < *Auhar-z*) is identical with later Persian

*Auhar* (> *Avār*) and in its light we may restore Balādhurī's title, which consists of a name+suffix *z*+suffix *ān*. As regards the form *وہرار*, we may suppose that it is a result of several tentatives to transcribe the difficult name containing the elements *ورا* usually confused in writing. One of the *ر* may be superfluous and with *\*وہرا* (or still better *اوہرا*) we approach the Armenian form. The tentative restoration would be *\*Auhar-z-ān-shāh*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. T.-Pao, xxxii/4, 1936, p. 235.

and according to Theophylactos Simocatta fled partly to China (*Ταυρόδοτ* = *Tabghach* = the Wei dynasty) and partly to the *Μουκρί*. On the contrary, the Avars who first came into touch with the Byzantines towards A.D. 557 only assumed the name of their famous predecessors whereas in reality they belonged to the *Ὀγούρ* (Uyghur) tribes *Οὐόρ*, *Χουούρ*, &c. Cf. Marquart, *Die Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschriften*, 94, *Ērānšahr*, 52-5, 84, &c., *Streifzüge, passim*, and Chavannes, *Documents*, 229-33. One should think then that the Avars who gave a dynasty to northern Daghestan belonged to the later "Pseudo-Avars", though the question needs still a special investigation. As regards the *Mukri* who were joined by a part of the true Avars they are usually identified with the Tunguz people *Mu-chi* (*Wu-chi*) or *Mo-ho* which lived north of Corea, cf. Herrmann, *Historical Atlas of China*, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1935, Map 30), but Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 54, ult. was inclined to take them for the *Merkit* (see, however, his later *Komanen*, 88). In favour of this opinion one could quote a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of the scholars. According to Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, vii, 90 (transl. v, 70) one of the four divisions of the *مکریت* or *مکریت* was called *اوه* (\**Auhar*?), which name is, indeed, reminiscent of the title borne by the Sarīr king. This item does not, of course, constitute a proof for the "true-Avar" origin of the rulers of Sarīr, who, following Theophyl. Simocatta's theory, could have usurped a name which did not strictly belong to them, but the resemblance of the names in both cases is a testimony for its original form. It must be finally remembered that the evidence for the distinction of the true Avars and Pseudo-Avars, depending chiefly on one Byzantine source, is rather frail and a complete disappearance after A.D. 552 of a warrior race would be unexpected.]

On the mountain of the Sarīr see § 5, 18. On the wrong idea of the sources of the Kur see § 6, 56. Our author makes the Sarīr border on the Rūm, the latter term evidently referring only to the Georgians (§ 42, 15.).

No parallels could be found for the story about the giant flies (*pasha*). Mas'ūdī, ii, 42, gives the name \**Maghaṣ*<sup>um</sup> to the Alān capital (*v.s.*). Could not some popular etymology \**Maghaṣ* > Persian *magas* "fly" have served as a starting-point for a story reflecting some discontent with the neighbours? [?]

1. On the king's castle see also § 5, 18 c. Mas'ūdī, ii, 42, calls the seat of government (*dār al-mulk*) of the Sarīr *حمرج* (حمرج; d'Ohsson quotes the variant *خندخ*). This place may correspond to the present centre of the Avar territory, Khunzakh (\**خنخ*). See Map xi.

2. *خندان* (perhaps repeated under § 48, 2.) corresponds to *خيربان* in I.R., 147, and Gardīzī, 109, and *جندان* in Mas'ūdī, ii, 7, 39. Already d'Ohsson in his very good book *Des peuples du Caucase*, Paris 1828, p. 19, wrote: "il me paraît hors de doute qu'il faut lire *خندان* puisque le pays ici désigné est encore habité par les Kaitacs (*قیتن* dans Abul-Fidā<sup>1</sup> et

<sup>1</sup> Abul-Fidā, p. 71, says that *ḡabal al-Qytq* (perhaps for \**Qabq*?) stretches

from the coast of the Caspian sea near the town of *Bāb al-abwāb* in a southern

Kātib-Chelebi).<sup>1</sup> Marquart in the additions to his *Streifzüge*, 492, came practically to the same conclusion. The Qaytaq (speaking [now] a Daghestanian language) live on the rivers Gumri (\**Humri*?) and Darbakh, along the coast immediately north of Darband.<sup>2</sup> I.R., 147–8, quoting from some earlier source calls the king of *Khyzān* Adharnarsē and says that he is equally respectful to the three religions of his subjects (Muslims, Jews, and Christians). He places *Khyzān* at 12 *mansils* “to the right”<sup>3</sup> of the Master of the Throne’s castle which distance is certainly exaggerated, unless it is based on a confusion with a different *Khyzān*. According to Mas’ūdī the *fydān* was formerly a part of the Khazarian principalities (*dākhila fi jumlat mulūk al-Khazar*); in his times the king, a Muslim said to be of the Qaṭṭān tribe, bore the hereditary name of سلیمان.<sup>4</sup>

A certain difficulty results from some of Balādhurī’s data on خیران: p. 204, in the enumeration of Salmān’s federates he mentions “Shakki, *Khyzān*, Shirvān”, &c., as if they were neighbours; p. 206, he says that Jarrāh after having attacked the people of حميرين (\**Humrin*? cf. Balādhurī, 208) settled them in the “*rustāq* (*sic*) of *Khyzān*” which suggests a place in the rear [?]. Finally I.Kh., 124, in his identification of the ‘places mentioned in the Qor’ānic legend of Moses, mentions “the village of *Khyzān*”<sup>5</sup> along with Bājarvān (south of the Araxes) and Shirvān. Between Baku and Qubba there exists on the Ata-chay a village and a district of *Khizi* which may be taken into consideration in connexion with the above hints. Its distance from the capital of the Sarīr would roughly suit I.R.’s “12 *mansils*” (*v.s.*).

Mas’ūdī entirely separates *fydān* from the Sarīr but I.R. and Gardīzī speak of *Khyzān* in the middle of the chapter on the Sarīr. This arrangement which evidently existed in the common source is responsible for the place which our author assigns to *Kh.ndān* in the present chapter. The Sarīrian “generals” living in the town may be only an echo of the original report on the king Adharnarsē.

3. A parallel of رنجس is found only in I.R., 148, who places رنجس at a distance of 10 farsaks from the town of *Khyzān* and describes the cult of the tree practised by its inhabitants, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 15. The

direction. Then quoting from *al’-Azīzī* (cf. note to § 60, 4.) Abul-Fidā adds that this mountain is called *Jabal al-alsun* because some 300 languages are said to be spoken on it. Then he proceeds “and on its northern side are الفتيق \**Qaytaq* who are a (special) race (*jins*); and on its southern side the Lazgī who are also a (special) race”.

<sup>1</sup> *Jihān-nūmā*, pp. 401–2.

<sup>2</sup> Marquart, *o.c.*, p. 492, identifies *fydān* with *Majālīs* (on the left bank of the Buam). However, the usual residence of the *Utsmī* of the Qaytaq was at *Bashli*, or *Barshli* on the Humri river, cf. Klaproth, *Tableau du Caucase*, 1827,

p. 139. D’Ohsson, *o.c.*, p. 10, proposed the identification of this place to برشلي where according to Balādhurī, p. 195, Anūshirvān met the khāqān of the Khazars. Consequently خيداق \* may be Bashli = برشلي [= Armenian *Varaḥ’an*].

<sup>3</sup> It can mean only to the “south-east” for, p. 148, the Alān territory begins at 3 days’ distance “to the left” of the Sarīr.

<sup>4</sup> The title may be Turkish, cf. the title *Se-li-fa* many times mentioned in Chinese sources, see Chavannes, *Documents*, Index.

<sup>5</sup> Marquart, *o.c.*, 492, was inclined to distinguish it from Mas’ūdī’s *fydān*.

only name I can think of is that of the river *Rubas* which waters the Tabarsarān district to the south-west of Darband. Following the coast north to south the districts come as follows: Qaytaq, Darband, Tabarsarān, but west of Darband the sources of the Darbakh (in Qaytaq) and the Rubas (in Tabarsarān) lie very close to one another. Therefore the mention of Rubas would not be unexpected after Qaytaq (\**Khaytāq*). رنجهس could easily be restored as \**Rubkhas* > *Rubas*.<sup>1</sup>

The mention of \**Masqut* lying farther south in the same direction (§ 50, 3.) may be explained by our author's reading off his map the whole series of names situated in one line. I.R., whose text is our sure parallel, after the intermezzo on *Khyzān* and *Rnh̄s*, finishes the chapter by mentioning a second castle belonging to the Master of the Throne: "it is called الال وغوميك and has a strong position; in it is the treasury (*bayt al-māl*) of the king and it was given to him by Anūshirvān". This fortress is undoubtedly غميق mentioned in Mas'ūdī, ii, 39, in the neighbourhood of Zirīgarān and the Sarīr, i.e. the present-day Qumiq situated on the southern branch of the Qoy-su in the proximity of the Avar territory.<sup>2</sup>

### § 50. The Khazar.

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, Index; Barthold, *Khazar* in *EI*; H. v. Kutschera, *Die Chasaren*, Wien 1910 (unimportant); J. N. Simchowitsch, *Studien z. d. Berichten arab. Historiker über d. Chazaren*, Berliner Dissertation 1920, still unpublished; the author's résumé in *Jahrbuch d. Dissert. der Philol. Fakultät . . . zu Berlin*, 1919-20, pp. 248-52, is reviewed by M. Palló in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, ii, 1922, pp. 157-60 (with a list of Hungarian literature on the subject): Simchowitsch studies the earlier history of the Khazars down to Harūn al-Rashīd's times; M. Kmoskó, *Die Quellen Iṣṭahrī's in seinem Berichte über die Chasaren*, *Körösi Csoma-Archivum*, 1/2, 1921, pp. 141-8;; M. Kmoskó, *Araber und Chasaren*, *ibid.*, 1/4, 1924, pp. 280-92 and 1/5, 1925, pp. 356-68. The Jewish sources on the Khazars have been recently republished by P. K. Kokovtsov, *Yevreysko-khazar'skaya perepiska v X veke*, Leningrad 1932 (exhaustive bibliography and very detailed commentary). Some Byzantine sources are quoted in Dietrich, *o.c.*, Index; see also Constantine Porphy., *De admin. imperio*, chap. 10, 12, 42 (scarce details).

The principal Muslim source on the Khazars is Ibn Faḍlān (in Yāqūt, ii, 436-40), many of whose data are found also in Iṣṭ., 220-5, though each of the two sources has a good many independent details. Since Frāhn it has been admitted that Ibn Faḍlān (who travelled in 309-10/921-2) was the

<sup>1</sup> The *Tā'rikh Bāb al-Abwāb* quoted by A. Z. Validi, *Azerbaijan*, p. 39, spells the name رواس but the name may have had an older form.

<sup>2</sup> The territory of Qumiq is occupied

by the Lak who are also called *Qazi-Qumuq* (to be distinguished from the Turkish *Qumiq* living further north-east towards the Caspian sea). Cf. Dirr, in *Peterm. Mitteil.*, 54, 1908, pp. 204-12.

source of Iṣṭakhri, but lately Kmoskó has advanced a new theory of their common dependence on some previous report drawn up towards A.D. 800.

Another source is that utilized by I.R., 119-20, Bakrī, Gardīzī, and 'Aufī.

Our author's very condensed report reflects both groups of sources and shows a knowledge of I.Kh. For the items of the Ātil town, the seven judges (governors?) communicating with the king, and the maritime customs Iṣṭ., 220-5, is undoubtedly responsible, but our author cuts down even such characteristic features as the existence of a dual political system under which the supreme chief only appointed the head of the executive power who was the real ruler. The system is mentioned in all the sources:

Const. Porphy. cap. 42, (cf. Marquart, <i>o.c.</i> , 27)	ὁ χαγάνος	ὁ πέρχ
Ibn Rusta	<i>Khazar Khāqān</i>	<i>Ayshā</i>
Mas'ūdī, <i>Murūj</i> , ii, 12	<i>Khāqān</i>	<i>Malik</i>
Iṣṭakhri	<i>Malik Khazar</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>Khāqān Khazar</i> , <sup>1</sup> or <i>Bek</i>
Ibn Ḥauqal	<i>Khāqān Khazar</i>	<i>Malik Khazar</i>
Gardīzī	<i>Khazar Khāqān</i>	<i>Abshād</i>

In the *H.-'Ā.* the two persons are run into one and the king (*pādshāh*) is called Ṭarkhān Khāqān, from the children of Ansā (cf. *Ayshā*, *Abshād*). The latter name was borrowed from the source common also to I.R. and Gardīzī, whereas the addition to the title *khāqān* of a further title *ṭarkhān* finds an explanation in the story of the interpreter Sallām's journey to the wall of Gog and Magog, I.Kh., 163, where *Ṭarkhān malik al-Khazar* is mentioned, though at another place I.Kh., 41, says that *ṭarkhān* was the title of lesser Turkish kings. [A Khwārazmian mercenary Rās-Ṭarkhān commanded the Khazar forces which invaded Transcaucasia in 147/764. Marquart, *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, 1924, p. 271, explains by this person's name that of the later town Astrakhan. Cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 328, استرخان \**Ās-tarkhān*?.]

Our author equally omits the important statement regarding the outward appearance of the Khazars: being of two distinct types (one very dark, the other fair-skinned and handsome) they did not resemble the Turks. Their language was also different from Turkish, but resembled that of the (Volga) Bulghārs, Iṣṭ., 225. According to this description the Khazar language of which no texts have come down to us, belonged to the aberrant branch of Turkish languages of which the only living representative is now the Chuvash language.

*Prima facie* our enumeration of the Khazar towns presents great difficulties. In fact these towns were only *four*, of which two were divided by the Volga near its estuary, and the other two lay in the Caucasian region (Balanjar and Samandar). Our compiler mentions the *two* Volga towns under *five* different names and thus his total rises to *seven*, to say nothing of the *five* additional names wrongly quoted under Khazar.

<sup>1</sup> The places of the rulers are wrong.

The complication with the Volga towns will be best presented in the following table:

Išt.	Western Ātil	Eastern Ātil
I.Kh.	البيضا	*خملينخ
I.R.	سارعشن	حسلع هب بلع
Bakrī	بارغش	حتلغ
H.-'Ā.	[Western] Ātil, بيضا and ساعر	[Eastern] Ātil and ختلغ

The three traditions, namely: *A* (Išt. < I. Faḍlān), *B* (I.Kh.), *C* (I.R. and Gardīzī), are all side by side incorporated in H.-'Ā. The order of enumeration fully confirms this conclusion.

1. and 2. are evidently borrowed from Išt., 220-3, who in the Khazar land knows only these two towns of which *Ātil* (read *Ātil* > *Etil*) was a double town for it was divided by the Ātil river (§ 6, 43.) into a western and an eastern part, the former being the residence of the king and his army, and the latter the commercial centre. The two towns lay probably near the estuary of the Volga. On their different names see the table above.

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 7, reckons from Darband to Samandar 8 days and thence to *Ātil* (so instead of *Āmul*) 7 days. According to Išt., 219, 227, the respective distances are 4 and 7 days, the distance between Samandar and the Sarīr boundary being only 2 farsakhs. These data indicate for Samandar a place somewhere between Kizlar (on the Terek) and Petrovsk (now Makhach-qal'a) on the Caspian sea. It is usually (Dorn, Marquart) accepted that Samandar<sup>1</sup> corresponds to Tarqu/Tarkhu, situated at a few Kms. to the south-west of Petrovsk and in favour of this opinion could be quoted the short distance between Samandar and the Sarīr, and our author's indication that Samandar lay near the sea-coast. Išt., 222, mentions extensive gardens and vineyards between Samandar, Darband, and the Sarīr, which detail is also not contradicted by the situation of Tarqu. Finally, in the letter of the Khazar king (though in the more extensive and still suspect version *B*, cf. Kokovtsov, p. 100) Samandar is placed "at the end of *T.dlū*" which may easily stand for *Tarkhu*!

3. In this paragraph the names borrowed from different authorities are jumbled together into a long list. We shall treat them in three groups.

3a. The first three names come exactly as I.Kh., 124<sub>12</sub>, enumerates them: *wa mudun al-Khazar: \*Khamlikh wa Balanjar wal-Bayḍā*. Of these Balanjar lay certainly in the Caucasian region. During his campaign of 119/737 Marwān penetrated into Khazaria, as it seems, through the Alān gate, i.e. the Darial pass in the Central Caucasus, and then (I. Athīr, v, 160) marched eastwards to Balanjar, Samandar, and al-Bayḍā. Consequently Balanjar is to be sought between the Darial and Samandar. The only other geographical detail referring to it is the existence of a river called *nahr al-Balanjar*, Balādhurī, 204, Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, 194 (in the account of

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the name may be \**Sumundur*, \**Samundur*, &c.

Salmān's campaign). The Khazar king's letter mentions a river *V.r.shan* situated at 20 farsakhs from the capital, Kokovtsov, pp. 86 and 102.<sup>1</sup> Marquart, *o.c.*, 16-19, compares this name with Balanjar<sup>2</sup> and tentatively identifies the Balanjar river with the Qoy-su "the Sheep river" (Abul-Fidā, 204: *nahr al-aghnam* flowing through the Sarīr). It is true that according to the Khazar letter the river ought to be placed much more to the north (Kokovtsov: *Kuma river*?) but then it would be difficult to understand how Marwān could march to Samandar via Balanjar. So besides the Qoy-su (Sulag), only some of the right affluents of the Terek, or the Khasav-yurt river could eventually be taken into consideration with regard to the still doubtful situation of Balanjar. As Samandar lay by the sea, al-Baydā, whither Marwān<sup>3</sup> marched from Samandar, could lie either to the south, or, more probably, to the north of Tarqu. As I. Athir, v, 160, definitely says that al-Baydā was the Khāqān's residence it must be identical with one of the two Volga towns, and more particularly with that which I.R., 139, calls ساریشن. The first element of the name \**Sārigh-sh.n* is evidently Turkish *sarigh* "yellow", a colour of which the Arabic *al-Baydā* "white" might be an approximate rendering, perhaps even more suitable for the original Khazar meaning.<sup>4</sup> Marquart, *o.c.*, 1, arbitrarily restores the second element شن as *shar* < *shahr*, but I am strongly inclined to think that the name \**Sarigh-shin* is the original form of the still enigmatic ساقسین *Saqsin*, as the geographers of Mongol times call a town situated by a mighty river and usually quoted along with the Volga Bulghar, cf. Barthold, *Saqsin* in *EI*.<sup>5</sup> To sum up: *Baydā* may be only an Arabic name for the first of the two Ātil towns already mentioned under 1. As according to Iṣṭ. the Khāqān lived in the western town, al-Baydā taken by Marwān, must be the latter. There is no record of the Arabs having crossed the Volga and in principle it would have been a most difficult feat.

3b. The following two names are borrowed from the source common

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that in the account of Maslama's campaign Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 381, says that he was met by the khāqān of the Khazars in ورتان, which here is an entirely different place from *Varthān* in Ādharbayjān and evidently refers to northern Daghestan. [It is very probable, however, that the name refers here to *Barshliya*, *v.s.*, p. 449, note 1, in Armenian *Varač'an*, see Moses Kalankatvats'i, book ii, ch. xxix, Russian transl. by Patkanov, SPb., 1861, p. 102.]

<sup>2</sup> Marquart, *ibid.*, 166, identifies *Balanjar* with *Varač'an* or *Varajan* by which name the Armenians call the capital of the Caucasian "Huns", but he withdraws this suggestion, *ibid.*, 492.

<sup>3</sup> He was coming from the west.

<sup>4</sup> The Khazar fortress on the lower Don Запекел = Russian *Bélaveža* "White tent" is called in the Khazar king's letter (version B) *Sharkil*, cf. Chuvash *shura* "white" and *kil* "house", as suggested by Poppe in Kokovtsov, *o.c.*, 105. [In Chuvash *u* < old *a*.]

<sup>5</sup> The geographical identity of *Saqsin* with the Ītil town was recognized by Westberg, *o.c.*, 1908 (March), p. 40; I think that even phonetically *Saqsin* < *Sarigh-shin* (or *-sin*?). [As a parallel cf. the name of *Tsaritsin* "Queen's town" (now Stalingrad), important centre situated on the Volga above Astrakhan, which is said to be a popular Russian etymology for the original \**Sarichin* (?) supposed to mean "yellow island" (?). \**Sari-sin* would mean "yellow tomb".]

also to I.R., Bakrī, and Gardīzī (see the table above). The unusual form of the first name *ساور* may have been influenced by the two towns *Shāvgar* in Transoxiana, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 174. The second name, as spelt by our author, would be \**Khutlugh* "happy" but to judge by I.R.'s variants it looks like a compound with the Turkish word *-baligh* "town". Very probably another form of the same name is I.Kh.'s *خلیج* (so instead of *خلیج* chosen by de Goeje) *Khamlikh*, possibly with a contraction from < *Khammalikh* < *Kham-balikh* < *Kham-baligh*. The first element still offers a difficulty. Marquart, *Komanen*, 71, rightly criticized M. Hartmann's restoration \**Khan-baligh*, but his own reading \**Qapigh-baligh* is still more improbable. That this town stood on the eastern bank of the Volga may be indirectly concluded from the fact that I.Kh., 124, quotes it as the terminus of the road from Jurjān, i.e. along the eastern coast of the Caspian.

3c. The last three names are found in I.Kh., 124, who following on the enumeration of the three Khazar towns says: "and outside al-Bāb (Darband) are *a.* the Malik of Suwar, *b.* the Malik of al-Lakz, *c.* the Malik of al-Lān, *d.* the Malik of Filān, *e.* the Malik of al-M.s.q.t, *f.* the Master of the Sarīr, and *g.* the town of Samandar". In this list *a.* corresponds to our *Swr*; *b.* to our *Lkn*, *c.* to our *M.s.ṭ*; *g.* was already mentioned under 2., and *c.* and *f.* are treated in separate chapters (§§ 48 and 49). Only *d.* Filān has been left out of consideration.<sup>1</sup>

Neither of the three names \**Lakz*, *Swr*, and *M.s.q.t* could be quoted in the tenth century under the heading *Khazar*. Even *Darband-i Khazarān* (§ 36, 40.) is a purely conventional historical term pointing to the fact that Darband (which from *circa* A.D. 800 remained in the hands of the Muslims) was a "frontier post" (*thaghr*) directed against the Khazars and their successors. In our author's times Darband and consequently the lands lying to the south of it belonged to the Shirvān-shāh, v.s., notes to § 36, 36. and Iṣṭ., 219. A remote reason for the inclusion of \**Lakz*, \**Suwar*, and

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps because our author, like Mas'ūdī, *Murāj*, ii, 42, took *Filān-shāh* for the hereditary title of the Sarīr kings. This, however, is inexact, for Balādhurī, 196, names separately *sāhib al-Sarīr* and *malik-Filān*. Nothing practically is known of this prince and his people. In Yāqūt's very valuable passage on the peoples of Daghestān, i, 438 (cf. *BGA*, i, 184) immediately after Ṭabarsarān (on the Rubas river) is mentioned *umma ilā janbihim tu'raf bi-Filān* which suggests that the Filān lived quite close to the Ṭabarsarān. After the Filān come the Lakz, al-Līrān, and Sharvān (*sic*). Balādhurī, 194, speaks of *سد البن* "the wall of the *L.b.n*" which the Sasanian Qubādh built

between Shirvān and Bāb al-Lān (Darial), cf. I.Kh., 123, *bāb L.bān-shāh*. This *L.b.n* probably corresponds to *Lip'in-k'* of the Armenian authors and *Lupenii* of Pliny, *n. h.*, vi, 29, and it is not impossible to connect *Lip'in*, &c. with *Fil-* by admitting a metathesis \**Lif/Fil*. It is true that Balādhurī, 196, specially mentions *Malik Filān* but the different sources may account for the difference *L.b.n/Filān*. [In the eastern part of Shakkī near the sources of the Turiyan-chay several places are found with such names as *Filīstī*, perhaps < *Fil-i Filān* (cf. the royal title of *Gil-i Gilān*). This is only a hint to the future investigators on the spot.]



\*Masqut in the Khazar chapter may be the fact that Marwān is said to have brought from his famous expedition (of 119/737) a number of Khazars whom he settled between the Samūr river and Shābarān in the lower parts of the Lakz lands (*fi sahl arḍ al-Lakz*), see Balādhurī, 207. On the middle course of the Samūr there is still a village Khazri < \*Khazari.

لک stands undoubtedly for لک Lakz. As mentioned above (§ 36, 36.) the Lakz, or a part of them, seem to be identical with the \**Khursān* (Balādhurī, 196: *وملك الک ویدعی حرسا شاه*). According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 6, the Shirvān-shāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd annexed the possessions of the Shirvān-shāh in our source (*v.s.*). Mas'ūdī, ii, 5, even adds that the Lakz kingdom (*mamlaka*) was the bulwark (*mu'awwal*) of the Shirvān kingdom. Balādhurī, 209, mentions a fortress of the Shirvān-shāh named خرش. The original extent of the Lakz territory is uncertain but they appear as the immediate neighbours of the Layzān (*v.s.*). According to Abul-Fidā, trans. ii/2, p. 299, the Samūr river flowed across the Lakz territory and Balādhurī's passage, 207, indicates that in the region between the Samūr and Belbela rivers the Lakz originally occupied even the plains. The name Lak-z as shown by Marquart, *ZDMG*, 49, p. 666, is formed with the Iranian suffix of origin -z and the stem of the name is \**Lak*. This is now the appellation of the Daghestanian Qazi-Qumuqs (Arab. غمق), living on the eastern branch of the Qoy-su. The linguistic evidence shows that the Lak once occupied a much larger area (Prince N. S. Trubetskoy's lecture at the School of Oriental Studies, 21.iii.1934), but the connexion of the Lakz with the present-day Lak is still uncertain. By metathesis *Lakz* became *Lasg*, which form was further used by Persians with the addition of the usual suffix of origin *Lasg-i* (in Russian *Lezg-in*, with the Russian "singulative" suffix -in). This later Perso-Turkish term came to denote indiscriminately all the Daghestanian mountaineers, but more especially those of the southern part of Daghestan, cf. Barthold, *Dāghestān* in *EI*. See Map xi.

On سور vocalized *Suwar* in I.Kh., 124, nothing is known and de Goeje's annotation: "سوار vulgo سور" (cf. § 51) remains on his responsibility. As a guess one might connect the name *Swr* (\**Sawir*?) with that of the people *Sabir* who were defeated by the Avars in A.D. 461; a part of them was settled by the Romans south of the Kur. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 83, pretends that the "Turkish" name of the Khazar was \*سیر (سیر).<sup>1</sup> [*V.s.*, p. 401.]

المسقط (cf. also § 49, 3.) vocalized in I.Kh. *al-Masqat* most probably must be read \**Masqut*.<sup>2</sup> Marquart, *Kulturanalecten in Ungar. Jahrbücher*, ix/1, 1929, p. 78, quotes as its parallels Armenian *Mazk'ut'k'*, *Maskut'*, &c., and ingeniously takes the present-day *Mushkur* for a later avatar of the old

<sup>1</sup> The *Swār* and *Suwr* whom the Khazar king mentions in the list of his neighbours, Kokovtsov, 98, do not seem

to be connected with Daghestān.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. a mountain south of Ganja called *Mashkut* on Russian maps.

name (the passage  $t > \delta > r$  is characteristic for the Iranian Tāti dialects, *v.s.*, note to § 36, 36.). The Mushkur district is situated south of the Samūr river, between the southern branch of the latter, Yalama, and the river Belbela, see Butkov, *Nov. istor. Kavkaza*, i, 94, cf. Abul-Fidā, transl. ii/2, p. 229. In Balādhurī's time (p. 196) Masqut had already ceased to exist as a kingdom.

4. These names [omitted in Gardīzī] occur in the following writers (cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 173, and *v.s.*, p. 445):

I.R., 139.	Ṭūlās	Lūgh.r
Bakrī	اين	اوغونه
'Aufī	Ṭūlās	Kūgh.r
Shukrullāh	Ṭūlās	K.rgh.ra

The earliest and clearest text on these peoples is found in I.R., 139, who says that "on one side" the Khazar lands adjoin "a huge mountain at the farthest end of which (*fī aqṣāhu*) live the Ṭūlās and Lūgh.r and which stretches to the land of Tiflis". To Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 31, 164-76, is due the ingenious explanation of the two names. He interprets Ṭūlās as \*Ṭūl-Ās in which Ās represents the well-known alternative name of the Alāns: old Russian *Yas*; Georgian *Ous-i* and, with the suffix denoting the country *Ous-et'i* > modern Russian *Oset-in*. In Muslim literature Ās replaces *Alān* (§ 48) in Mongol times, cf. Juwaynī, GMS, i, 214, 222: آس; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii, 448: آس. Bakrī's اين could then be easily improved into اس, and, as a compound, Ṭūl-Ās would be paralleled by the name of the principal clan of the Alān as given by I.R., 148: دحساس *D.ḥs-Ās*.<sup>1</sup>

The second name اوغر, cf. Bakrī's اوغونه, is restored by Marquart as اوغرية/اوغر *Aughaz*, i.e. Abkhaz, Arabic ابخاز, Greek Αβασγοί, [Contarini, ed. Hakluyt Society, p. 144: *Avogasia*]. This people occupies, on the Black Sea coast, the south-westernmost slopes of the Caucasian range, which quite well suits I.R.'s mention of the "farthest end of the mountain" and Bakrī's, p. 45, clear indication that the people in question lived "below that mountain on the sea-coast". In the tenth century all the western Georgians (of the Rion basin) were usually called Abkhaz after the dynasty which ruled them. Mas'ūdī, ii, 65, seems to distinguish between the جرجان (Eastern Georgians) and the Abkhāz, whereas our author quotes Eastern Georgian lands under Armenia but extends (§ 3, 6.) the name *Gurz* (Western Georgians) even to the Black Sea. Therefore, following our text اوغر < \*لوغر would refer only to the real Abkhaz.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is indeed possible that the name of one of the clans was substituted to that of the *Alān* in general. Abul-Fidā, p. 203, who wrote at the epoch when the terminology was changing, says that the *Ās* are a Turkish (?) people living near the Alān, being of the same origin as the latter (!) and professing the same religion. [*V.i.*, p. 481, 3.]

<sup>2</sup> 'Aufī and Shukrullāh consider the Ṭūlās and Kūgh.r (K.rgh.ra) as "two kinds of Turks" [cf. also Abul Fidā, quoted above in note 1]. The term *Turk* is here applied in a loose sense: not only the Magyars but the Rūs as well were considered Turks by Muslim writers. اس طولاس could even have been mistaken for اس تولاس (*v.s.*, notes to § 14).

So far, so good, but Marquart in his *Streifzüge*, 173, 495, overreached the goal by further identifying the *Ṭūlās* and \**Aughaz* respectively with the *N.nd.r* and *M.rdāt* mentioned in Gardīzī. This part of his theory is undoubtedly wrong and Marquart himself later hinted at the proper explanation of the term *N.nd.r* (see §§ 46 and 53).<sup>1</sup>

Summing up the situation, we should:

(1.) distinguish between the two pairs of peoples (see notes to §§ 42 and 53);

(2.) locate the *Ṭūlās* and *Lūgh.r* in the western Caucasus;

(3.) provisionally maintain the first part of Marquart's hypothesis: *Ṭūlās* = some tribe of *Ās*, and *Lūgh.r* = Abkhaz.

Our additional remarks will be as follows:

(4.) I.R., 139, only says that at the farthest end of the mountain near which lay the Khazar land, lived the *Ṭūlās* and *Lūgh.r*, whereas our author makes of the latter "two districts of the Khazar". It is true that in the seventh century the Khazars penetrated down to Tiflis through the central Caucasian pass but the western Caucasus was hardly ever under Khazar sway. Our author's mistake may be somehow connected with the frequent confusion of *Khazar* with *جوز* *jurz* "Georgians". I.R.'s detail on the mountains "stretching to the land (*bilād*) of Tiflis" is perhaps a hint of some mention of the Jurz in the original source.

(5.) The first element of *Ṭūl-Ās* is confronted by Marquart, *ibid.*, 172, with the name of the Alan prince Dula, known from Magyar sources.<sup>2</sup> It is much simpler, however, to identify it with the Osset *Tual-tā*, i.e. the Tual, or Southern Ossets, in Georgian *Dvali*, who on the map annexed to Brosset's edition of Prince Vakhush't's *Geography*, St. Petersburg 1842, are shown (1) north of the Caucasian range on the upper course of the Ardon which is the left tributary of the Terek, and (2) in the upper valley of the Great Liakhvi which, south of the range, flows into the Kur. The Tuals living in the heart of the Caucasus would very well suit the requirement of our case including the remark on the warlike character of the people. The name *طولاس* would then be read \**Ṭuwal-Ās*.<sup>3</sup> See Additional Note to § 48.

(6.) As regards Bakrī's report on the *اوغوز* and *ابن*, here is a com-

<sup>1</sup> However, it remains possible that a similar confusion of the two pairs of names had already occurred in Muslim authors themselves and there may lie the explanation of some puzzling characteristics of the *Mirvāt* in our author and Gardīzī (*v.s.*, § 46).

<sup>2</sup> Even in *Ungar. Jahrb.*, ix/1, 1929, p. 86, Marquart repeats: "ich bin . . . nach wie vor der Ansicht, dass jener Name [*Dula*] mit dem des Stammes *Ṭūl-ās* zusammenhängt."

<sup>3</sup> There exists a Georgian family Tulasdze but I am unable to ascertain their origins. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii/2, p. 151, mentions a locality T'ula which does not seem to be connected with the Ossets. In any case, the attested Georgian form of the name Tual is *Dval-i* (from which the family name of Dvalishvili is derived). [The imaginary name *دوالی* which Nizāmī in his *Iskandar-nāma* gives to the Abkhāz king may reproduce *Dvali*.]

parative table of the relevant passages in I.R.'s and Bakrī's chapters on the Khazars:

I.R.	Bakrī
Description of the road from the Pechenegs to the Khazars.	<i>ditto</i>
"The Khazar country is a vast land one of whose sides adjoins a huge mountain"	<i>ditto</i>
"and this is the mountain at the farthest end of which live the Ṭulās and Lūgh.r"	left out, <i>v.i.</i>
"and this mountain stretches to the lands of Tiflis"	"then [you go <i>tasīru</i> ] to the lands of Tiflis, the latter (Tiflis) being the beginning of the frontier of Armenia"

Instead of the sentence on the two peoples left out in the chapter on the Khazars, Bakrī, in the chapter on the Majgharī, says: "a frontier of their country adjoins the Rūm country whereas another frontier of theirs, on the steppe side, adjoins a mountain inhabited by the people called *اين* who possess horses, cattle, and fields; under that mountain on the sea-coast lives the people called *Aughūna*; they are Christians and are conterminous with the Islamic lands belonging to the country of Tiflis which is the beginning of the frontier of Armenia.<sup>1</sup> This mountain continues down to Bāb al-abwāb and joins the Khazar country."

Bakrī's information on the one hand contains some independent traits and on the other reflects his own arrangement of the principal source. The description in I.R. moves from east to west (the Pechenegs [in their Ural seats], the Khazars, the mountain stretching to Tiflis, the peoples at its farther end). Bakrī proceeds in an opposite direction (the Majgharī [in some of their seats on the Black Sea coast], the [Caucasian] mountains, the \**Ās* and *Aughūna*, then Tiflis, Bāb al-abwāb, and the Khazar). The form of Bakrī's names is peculiar. If *اوغزیه* < *اوغر* \**auḡz* is due to the general use of forms in *-iya* (*Bajānākiya*, *Majghariya*), *اين* presents more difficulty. Marquart, *o.c.*, 167, restored it as \**Ās* which is a later appellation of the Alān (§ 48), the latter name not appearing in the known fragments of Bakrī. Although the forms \**D.khs-Ās* and *Ṭwl-Ās* occur already in I. Rusta as the names of special tribes, the pure form *Ās* as referring to the Alāns in general appears only in Mongol times. Moreover Bakrī's description of the *اين* lacks the characteristic features of the Alān. Even the combination of *اين* with the \**Aughaziya* suggests that Bakrī has in view the particular clan corresponding to Ṭwlās.<sup>2</sup> The disclosure of the identity of Bakrī's *اين* (*i.e.* whether it stands for Alān or Ṭwlās) is important

<sup>1</sup> The passage in italics is a repetition of what had been said under the Khazar.

<sup>2</sup> As the separation from the name *Ṭwlās* of the basic element *Ās* is not at all an obvious matter we are perhaps

entitled to suppose that Bakrī has been inspired by some later source. Under *Pecheneg* he quotes the evidence of Muslim captives in Constantinople for the events after A.D. 1009.

for in the former case Bakrī possessed some more detailed knowledge of the early Magyar seats near the Caucasus than is found in the more complete text of the earlier I. Rusta. In the second eventuality the vicinity of the Magyars to the ابن must be merely a guess on Bakrī's part.

This author's information on the Magyars [who over a century before had settled beyond the Carpathians] is certainly traditional and derived from the same source as that utilized by I.R., Gardizī, and 'Aufī. This group of authors definitely says that the Magyar country reaches down to the Rūm sea (*baḥr, daryā*) instead of which Bakrī mentions "Rūm country" (*bilād al-Rūm*), thus considerably modifying the situation. This procedure does not give us much confidence as to the eastern frontier of the Magyars with regard to which Bakrī quotes a detail not found in I.R., H.-'Ā., Gardizī, or 'Aufī. We must remember that according to I.R., 143<sup>1</sup>, the Khazars "some time ago" entrenched themselves against the Magyars and other peoples (*yūqālu anna-'l-Khazar fīmā taqaddama kānat qad khandaqat 'alā nafsi-hā ittiqā'a 'l-Majghariya wa ghayrihim min al-umam al-mutākhlima li-bilādihi*). Assuming then that the Magyars were the neighbours of the Khazars, Bakrī could logically infer that, more precisely, they bordered on the peoples who were said to live at the westernmost limit of the mountain mentioned on the confines of the Khazars. Such then may be an explanation of Bakrī's mysterious passage.

This hypothesis may be objected to on the ground that according to our § 47 the Khazarian Pechenegs neighboured in the south on the Alān and a similar view is suggested by Mas'ūdī's embroiled passage on the *W.l.nd.riya* (v.i. § 53). Both indications are supported by the well-known passage in Const. Porph., ed. Bonn, p. 166, according to which the Pechenegs lived at 6 days' distance from the Alāns. As the Pechenegs ousted the Magyars from their Lebedia seats it could have been inferred that the latter as well had bordered on the Alāns. However, the fact is that Muslim authors knew nothing of what we ourselves, thanks to Const. Porph., know about the events, cf. Iṣṭ., 10, and our § 47. Therefore a retrospective conclusion is highly improbable for a Muslim author. Only the arrival of the Pechenegs seems to have cleared up for Muslims the situation near the Azov sea but for Bakrī the Pechenegs were still in the north and, living a century later than I. Rusta and depending on the same source as I.R., he could hardly have improved on the latter's data. Therefore I am inclined to maintain the view that (a) Bakrī's ابن refers not to the Alāns as a whole but to the little-known tribe of *Ṭwīās*, and (b) that the idea that the Magyars and ابن were neighbours is a result of Bakrī's personal surmise. As a matter of fact even at the time when the Magyars lived near the Caucasus the *Ṭwīās* mountaineers must have been separated from them by the other Alān tribes living in the plains. [Cf. p. 458, l. 18?.]

(7.) During his expedition to the north-eastern Caucasus Timur operated against the *قلمه کولا* واطيس, see *Zafar-nāma*, i, 766, 788. Further *Kūlā* and

<sup>1</sup> Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 28, connects Khazar fortress of Sarkel (on the Don) this report with the construction of the after A.D. 833.

Ṭā'ūs appear as the names of two local chiefs,<sup>1</sup> though they may represent hereditary titles. The fortress of Ṭā'ūs which was particularly strong, lay at the third range of mountains counting from the north, probably near the sources of the Terek and the Kuban for, immediately after, Timur marched to *Balqān* (*Balqar*? at the sources of the Terek). Both the name طانوس, which could be easily restored as \*طولاس\*, and the geographical details make it possible to see in our passage an echo of the tenth-century terminology. [Ḥajjī-Khalifa, p. 402, repeats the statement of the *Z.-nāma*.]

### § 51. [The Bulkār.]

Frähn, *Drei Münzen und Die ältesten arabischen Nachrichten über die Wolga-Bulgharen*, 1832 (still valuable); Chwolson, *Izvestiya . . . Ibn Dasta* [*\*Rusta*], 80-101; Barthold, *Bulghār* in *EI* (in great detail); R. Vasmer, *Über die Münzen der Wolga-Bulgharen*, in *Wiener Numism. Zeitschrift*, 57 (1924), pp. 63-84 (instead of بارمان read on some coins Vasmer restores the well-known title of the Bulghār kings بلطار); Marquart, *Arktische Länder*, 365-77.

There are two gross misunderstandings in the present chapter.

Its title "Burtās" is entirely wrong (cf. also § 20). *Burtās* is only another form of *\*Burdās* (see § 52), whereas here the Volga Bulghārs<sup>2</sup> are described, i.e. the northern colony of the people from which the Danube Bulgars had separated. The language of the Volga Bulghārs of which we possess only a few specimens in the late funeral inscriptions was probably related to the present-day Chuvash (a special and very aberrant member of the Turkish family). The Danube Bulgars had, at an early date, adopted a Slav language, but some expression in the original Bulghar language are found in the inscriptions, as well as in a Slavonic chronicle discovered by A. N. Popov in 1866. They are still the subject of much speculation, see J. J. Mikkola, *Die Chronologie d. türkischen Donaubulgaren*, in *Journ. de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, xxx (1918), fasc. 33, pp. 1-24 (with a survey of the former tentatives of decipherment). Perhaps the strongest argument for the Chuvash language being a remnant of the old Bulghar is the great number of loan-words in Hungarian which have a striking resemblance to the Chuvash ('bull' is *ökör* in Magyar and *wākār* in Chuvash) as well as the enormous number of Chuvash cultural words in the languages of their Finnish neighbours of the Volga basin, see N. Poppe, *Chuvashi i yikh sosedi*, Cheboksari, 1927. The present-day Chuvash are of course only a poor and small fraction of the old Bulgars who for the most part have been turkicized. This latter part of the old Bulgars probably can be traced in the so-called "Volga Tartars".

The outstanding authority on the Volga peoples is Ibn Faḍlān, who in 309-10/921-2 took part in the embassy sent by the caliph Muqtadir to the

<sup>1</sup> Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 45. mentions an Ās chief executed by Ögedey: قاجراوگله (note the final گله).

<sup>2</sup> As Barthold has pointed out, the Bulghār and Burtās are also confused in Yāqūt, i, 567.

Bulghār khāqān in view of the latter's desire to be advised on religious matters.

The present chapter is a poor abstract chiefly of Iṣṭ. The details on the special language and the number of the Bulghārs and their towns remind one of this latter author who, p. 225, says that the Bulghār language has a resemblance to the Khazar language (the latter, p. 222, being an idiom apart), and that in the towns of Bulghār and Suvār there are some 10,000 men (*nās*). Gardīzī, 97, gives an entirely different number (500,000 *ahl-i bayt*). The names of the three tribes have the following close parallels:

<i>H.-Ā.</i>	Ibn Rusta	Gardīzī
<i>B.hūlā</i>	<i>B.rūlā</i>	<i>B.rsūlā</i>
<i>Ishkil</i> (?)	<i>Isgihl</i> (?)	<i>Iskil</i> (?) <sup>1</sup>
<i>B.lkār</i>	<i>B.lkār</i>	<i>B.lkār</i>

The form of the latter name points to the Persian (?) origin of the basic source: بلکار \**Bulgār*. The name *B.rūlā* (\**B.rchūlā*) is known in two places: since the fifth–sixth century A.D. the Byzantine and other Christian authors mention Βαρσγίλτ, Βερζυλία, &c., in the north-eastern Caucasus whereas Muslim authors (tenth century) speak of the \*Barchūla off the middle Volga. According to Marquart this tribe of unknown origin was turkicized by the Huns, see *Die Chronol. d. alttürk. Inschr.*, 87–93, *Streifzüge*, pp. 490–1, and *Arktische Länder*, p. 328. The name seems to have found an echo even in the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, iv, 70, where Afrāsiyāb is accompanied by his grandsons ایلا استغیا (cf. the name of the river *Ili* < *Ilā*) and برزویلا *Barzūvilā* (the *Mujmal al-tawārīkh* gives: *B.rzīlā*). Justī's Iranian etymology in *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 74, is certainly inadequate. Idrīsī, ii, 398, mentions on the Dniepr a place برزوله which lay at one day's journey upstream from Pereyaslav (برزلاو), i.e. in the neighbourhood of Kiev. More to the south from this point a station *Birzula* exists on the Kiev–Odessa railway.

The king *M.s* in Ibn Fadlān's original *risāla* is called بلشکى بطوار *al-mash bin shakī* and this name resembles the name *Almus* which was borne by the father of Arpád, founder of the first Magyar dynasty, Chwolson, *Izvestiya*, 91, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 497. Our author dropped *al* which he evidently took for the Arabic article. *Bl̥wār* must be perhaps restored as بلوار *Alp-lutvar* or *Yiltuvar* in view of the Hunnic (= Turkish) title *Alp-lutver* found in Moses Kalankatvats'i, Part ii, chap. 41, Patkanov's transl., p. 198. [Marquart: بلوار < \*البلوار *Alp-ilātvar* ?.]

The second error in our text is that the description of the two Bulghār towns is inserted out of place between § 53 and 54. The ruins of Bulghār (cf. § 6, 43.) are situated near the village Bolgarskoye, or Uspenskoye, in the Spassk district, 115 Km. south of Kazan and at 7 Km. from the left bank of the Volga. Suvār lay on the river Utkā near the present village Kuznechikha, cf. Barthold, *Bulghār* in *EI*.<sup>2</sup> See Map xii.

<sup>1</sup> Chwolson, *Izvestiya*, 97, compares this name with that of the Transylvanian *Szekler* (?). [Cf. supra p. 320, line 2.]

<sup>2</sup> Smolin, *Po razval. drevn. Bulgara*, Kazan, 1926.

## § 52. Burādhās (?).

Chwolson, *Izvestiya . . . Ibn Dasta*, pp. 71–80; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i, 311 (on Mongol times); I. N. Smirnov, *Les Populations finnoises*, i/2: *les Mordves*, traduit par P. Boyer, Paris 1898; A. V. Markov, *Russo-Mordvan relations in history* (in Russian), Tiflis 1914 (in annex Toumansky's translation of our § 52); Barthold, *Burṭās* in *EI*; *Finno-Ugorskiy sbornik*, ed. by the Academy of the U.S.S.R., 1926. See Map xii.

Although according to Persian phonetics *ز* براداس is consistent with an intervocalic position, the first *ا* appears superfluous in view of برداس, in I.R., 140, and Gardizī, and فرداس in Bakrī. All these spellings point to a special tradition to which also belongs the form بلکار (§ 51) instead of بلغار. The usual Arabic transcription of the name is برطاس which is found in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 14, Iṣṭ., I.H., as well as in our source (rightly [?] in the chapter on the rivers, § 6, 43., but wrongly in § 51). The form Burṭās is confirmed both by Russian chronicles (under A.D. 1380) and official documents (seventeenth century), as well as by the still extant names of places in the region to the south of the middle course of the Volga. Marquart, *Arktische Länder*, p. 277, explains Burṭās from old Iranian \**mrtāsa* "man-eater".<sup>1</sup> On the other hand A. V. Markov confronts the name with the Finnish word meaning bridge (*puurdas*, *pardas*, *purte*, &c., which also is of Iranian origin, cf. Avestan *peretu*, Kurdish *purd*) and Bakrī's alternate spelling *Furdās* would be in favour of the original form \**Purdas* if only we could believe in the independent character of Bakrī's form which may be due to a mere mis-spelling, cf. *supra*, pp. 458–9.

I. Rusta, 140, places the Burdās between the Khazar and Bulkār at 15 days from the former and at 3 days from the latter and adds that their territory was 17 days by 17 days (*ibid.*, 141). Iṣṭ., 227, reckons 20 days from the Khazar capital to the Burṭās boundary, adding that the Burṭās country was 15 days long. In the description of the Volga Iṣṭ., 222, says that after its bend to the east (read: *south-east*) it "flows past the Rūs, then Bulghār, then Burṭās".<sup>2</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 14, in a confused passage speaks of a Burṭās river which from the upper regions flows into the river on which the Khazar capital stands (*nahrūn fauq al-madīna yaṣibbu ilā nahri-hā min a'ālī-hā yuqālu la-hā Burṭās*). This river could be taken either for the upper course of the Volga itself, or the Don (supposing that it was considered as an affluent of the Volga, cf. § 3, 8.), or the Oka, but in the *Tanbīh*, 62, Mas'ūdī aggravates his statement by saying that "into the Khazar river . . . flows the Burṭās river. The Burṭās are a great nation of Turks [?] living between the lands of Khuwārizm [?] and the Khazar king-

<sup>1</sup> Already Tomaschek, *Kritik d. ältesten Nachrichten über d. skytischen Norden*, in *Sitzungsb. Wien. Akad.*, 1889, t. 107, pp. 7–16, suggested an identification of the Herodotian Ἀνδροφάγοι with the Mordva whose name he compared

with the old Persian *μαρτιχώρας* commented in Greek as *ἀνδροφάγος*.

<sup>2</sup> A rigorous interpretation of this text would indicate that Burṭās lay downstream from Bulghār (both these names in Iṣṭ., 222, stand without article).



dom and depending on the Khazar. This [?] river is navigated by large vessels (carrying) various merchandise from the Khuwārizm lands and other places. From the Burtās (country) are exported black foxes which are the best of furs, &c." The passage must be full of confusion. No other authority mentions the Burtās in the direction of Khwārazm and such a position in the steppes would entirely contradict the possibility of export of furs. As regards the river the text seems to refer simply to the Volga. No waterway [except the Yayīq?] could be utilized for trade from Khwārazm to the Khazar country and, judging by Išt.'s indications, one would think that by some mistake Mas'ūdī has substituted *Khwārizm* for \**Bulghār*. Of all the sources the *H.-'Ā.* (§ 52) most positively locates the Burādhās to the west of the Ātil river (§ 6, 43. which simply follows Išt., 222, is less clear).

The fact that the Pechenegs are mentioned as the northern neighbours of the Burādhās suggests that the Pechenegs occupied some territory on the right bank of the Volga between the Burādhās and Rūs. I.R., 140, Bakrī, 44, and Gardīzī, 96, say only that struggles were going on between the Burtās and the Pechenegs and, moreover, speak of the Pechenegs as neighbours of the Slavs.<sup>1</sup> On the western neighbours of the Burtās cf. notes to § 53 and diagram on p. 440.

Generally speaking our chapter on the Burādhās drastically abridges the source used by I. Rusta and Gardīzī and omits many details. The item about the two kings seems to be a misunderstanding. I. Rusta says that the Burdās have no chief (*ra'īs*) but "in every community of theirs (*maḥalla*) there is an elder (*shaykh*), or two (*shaykhayn*) to whom they have recourse in the matters which happen to them" (ditto in Gardīzī). The religion is described as in I.R. and Gardīzī, and the burning of the dead as in I.R.<sup>2</sup>

Since Frāhn's time the Burtās have been usually identified with the Finnish Mordva who, as long as we have known them, have lived between the Oka and Volga. Their remnants (since 20.xii.1934 organized into an autonomous republic with the centre at Saransk) are still found in the same region. Two tribes compose the Mordva people: the *Moksha* in the basin of the Moksha river which flows to the Oka from the east and of which the southernmost head-water is still called Burtas, and the *Ers'a* in the basin of the Sura which flows to the Volga to the east of the Oka.<sup>3</sup>

Rubruquis who travelled in A.D. 1253 writes, ed. Paris 1839, pp. 251-2: "Ad aquilonem [from the Don region] sunt silve (*sic*) maxime quas habitant duo genera hominum: *Moxel*, scilicet qui sunt sine lege, puri pagani. Civitatem non habent. Habundant apud eos porci, mel et cera, pelles preciose et falcones. Post istos sunt alii qui dicuntur *Merdas* quos Latini vocant *Merdinis* et sunt Saraceni. Post istos est Etilia [Volga]." The des-

<sup>1</sup> This latter fact, as bearing on the location of the Pechenegs, already attracted Marquart's attention in *Komanen*, 98.

<sup>2</sup> Several tombs of the L'ada mound situated in the Mordva region (on the

Saratov-Tambov railway) show traces of cremation of the dead, see I. N. Smirmov, *o.c.*, 249-50.

<sup>3</sup> Location rough. The emigration of the Mordva to the east of the Volga dates only from the 17th-18th century.

cription proceeds west to east: *Moxel* stands for *Mokša-ley* (many Mordvan names are composed with *ley* "river"). The *Merdini* (*Mordvini*) are evidently the eastern Erz'a but the difficult point is the name *Merdas* which Rubruquis applies to the latter. Is it a deformation of *Mordva*, or of *Burtas*? In the latter case the term *Merdas* (< *Burtas*?) would be applied to a region outside the basin to which the river presently called Burtas belongs. It is more probable that *Merdas* is meant to be a form of *Mordva*, which name down to the sixteenth century referred only to the Erz'a. Markov to whom we owe this latter remark says in conclusion, *o.c.*, 19, that the names *Burtas* (tenth century), *Meščera* (eleventh century), and *Moxel* (thirteenth century) equally refer to the eastern-Finnish ancestors<sup>1</sup> of the present-day Moksha occupying the Moksha basin (inclusive of the rivers Tsna and Burtas). [The mention of the Meščera is doubtful.]

The identification *Burtas* = *Mordva* (or better *Moksha*) still meets with some opposition. I. N. Smirnov, *o.c.*, 271, gave expression to the following views: "1. que les Burtas sont un peuple différent des Mordves; 2. que jusqu'au X<sup>e</sup> siècle au moins ils ont occupé la rive gauche de la Volga; 3. qu'au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle ils occupent la rive droite de ce même fleuve, tout près des Mordves." He thinks then, *ibid.*, 270, that "les Burtas seraient des Tchouvaches ou du moins de très proches parents des Tchouvaches". This theory, so far as Arabic sources go, attaches too much importance to the passage from the *Tanbīh* (*v.s.*), and on the other hand forgets that according to Išt., 225, the language of the Bulghār (of which Chuvash is at present considered to be a survival) was different from that of the Burtās. However, even lately Prof. M. Vasmer kindly wrote to me (Berlin, 7.xi.32) that the Burtās must be distinguished from the Mordva, and that, judging by the toponymy of the Volga region, they formerly lived to the north of the Mordva. He finally adds that such was also the view of the late Prof. A. A. Shakhmatov ("ich hatte den Eindruck, dass auch er bereit war, die Burtas von den Mordven zu trennen"). I must confess that I do not quite see the point of the argument about the toponymy, for the Burtas river flowing into the Tsna is the southernmost source of the Moksha river; of the other names quoted in Smirnov, *o.c.*, 266-70, the *Burtas* of Kadom and the village of *Burtasi* of Krasnoslobodsk both belong to the Moksha basin. Therefore, as regards the tenth-century Burtās,<sup>2</sup> I think that their identity with the Moksha is to be retained. The Arab sources may reflect a temporary supremacy of that particular clan, or it may be that the latter first came under the notice of Muslim travellers. It is only natural that the numerous and sturdy Mordva people (even now, after long series of invasions and struggles, counting over 1 million representatives) could not fail to be mentioned by the Arabs. The details on the forests (I.R., 140;

<sup>1</sup> And as a corollary the identification of Išt.'s ٤١ (*v.s.*, § 44, 3.) with *Erz'a* would become impossible.

<sup>2</sup> In later times (after the 13th century) there may have been some move-

ments of the population obscuring the situation. In the seventeenth century some "Burtas" are called "Tatar", *i.e.* *Muslims* (?), cf. Smirnov, *o.c.*, 266.

*wa hum fī mashājir*),<sup>1</sup> the honey, and the Burṭāsī furs suit the Mordva quite well. The travellers like Rubruquis and Herberstein quite particularly insist on these details.<sup>2</sup> The freedom enjoyed by the Burṭās women (I.R. and Gardīzī) in the choice of their lovers can be traced down to recent times in the habits of the Mordva, cf. Smirnov, *o.c.*, 337, who speaks of the "liberté des mœurs des garçons et des filles".

### § 53. V.n.nd.r.

Marquart, *Streifzüge*, passim; Moravcsik, *Zur Geschichte der Onoguren*, v.s., § 22.

The natural sequence of the three closely connected chapters would be: § 22 (Majgharī), § 53 (V.n.nd.r), § 46 (Mirvāt). The subject is of considerable difficulty and the following points must be examined:

The seats of the *V.n.nd.r/N.nd.r*.

Harkavi's and Marquart's views

The Onoghundur.

The source of the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī.

*W.nd.r* in Mas'ūdī.

*W.n.nt.r* in the Khazar king's letter.

THE SEATS OF THE V.N.ND.R. Our peoples *V.n.nd.r* (§ 53) and *Mirvāt* (§ 46) have direct parallels only in Gardīzī's *N.nd.r* and *M.rdāt*. In both the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī the *V.n.nd.r/N.nd.r* are the immediate neighbours of the Majgharī though the latter's habitat is conceived differently: our author places them near the Urals, whereas Gardīzī describes the Southern Magyars as living in the region of great rivers in the north-western corner of the Black Sea. Gardīzī's views on the Magyar territory are supported not only by I.R. and Bakrī but by the consensus of Byzantine and Western European sources as well. Therefore in discussing the location of the *V.n.nd.r/N.nd.r* territory contiguous on that of the Majgharī we have to depend chiefly on Gardīzī and disregard our author's theoretical constructions.<sup>3</sup> Such is the conclusion arrived at after a long series of attempts to co-ordinate our data with those of Gardīzī until it became evident that our author's starting-point was based on an error.

According to Gardīzī the *N.nd.r* lived between the river separating them from the Majgharī and the mountain from which another river flowed down and behind which lived the *M.rdāt*. The reading of the Oxford MS. according to which the mountain stood *above* the *N.nd.r*. would suggest

<sup>1</sup> The *kh.l.nj* (*kh.l.ng*) trees abound in the Burṭās forests, I.R., 141, have been compared by Chwolson with Mordvan *kileng* "birch" (the Chuvash form for "birch" *khōrin* does not resemble the Arabic word).

<sup>2</sup> The only puzzling detail is that

according to I.R. the Burṭās possessed camels and cows.

<sup>3</sup> Gardīzī simply describes the facts and our author forces them into a geographical scheme. His error arises the moment that he tries to dispose his materials in map form.

that it stretched in a northern direction. The river from the eastern (or northern) bank of which the Majgharī could see the N.nd.r on the opposite bank is most probably the Danube, or alternatively its northern affluent Sereth mentioned in Const. Porph.'s description of Atelkuzu (*v.s.*, § 22). Consequently the N.nd.r lived *west* of the last mentioned river, or *south* of the Danube, with the Transylvanian Carpathians standing "above" them. Gardizī adds that the N.nd.r lived in the direction (*bar janb* "on the side") of the Saqlāb. As stated in § 43 the latter term may refer to the western Slavs (or even to the Macedonian Slavs, § 42, 17.).

Our author, in spite of his cartographical error, preserves the original disposition of the peoples with regard to one another, but this goes only as far as the original triad Majgharī-V.n.nd.r-Mirvāt is concerned. In § 46, north [east?] of the Mirvāt are named "*some of the Inner Bulghār* and [!] the V.n.nd.r mountains". As the Inner Bulghār belong definitely to the Iṣṭ. < Balkhī tradition which does not know the V.n.nd.r, this combination may be disregarded as the author's own guess. See diagram on p. 440.

HARKAVI'S AND MARQUART'S VIEWS. In the Hebrew document quoted below Harkavi, as early as 1875, explained the name *V.n.nd.r* by that of the Bulgarian *Οὐνογοννδοῦροι* but it was a long time before the parallel names in *H.-'Ā.* and Gardizī became known.<sup>1</sup> When Marquart first studied Gardizī's passage, *Streifzüge*, 172, he was led astray by the fact that Bakrī also mentions a pair of the Majgharī's neighbours. Having very ingeniously located the latter in the western Caucasus Marquart was less happily inspired in identifying them with the two peoples found in Gardizī. He overlooked the fact that Bakrī (see notes to § 50, 4.) speaks of their *south-eastern* neighbours, while Gardizī has in view the later Atelkuzu territory and its *south-western* neighbours. The identification of Gardizī's ندر and مرادات with Bakrī's اوغونه and ايبين has often been taken for granted, but after the publication of the *H.-'Ā.*, where the two series of names are separated, no place for doubt could remain as to its inconsistency.<sup>2</sup> Twenty-three years after the publication of the *Streifzüge*, Marquart dropped *en passant* a hint for a new identification of the V.n.nd.r with a promise to develop the subject. His sudden demise (4.ii.1930) prevented him from carrying out this intention and his note buried, as if intentionally, at an unexpected place does not seem to have attracted the notice which it merits. In his *Arktische Länder* (1924) Marquart, among other things, studies the disappearance of the sound γ in old Bulgarian and Turkish and gives as an example the name of the Turcoman tribe *Salur* < *Salghur*. As another instance of the same phenomenon he quotes (p. 275) "den bulgarischen Hordennamen *Οὐνογοννδοῦροι* (Nikephoros); النذر *Ulughundur* (Ibn al-Kalbī, † um 820, bei Jāqūt); *Olxontor* (Anania

<sup>1</sup> In his translation of § 52 (in annex to Markov's work) Toumansky illustrates V.n.nd.r by \*نذر, found in Ibn al-Athīr, i, 243 (< Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 58-64). On other similar hints cf. now

Kokovtsov, *o.c.*, 92.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barthold's *Preface*, p. 43. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 172, 517, knew only a stray quotation from the *H.-'Ā.* through Westberg's *Beiträge*, p. 215.

Širakač'i, VII. Jahrh.) > *W(u)l(u)ndur Bulkar* (Ps. Moses Chorenac'i, letztes Drittel des IX. Jahrh.), *Wunundur* (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*, Ende des X. Jahrh.), bereits mit prothetischem *w* vor labialem Vokal, wie im Čuwaschischen; *Wulundur* (al-Mas'ūdī, 943-4 n. Chr.) = magy. *Nándor Fejérvár* = Belgrad."

The exact references of this cryptic passage are: Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani *Opuscula*, ed. de Boor, Lipsiae 1880, p. 24; Yāqūt, iii, 404: Japhet's sons: Yūnān, al-Šaqlab, العبر (sic),<sup>1</sup> Burjān, Jurzān, Fārs, Rūm; *Géographie* de Moïse de Corène [attributed sometimes to A. Shirakats'i], ed. by Soukry, Venice 1881, p. 25, transl. p. 34 (Marquart's translation in *Streifzüge*, 57); Moses of Khoren, *History*, book ii, ch. 6. The reference to the *H.-Ā.* evidently hails from Westberg's *Beiträge*. Mas'ūdī mentions العبر, both in the *Murūj*, ii, 58-64, and in the *Tanbīh*, 180, 183 (see in detail *Streifzüge*, 60-74).

Marquart thinks that *Onoghundur* belongs to the type of names formed with the Turkish suffix *-dur* (*Bayandur*, *Mongoldur*). The forms attested in the sources would then suggest for our *V.n.nd.r* the reading \**Vunundur*. [Gardīzī's *N.nd.r* can hardly be compared directly with the Magyar form *Nándor*; most probably the initial *v* taken for the conjunction *va* was dropped by the scribe in the same way as we find in our text *Khān* instead of *Vakhān*, cf. also Mas'ūdī's العبر, with initial *w*.]

THE ONOGHUNDUR. The people called Onoghundur were a Bulgarian tribe (cf. § 51) which "from the sixties of the fifth century down to the end of the seventh century" lived north of the Caucasus, to the east of the Azov sea in the Kuban region. Their great ruler Kobrat (Κοβρατος) organized them into a powerful state but after his death (circa A.D. 642) the advance of the Khazars split the Bulgar kingdom; a part of the tribes under Bayan (said to be Kobrat's son) remained in their former seats as Khazar subjects, whereas another of Kobrat's sons Asparukh travelled westwards and after having crossed the Danube (A.D. 679) conquered the territory of the present Bulgaria. Const. Porph., *De thematibus*, p. 48, says that since that time the name of the *Bulgar* has become known for "previously they were called 'Ονογονδουροι".<sup>2</sup> The centre of Asparukh's kingdom was in the strong locality "Ογλον surrounded on one side by marshes and on the other by very high rocks. Jireček, *Geschichte d. Bulgaren*, 1876, p. 129, read the name "Ογγλον < Slavonic *ogliū* "angle, corner" and identified it with the southern part of Bessarabia known under the Turkish name *Buĵaq* which also means "corner". [However the situation of "Ογλον better suits some place in Dobruja.]

Considerably later, in the second half of the ninth century, the Onoghundurs who had stayed in the old seats and became mixed with the Magyars<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not in the general index of Wüstenfeld's edition.

<sup>2</sup> Marquart, *Chronologie*, pp. 89-96, *Streifzüge*, pp. 126, 505; Bury, *A History of the later Roman Empire*, 1889,

ii, 333; Moravcsik, *o.c.*, pp. 65, 71-2, 89.

<sup>3</sup> The name *Onoghundur* (*Onoghur*, &c.) may be responsible for the western designation of the Magyars as *Hungar*-.

began their westward trek which finally brought them into the present-day Hungary, cf. Moravcsik, *o.c.*, 89.

THE SOURCE OF THE *H.-'Ā.* AND GARDĪZĪ. If our two Muslim sources have preserved the name of the Onoghundur it remains to be seen to which of the two migrations the item can be assigned. It does not look probable that the original name of the Danubian Bulgars, not recorded in the earlier Muslim sources, should have suddenly emerged at a later time.<sup>1</sup> Both in the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī the V.n.nd.r/N.nd.r appear not as an abstract symbol but as a tribe in flesh and blood. As shown in the notes to § 42, 17. our item on the "Christianized Slavs" is due to some later source of *circa* A.D. 900 when the Magyars sat in Atelkuzu and it is most likely that the additional details on the Magyars's neighbours (§§ 46 and 53) found in the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī belong to the same source (Hārūn b. Yahyā?). If so, the special information of our two sources must refer to the second lot of Onoghundur pushed on by the Magyar migration.<sup>2</sup> Neither the *H.-'Ā.* nor Gardīzī mentions any enmity between the V.n.nd.r and Magyars. The qualification of the V.n.nd.r in our source as cowards (*badh-dil*) may be due to a wrong interpretation of the word *tarsā* (which means both "Christian" and "coward").<sup>3</sup> In Gardīzī<sup>4</sup> the N.nd.r are definitely called Christians (*tarsā*) and *Rūmī*, i.e. "Byzantine", very possibly with a reference to their religion. In the list of bishoprics dating from the middle of the eighth century a bishop of the Onoghurs (δ'Ονογούρων) is mentioned under the metropolitan of Crimean Gothia (ἐπαρχία Γοθίας), cf. Moravcsik, *o.c.*, 64. The Onoghurs in question were certainly those who still remained to the north-east of the Black Sea and therefore could be controlled from the Crimea.<sup>5</sup> The rest of our author's characteristics may be only a development of his initial mistake about *tarsā*.<sup>6</sup>

See Munkácsi and Németh quoted by Moravcsik, *o.c.*, 81, note 3.

<sup>1</sup> The Khazar king's letter (*v.i.*) refers to the events of A.D. 679, but this detail may point to the literary origin of the passage.

<sup>2</sup> Unless the name V.n.nd.r < Onoghundur refers to some special Bulghar territory, such as the original "Ὀγλὸν" occupied by Asparukh?

<sup>3</sup> Was then the original source on Eastern Europe, or the text in which it was available, in Persian? The absence of underground canals (*kāriz*) in the M.r.dāt country, mentioned in Gardīzī, could hardly strike any one except an Iranian. Cf. also the strange transcription of the name بلكار (§ 51) براداس (§ 52). These facts still await an explanation. Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, ii, 59, says that dissensions among the W.l.nd.rī tribes arose in connexion with the

presence among them of a Muslim merchant from Ardabil. Consequently Persian traders penetrated into the southern Russian steppes and could be the source of information for their co-religionists.

<sup>4</sup> [And also in our § 22.]

<sup>5</sup> Were it not for the name \**Vunundur* one might consider as the Magyars' neighbours the Rumanian Vlachs, see Kunik in *Izvestiya al-Bakrī*, ii, 16, and Niederle, *Manuel*, Map.

<sup>6</sup> The Danube Bulgars were baptized under King Boris in A.D. 864. If indeed our data refer to them (= Burjān = Inner Bulghār = Bulgharī), their weakness in comparison with the Magyars could be explained by the fact that the latter were moving westwards and their forced energy (under the Pecheneg impact) could be mistaken for strength.

MAS'ŪDĪ'S "W.L.ND.R". An entirely independent use of the term<sup>1</sup> is found in Mas'ūdī's well-known report on the incursion into the Byzantine Empire of the nomads called *W.l.nd.rī* in (or after) 320/932.<sup>2</sup> In the *Murūj* (written in 332/943), i, 262, ii, 58-64, Mas'ūdī calls the invaders "Turkish peoples" and enumerates their four tribes, namely, B.jnī,<sup>3</sup> Bajghurt (= evidently Magyar), Pecheneg (the most valiant of the four), and Nūkarda (still obscure). In the *Tanbih*, 180, 182, Mas'ūdī refers to the incursion "of the Burghar and the Turkish tribes" and under the latter mentions the same four names. The reasons of this association of tribes are not quite apparent and it is possible that information belonging to different epochs has been telescoped in Mas'ūdī's version. As regards the date, the invasion seems to correspond best to that of the *Τούρκοι* (i.e. in Byzantine terminology: *Magyars*) recorded under 934! However, Mas'ūdī presents the four tribes as living in the neighbourhood of the Khazars and Alāns,<sup>4</sup> which after the events of 889 (v.s., § 22) could be true only with regard to the Pechenegs. The kings of the four tribes appear as independent chiefs and only by the consent of his three colleagues is the king of the Pechenegs invested with the supreme command on the day of battle. Mas'ūdī says that the tribes were called *الندرية* "after the town of *ندري*, situated in the extreme frontier region of the Rūm towards the east" and adds that the cavalry dispatched by the Emperor against the invaders reached this frontier post in 8 days. The exact situation of *W.l.nd.r* has been a matter of much speculation. Some scholars looked for it even in the Caucasus and in the Crimea, but Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 499-500, with some probability identified it with the fortress of *Δεβελτός* which lay in the neighbourhood of Burgas and was mentioned in the delimitation treaty of 864 concluded between the Emperor and the Bulgarian King Boris.<sup>5</sup> Jireček, *o.c.*, 499, already suspected in *W.l.nd.r* a Bulgarian (non-Slavonic) name corresponding to some different official term (*Debeltos*?). Mas'ūdī must have got it from some oral source. Already in his innumerable "Zusätze" in *Streifzüge*, 500, Marquart wondered whether "Walandar" has not preserved the name of the "Unughundur-Bulgars" and in his *Arktische Länder* (1924) he finally adopted this point of view. The fortress, of which the name must consequently be restored as \**Vulundur*, could have received this name either

<sup>1</sup> The form *W.l.nd.r* peculiar to Mas'ūdī results from the dissimilation *n.n > l.n*. Cf. the Armenian form *Vlōndur*.

<sup>2</sup> See Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 60-74, 499-500, 527.

<sup>3</sup> Contrary to Marquart, *o.c.*, 67, *بجني* mentioned alongside with Pecheneg can hardly be identical with the latter. Perhaps it is only a metathesis of *بجني* *Čäpni*, as one of the Oghuz clans is called in *Kāshgharī*, i, 57; on their later history see M. F. Köprülü-zade, *Oğuz*

*etnolojisiine dayır*, pp. 24-7 (v.s., § 18). However, cf. *infra* the Khazar king's letter. [Rashid al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, vii, 7, among the Oghuz tribes issued from Kök-khan mentions separately *بجني* and *چجني*.]

<sup>4</sup> Marquart, *o.c.*, 74: "verblasste Erinnerungen".

<sup>5</sup> See now V. Zlatarski, *Istoriya na Bŭlgarskata dŭržava*, Sofia, 1927, i, 25: the frontier left Develt to the Byzantine Empire.

from some colony of Onoghundurs with whom the Greeks were in relations since the times of Kobrat, *Streifzüge*, 529, or because it was directed against the Vulundur (in Arabic one might say: *'alā thaghr al-Wulundur*), and consequently Mas'ūdi's term *\*Wulunduriya* (referring to all the four, or even five different tribes), most probably has to be taken in the sense of "the coalition attacking on the *\*Vulundur* front".<sup>1</sup> Whatever the explanation of the raid,<sup>2</sup> the survival of the name *\*Vulundur* in Mas'ūdi is a firmly established fact interesting as a parallel to our *\*Vunundur*.

THE KHAZAR KING'S LETTER. Among the parallels to the name *V.n.nd.r* it remains for us to consider *V.n.nt.r* וננתר found in the Hebrew letter supposed to have been sent by the Khazar king Joseph in answer to that of Chasdai ben Shafut, an agent to the Cordovan caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān (A.D. 912-61). The year 961 is the *terminus ante quem* of Chasdai's original letter and the king's reply must have followed it within a not too long period. As has been recently discovered (1924), the existence of King Joseph's letter was known already to Yahuda ben Barzillai (lived towards A.D. 1100) who wondered "whether it was genuine or not". The question is complicated by the existence of two versions of the document:<sup>3</sup> the one (A) in a shorter form was published in Constantinople in 1577 (this text is very close to the Christ Church College MS. 193); the other (B) in a more complete form came to light only towards 1873 among the manuscripts collected by Firkovich. This fact, in view of this collector's suspect practices, was not in favour of a blind acceptance of the contents of this particular version.

The passage containing the name *V.n.nt.r* is found only in version B. The Khazar king says that his ancestors fought against "many nations" whom they expelled and whose country they occupied. Then comes the additional paragraph: "In the country in which I live lived formerly the *V.n.nt.r*. Our Khazar ancestors warred against them. The *V.n.nt.r* were more numerous, as numerous as the sea sand, but they could not resist the Khazars. They left their country. . . ." After this the two versions agree in saying that the enemies were driven beyond the great river *Rūnā* (A. וננא) or *Dūnā* (B. דננא), and "until the present day they are situated on the river *Rūnā/Dūnā*, near Kushtantiniya/Kustandina [*i.e.* Constantinople] and the Khazars have occupied their country".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unless the coalition was formed on some special territory, *v.s.*, "Ογλιν = Bujaq.

<sup>2</sup> In his final "Zusatz", *o.c.*, 528, Marquart writes: "was es mit der Erstürmung der Festung Walandar für eine Bewandnis hat, lässt sich bei dem völligen Schweigen der Chronisten . . . auch jetzt noch nicht erkennen, so viel ist aber nunmehr klar, dass die Walandarchorden eigentlich die Bulgaren (*B.rgh.r*) und ihre damaligen Verbündeten, die Pečenegen, sind. . . ." [Cf. C. A. Macart-

ney in *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, 1930, pp. 159-70.]

<sup>3</sup> See Prof. P. K. Kokovtsov, *Yevreysko-khazar'skaya perepiska v X veke*, ed. by the Academy of the U.S.S.R., 1932, which gives the originals of all the documents bearing on the correspondence with the Khazar king with translation and a very valuable commentary. The third document discovered lately in Cambridge does not concern us here.

<sup>4</sup> Kokovtsov's transl., pp. 75 and 92.



In a later passage the king gives an account of the Khazar boundaries and, immediately after a very detailed enumeration of the localities belonging to the Crimea [Firkovich's home!], the frontier is said to turn northwards to the country of Batsra (בצרא) most probably בצנא \*Bačna referring to *Bajni* or *Bajnā* whom Mas'ūdī associates with the Pechenegs, *v.s.*, p. 469, n. 3). The (inhabitants) of this country lived near the river V.sg (*A.* spells Y.sg, very probably \*Uzu = Dniepr) and wandered in the steppe down to the limits of the *H.gry'im* (*A.* *Hyndy'im*), *i.e.* evidently Hungarians \**H.ng.r.* Consequently the lands of a (Turkish) tribe and those of the Magyars stretched to the west of the Khazar and separated the latter from the Danube. The writer clearly refers to the expulsion of the V.n.nt.r beyond the Danube as a remote past (events of A.D. 679), whereas the account of the Khazar frontiers presupposes the arrival of the Pechenegs in the second half of the ninth century. The form *W.n.nt.r* has a striking resemblance to our *V.n.nd.r.*, and on the other hand considerably differs from the forms attested in Greek and Armenian sources. Numerous names in version *B* seem to have been borrowed from Muslim geographers<sup>1</sup> and the question arises whether such is not the case of *W.n.nt.r* as well. The interpolator could not possibly know the *H.-'Ā.* or Gardizī [which in Europe have come to light at a very recent date] but could he not have seen their common source? The text of the Khazar letter as it stands, if confronted with our two Persian authors, would confirm the interpretation of our *Rūtā/Dūbā* as Danube<sup>2</sup> and, on the other hand, suggest the identity of our *V.n.nd.r* with the Danubian Bulgars. However, the origin of the Hebrew interpolation remains obscure and the clever interpolator may have read his own sense into his source. Therefore in our own explanation of the Muslim texts we have to go principally by their internal evidence.

#### § 54. Southern Countries.

The countries described in the remaining part of the book lie in Africa, with the exception of the semi-mythical Zābaj (§ 56) which is a connecting link with the southern islands (§ 4, 8.). The principal sources of the African chapters are *Khuwārizmī* (indirectly), *Ī.Kh.*, *Iṣṭ.*, and perhaps some *Book of Marvels* of which traces are also found in the chapter on Egypt (§ 39). The last folio is the only one in the MS. more seriously damaged.

#### § 55. Zangistān.

Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, Paris 1856, i, 155-304 (Muslim period); L. M. Devic, *Le Pays des Zendjs*, P., 1883; G. Ferrand, *Relations*, Index; Capt. H. Stigland, *The Land of the Zinj*, L., 1913; F. Storbeck, *Die Berichte der arabischen Geographen des Mittelalters über Ost-Afrika*, in *MSOS*, Berlin, 1914, xvii, pp. 79-169.

<sup>1</sup> The most striking example is the Arabic form צלרין \**Slawiyūn*, Kokov-

tsov, *o.c.* 98-9.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, *supra*, p. 217.

The term Zangistān (later *Zangibār* > *Zanzibār*, "the Zang coast") covers the whole of the eastern coast of Africa known to the Muslims. Moreover, instead of following its real (N. to S.) direction this coast is represented as stretching eastward: "la côte africaine se replie vers l'Orient, comme si la direction qu'on observe entre le détroit de Bāb al-Mandeb et le cap Guardafui était à peine modifiée, de manière à faire face successivement à l'Arabie, à l'Inde, aux Îles Malaises et à la Chine . . . l'extrémité du Ouagouag, qui continue la côte de Sofāla, se trouvant ainsi reportée au sud le la mer Chinoise", Devic, *o.l.*, 46. This explains why our author places Zangistān opposite Fārs, Kirmān, and Sind and mentions the enmity existing between the Zanj and the Zābaj. Cf. Iṣṭ., 11, who assumes that the land of the Zanj "lies opposite Yemen, Fārs, Kirmān, and Hind". Cf. also *ibid.*, 29. Shahriyār b. Buzurg, *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, ed. Van der Lith, pp. 174-5, says that in 334/945 the people of Wāqwāq [here rather Madagascar than Sumatra, *v.s.*, p. 228] attacked the region of Sofāla in the Zanj country.

1. ملجان *M.ljān*, which stands before Sofāla must correspond to ملندی *M.l.ndī*, mentioned in Idrīsī, i, 56, and Ibn Sa'īd (A.D. 1250) in Ferrand, *Relations*. Malindī lies on the coast north of Mombasa, see Tomaschek, *Mohiṭ*, maps I-II, on which Mombasa is shown as the seat of the Zanj king, cf. also Storbeck, *o.c.*, 129-30. [Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 6, calls this king وقليمي, read وقليمي cf. in Bantu *mfaleme* "king", plur. *wafaleme*, Ferrand, *Four. As.*, January 1921, p. 163.] This ملجان (\**M.l.ndī*) must be distinguished from the name similarly spelt under § 56, 2.

2. Sofāla (Sofāla) lies in the southern part of the Portuguese Mozambique (south of Beira). The place is mentioned in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 223, as the southernmost point of the Zanj possessions and it was known as a great gold-producing centre. See Ferrand, *Sofāla*, in *EI*, and Storbeck, *o.c.*, 141.

3. حوفل *Hwfl* (?). At this place one would expect واقواق *Wāqwāq* and such a restoration is admissible in Arabic script. Cf. Mas'ūdī, i, 233: *bilād Sufāla wal Wāqwāq* (الواق) *min aqāṣi arḍ al-Zanj wal-asāfil min bahrihim*. See Idrīsī's map (Reinaud, *Introduction*, i, p. 120) on which Wāqwāq forms an immediate continuation of the Zanj land. The only other name somewhat resembling *Hwfl* is هونا (Howa), applied to the southern part of Madagascar (*jaṣīrat al-Qumr*) by the Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī Chelebi in his *Mohiṭ* (1554) based on Arabic sources, see *Mohiṭ*, map III, and Ferrand, *o.c.*, 502. The name *Howa* could, however, hardly be known in the tenth century.

### § 56. Zābaj.

G. Ferrand, *L'Empire sumatranais de Çrīvijaya*, in *Four. As.*, 1922, t. xx, pp. 1-104, 164-246 (an extremely complete survey of sources), and *Zābaj* in *EI*.

That our author pronounced *Zābaj* (not *Zābij*) is clear from his other transcription of this name زابا *Zāba* (§ 4, 6.) on a false analogy with the Persian

forms: *Khūnaj* > *Khūna*, &c. Zābaj (\**Javaga* "Javanese") is a term designating now Java, now the centre and south of Sumatra, now the whole of the Sunda archipelago, see Tomaschek, *Mohūt*, map I, Nieuwenhuis, *Java*, in *EI*, Ferrand, *L'Empire*, p. 241. According to our author, Zābaj adjoined eastern Africa (Zangistān) and formed the southern limit of the Indian Ocean, while farther south of it (as well as of Zangistān) stretched the southern uninhabited lands. Cf. also §§ 4, 6., and 10, 4.

The details on camphor-trees and the king are borrowed from I.Kh., 16, 65, cf. § 4, 6. Of the variants of the king's name quoted in I.Kh., 13, de Goeje adopts الفنج which he interprets (transl., p. 16) as *Pati-Jaba*, "prince of Java" (?). Ferrand, *Relations*, p. 24, and *L'Empire*, p. 52, explains the name as Indonesian *puṅgawa* "prime minister, officer, hero, courtier" but admits that it may represent the personal name of some *Çrivijaya* sovereign. Meanwhile, I.Kh., 17, 68, and Ibn Rusta, 137, call the king of Zābaj *al-maharāj*.

The town 1. منجری M.nj.rī (?) is unknown. One wonders whether it is not simply a mis-spelling of *maharāj* > *maharāy* مهراي. The complex *shahr-i Maharāy* "the town of the M." could easily be transformed into "M., the town [of Zābaj]".

2. ملجان very probably corresponds to the island of ملجان \**M.ljān* (?) which Sulaymān the Merchant, p. 22, places between Sarandīb and Kala (Malay peninsula). The mention of a great island where the king stays in summer may echo the fact mentioned in Sulaymān, p. 18 (and Abū Zayd, *ibid.*, p. 90), namely that the same king possessed the *Kalāh-bār* (\* Kra) and the Zābaj, cf. Ferrand's tr., 1922, pp. 43, 95. [Or Waqwāq = Madagascar?]

### § 57. Abyssinia.

I. Guidi, *Abyssinia*, in *EI*; Marquart, *Benin*, pp. cclxvi-ccxcv; H. von Mzik, *Afrika nach d. arabischen Bearbeitung des Ptolomaeus*, in *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. 59, No. 4, 1916; Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Omārī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, i. "L'Afrique moins l'Égypte", transl. by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, P., 1927 (later times); Cerulli, *Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia*, in *Memorie dell'Accad. dei Lincei*, Rome, October 1932 (specially on Muslim possessions, e.g. Zayla').

This and the following chapters (§§ 58-60) must have a common source from which some vivid traits on African peoples have been borrowed. Two details (§§ 58 and 60) undoubtedly point to I.Kh.

By Abyssinia (*Habasha*) early Muslim geographers understood chiefly the maritime zone of the present-day Eritrea and British Somaliland, cf. Iṣṭ., 35. Our § 7, 13. represents *Habasha* as stretching far north along the coast of the Red Sea. The names quoted in this chapter are terribly mutilated and can be restored only by a comparison with other sources.

1. The starting-point for the identification of راسن is that it was the king's residence. According to I.R., 96, the capital of the Abyssinian (*Habasha*) king was called Jarmī جرמי. This then must be the reading of the name of

which the mis-spelt form can without much difficulty be explained in Arabic script. *ġarmī* greatly puzzled the commentators who since Golius's times, cf. Reinaud, *Abul-Fidā*, transl. ii/A, p. 228, tried to connect it somehow with Axum, supposed to be the contemporary capital of Abyssinia, though as a matter of fact Axum اكسوم or اخشوم (so instead of اخشرم) appears only in later Muslim sources (Maqrīzī). Marquart, *Benin*, pp. ccciii-iv, has finally disposed of the mistake in the Ma'mūnian map and Khuwārizmī's *Šūrat al-arḍ* caused by Ptolemy's broad use of the term *Aiθlonēs* in the sense of "dark-skinned people" (and not especially "Ethiopians"). The name *ġarmī* [or rather *ġaramī*] *al-Ḥabash* has consequently nothing to do with Abyssinia proper, but corresponds to Ptolemy's Γαράμη μητρόπολις (liber iv, cap. 6, 12) situated at long. 43°, lat. 21° 30'. Cf. C. Müller's *Atlas* to his edition of Ptolemy, Paris, 1901, table 28, where Garama, the capital of the Γαράμαντες, is shown to the south-west of \*Phazana = Fazzān (near Murzūq, in the present-day Italian Libya, cf. § 60, 1.).<sup>1</sup> Idrīsī, i, 112, mentions جرمة and تساه as the towns of Fazzān. The ruins of the ancient Garama were discovered by H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in Central Africa*, London 1857, i, 155-8; *ibid.*, i, 171, on Tasāwa.

2. The first idea is that by some mistake سوار represents اسوان Assuan (v.s., § 39, 10.) which in Khuwārizmī, No. 80, is spelt سوان and stands 4 lines below جرمة, but I now prefer to restore the name as عذاب which, as Išt., 54, admits, was reckoned to Abyssinia in spite of the fact that its inhabitants were Buja. 'Aydḥāb is identified with Aidip lying on the sea-coast opposite Jidda at N. lat. 22° 19' 47", cf. C. H. Becker, 'Aidḥāb in *EI*.<sup>2</sup> زين (different from its homonym § 60, 2.) most probably is زيلع Zayla', which in Išt., 36, follows on 'Aydḥāb. It is the well-known port of British Somaliland, immediately east of the Bay of Tajura. During the late Abyssinian crisis (1935) Zayla' was mentioned as an eventual point of access to the sea for Abyssinia. [November 1936: *tempora mutantur!*]

### § 58. Buja.

Marquart, *Benin*, cccxi-ii; Becker, *Bedja*, Vollers, 'Abābde, R. Hartmann, *Bishārīn*, all three in *EI*.

These Hamitic tribes living between the Nile and the Red sea formerly occupied the territory between Cairo and Abyssinia, cf. Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, i, 218-9, and *BGA*, vii, 336-7; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 32.

In the mutilated part of the text the question was probably of the celebrated gold mines lying in the desert of Buja (§ 7, 12.-13.), see Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 334-5, Išt., 28, 34. The Buja had no towns, 'Aydḥāb on the

<sup>1</sup> Jointly with *ġarmī al-Ḥabash* (long. 41° 40', lat. 10° 40') Khuwārizmī mentions another *ġarmī madīnat al-kabīra* (long. 34°, lat. 19° 30'). Marquart thought that "Gross Garma und Garma der Ḥabaš sind . . . in Wirklichkeit

identisch", but Mžik, *Afrika*, No. 75, with more probability restores the second name as جيرة مدينة الكبيرة\* and explains it as Γείρα μητρόπολις (cf. Ptolemy's Γειρέοι Αἰθlonēs).

<sup>2</sup> [See *Geog. J.*, 68, 1926, p. 235-40.]

coast of the Red Sea being considered as Abyssinia's, *Iṣṭ.*, 54, v.s., § 57, 2.

The trait of the king keeping aloof from his subjects is well known in African countries (*v.i.*, under § 60).

### § 59. Nubia.

Quatremère, *Mémoires géogr. et hist. sur l'Égypte*, 1811, ii, 1-126: "Mémoire sur la Nubie"; Marquart, *Benin*, pp. ccxlviii-cclxvi; G. Roeder, *Die Geschichte Nubiens*, in *Klio*, xii, 1912, pp. 51-83; von Mžik, *Africa* (*v.s.*, § 57); S. Hillelson, *Nūba* in *EI*.

*Iṣṭ.*, 11, says that Nubia is conterminous with Egypt,<sup>1</sup> with the desert lying between Egypt and the Sūdān, with the land of Buja and the desert lying between Buja and the Red Sea, and finally, with the Impassable Desert (*lā tuslak*).

According to Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, i, 217 (cf. also *BGA*, vii, 335-6), there were two kingdoms in Nubia, of which the one was Muqurra with the capital Dunqula ("Old Dongola") and the other 'Alwa with the capital Sūba (to the east of the present-day Khartūm). Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 32, confirms these facts adding that in 332/943 he heard in Fuṣṭāṭ that the king living in Dunqula and ruling over Māqurra and 'Alwa was *Kbry b. S.rwr*,<sup>2</sup> a descendant of a long line of kings. On Dongola cf. also *I.R.*, 96, and *I. Faqīh*, 78.

*I.Kh.*, 17, gives the king of Nubia the title of Kābīl, which detail is reproduced in our text. كابل and كبرى do not seem to refer to the same dynasty. From our § 6, 63, it results that Kābīl's capital lay near the junction of the Nile with the Blue Nile (*al-baḥr al-azraq*) for near Dongola no river joins the Nile from the east. This would indicate that Kābīl ruled (chiefly?) over 'Alwa though such an interpretation conflicts with Yāqūt, iv, 820,<sup>3</sup> where Kābīl is called king of Muqurra and Nūba, whereas 'Alwā is mentioned separately. *Idrīsī*, i, 33, mis-spelt the name of the king into *Kāmil*.

The mines situated amidst the sands are mentioned in § 7, 12. See in detail, Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 334-5.

The item on the two Christian monasteries may belong to the source from which similar fabulous details on Egypt have been borrowed. The name *Ṭ.rī* (*Ṭ.hī?*) is certainly mutilated.<sup>4</sup> The late Prof. F. Ll. Griffith to whom I communicated this passage wrote back to me (6.vii.1933): "the find is certainly important for Nubian Christianity but if the names are correct or nearly so (neither *Ṭarī*, nor *Ṭahī* reminds me of anything) they would seem to belong to the unknown region which is fairly extensive

<sup>1</sup> *I. Faqīh*, 78, says that Nubia began at 5 days' distance to the south of Assuan. Cf. § 39, 10., and *I.Kh.*, 83.

<sup>2</sup> Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 339, calls the king of Muqurrā (*sic*) Zakariyā b. Q.rqī = Zacharia son of Kyriakos, cf. Quatremère, *o.c.*, 65.

<sup>3</sup> Marquart takes *I. Faqīh* for the authority of this passage in Yāqūt, but if this is true for the first part of it, iv, 820, lines 3-15, the second part, p. 820-1 is introduced with a vague *qālū* and has no parallel in *I. Faqīh*'s printed text.

<sup>4</sup> [See now Appendix B.]

in Nubian geography." Outwardly طرى (طوى) resembles طحا and طرا. Of these Ṭahā was a very important Christian centre which once counted 15,000 Christians and 360 churches until it was destroyed by the last Omayyad Marwān, and Ṭurā and Shahrān (lying in the neighbourhood of Ṭurā) possessed each a monastery. See Abū Ṣāliḥ (*circa* A.D. 1202), *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, ed. B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1896, fol. 47a, 74, and 77. However, Ṭahā, I.Kh. 81, lay in Egypt, north of Munya between Ushmūnayn and Qays, cf. Mžik, *Afrika*, 12 (No. 148), and Ṭurā was situated still more north near Ḥulwān. Another, equally doubtful, hypothesis would be the restoration of طرى as كورى [بحرى] as originally the lake Tsana in Abyssinia, and later the lake Chad was called, cf. Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 229.<sup>1</sup> No monasteries could exist near the Chad region, but the existence of some legends referring to the western Abyssinia closely associated with Nubia are imaginable, cf. Conti Rossini, *Notes sur l'Abyssinie avant les Sémites*, in *Florilegium M. de Vogüé*, 1909, p. 143 (*bāhra kuerā* [sic] associated with the people *Quārā*, *Khuārā*) and Marquart, *Benin*, lxxxiv, and additional note in Index, p. 104. [See additional note in Appendix B.]

### § 60. The Sūdān.

W. D. Cooley, *The Negroland of the Arabs* (after Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Baṭṭūta, &c., whom the author used in Don P. Gayangos's translations), London 1841; Marquart, *Benin*, Leiden 1913 (a capital work as regards the earlier Arabic sources on the Sūdān); H. v. Mžik, *Afrika* (cf. § 57); Delafosse, *Sūdān* in *EI* refers only to later times.

This unexpectedly long and vivid paragraph particularly contrasts with the aridity of Iṣṭ.'s and I.Ḥ.'s data on the Sūdān which is not even mentioned in Maq.

I.Kh., 89, also mentions the king of the naked negroes (*al-sūdān al-'urāt*) whom he calls Zāghī b. Zāghī, which undoubtedly corresponds to the name \**Rā'ī b. Rā'ī* in our mutilated passage. In view of this important point of likeness [*v.s.*, § 59: *Kābīl*] one is tempted to admit that some more complete text of I.Kh. is the source of the whole § 60 (and maybe of the other curious details on Africa). In fact I.Kh. (cf. pp. 153-5) is fond of relating the exploits of merchants', *v.s.*, § 43. Marquart, *o.c.*, p. cxlv, commenting on I.Kh., 89, calls Zāghī b. Zāghī "eine unbekannte Grösse", but makes several interesting suggestions: the most obvious conclusion is that he was the king of the mighty kingdom of Ghāna (western Sūdān); on the other hand the name resembles the title *zā* of the ninth-century kings of Gogo, or Songoy (on the middle course of the Niger), see Delafosse, *Songhoi* in *EI*, among whom such names are found as Zā-Zakoy, Zā-Akoy, Zā-Kū, see al-Sa'dī, *Tā'rīkh al-sūdān*, ed. Houdas, pp. 2-3; finally Marquart quotes several Berber names (زاعراع, &c.) resembling that of Zāghī,

<sup>1</sup> Maqrīzī quotes Idrīsī as his authority on the lake *Kuwarā* but the passage is not found in Jaubert's translation.

but our text leaves no doubt that the king in question reigned over Negroes. The ironical remark on the king's moderation evidently refers to the numerous limitations to which the life of an African sovereign is subject. At places like Loango, where they are strictly enforced, no more candidates are found to assume the responsibilities of the throne. See L. Frobenius, *Atlas Africanus*, München 1921, Fasc. C. vi, Heft 2, Blatt 7, and the accompanying text.

The term Sūdān in our text evidently applies to the whole territory between the Atlantic and the Nile, but the names quoted are of little help as they are as mutilated as under § 57. In this region (First Clime) Khuwārizmī, p. 6, Nos. 41-5, quotes the following places:

	long.	lat.
'Alwa-Baḥriya (see § 59)	60° 0'	12° 20'
Fazzān . . . . .	62° 0'	10° 45'
Zaghāwa . . . . .	60° 0'	11° 0'
Gogo . . . . .	43° 0'	10° 15'
Ghāna . . . . .	43° 30'	10° 45'

Our 1. حران resembles فزان. Fazzān belonging to Italian Libya is the largest agglomeration of oases in Central Sahara. Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, vii, 345, mentions it after Zawīla (§ 40, 5.). Cf. also under Jarmī, § 57, 1. On the association of the names Fazzān and Zaghāwa, *v.i.* 4.

2. *Kh.fān* and *Ryn* (cf. § 57, 3.) look mutilated. One of them may be كوكو Gogo on the Niger to the south-east of Timbuktu, cf. Yāqūt, iv, 329.

3. مقيس resembles المقس الاعلى (*maqs* < *maks* "toll-house"), an Egyptian frontier post towards Nubia, lying at 6 days above Wādī Ḥalfa, see Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ch. xxx, ed. Wiet, iii, 253, cf. Marquart, *Benin* ccxcix. As our 4. lies on the confines of Nubia, our 3., too, could be situated in the same neighbourhood.

4. In script لا resembles لانه but the latter lay too far west (to the north of the upper course of the Niger, cf. Marquart's map in *Benin*). In view of the location of Lāba near Nubia it is probable that it stands for زغارة, a great heathen state of which the centre lay near the lake Chad. It stretched from Nubia to the Niger, and comprised the Kāwār country, Kānem, northern Wadāi, and Dārḥūr. At present one of the five tribes of Dārḥūr still bears the name of Zaghāwa, see C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des östlichen Sūdān*, in *Der Islam*, i, 1910, pp. 162-77, cf. Yāqūt, ii, 932, iv, 230 (who quotes Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Muhallabī's work *al-'Azīzī*, written circa A.D. 975-6). Zaghāwa is often associated with Fazzān (*v.s.* 1.). Khuwārizmī gives wrong bearings according to which Fazzān and Zaghāwa would lie far to the east, beyond the Nile, towards Adūlis (!), cf. von Mzik, *Afrika*, Map. On Khuwārizmī's own map, *ibid.*, Zaghāwa is placed to the south of *bilād al-Nūba* and this may be the reason for our author's location of Lāba near Nubia. I.H., 66, places Zaghāwa at 2 months' distance from Fazzān (*v.s.* 1.). Idrīsī, transl. i, 112, reckons Fazzān to Zaghāwa.





## APPENDIX A

### MARGINAL NOTES IN THE H.-'Ā.

As mentioned in the Preface, p. v, the marginal notes in the unique copy of the H.-'Ā. do not shed any light on the history of its composition.

The uppermost part of fol. 1a is obliterated with ink. Some later possessor of the book evidently tried to destroy the name of his predecessor. One can faintly distinguish the words *Kitāb-khāna . . . mustafāḥ Ḥājī Mīrzā* in a modern hand.

Near the title (v.s., p. 30) are found twelve lines of poetry written by the original scribe of the book (hand A). The single verse to the right of the title is

تو همی رنج دل بجان بخری      خشمت ایند کی کویت کی خری

The first of the two verses (rhyme in -āz) to the left of the title is

کفتم کی کنم خرج رخت عمر دراز      تا بوک شوم با تو محرم راز

The poem below the title (9 verses of which the rhyme + *radīf* is -āz *rasadh*) begins

روز را یایکان زدست مده      نیست امکان ان کی باز رسد

I am obliged to my friend 'Abbās Eghbāl Āshtiyānī for the indication that this last poem is quoted on fol. 156 of an anthology (tenth or eleventh century A.H.?) in his possession in which the authorship of this moralizing poetry of doubtful value is ascribed to a certain Shaykh Zayn al-dīn Jāmī, otherwise unknown.

Still lower down there are entries in a different hand (B). The first, on the authority of the Qor'ānic *Tafsīr* by Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās (622-87 A.H.), gives the magic formula *هو* which being written on pieces of paper and placed in the window would preserve the mother and the new-born child, respectively from the evil of the *dīv* called Āl, and of that called Umm al-ṣibyān. The second (hand B?) is a *rubā'i* composed by Ḥaḍrat-i Amīr Sayyid Aḥmad Lāla'i, one of the *khulafā* of the late Amīr 'Abdullāh Burzishābādī (?), in honour of the latter [the term *khulafā* pointing to Ṣafavid times]. The third (hand B?) extols the beneficent properties of a dead hoopoe's eye for the refreshing of one's memory, &c.

The indistinct entry of folios 19b and 20a, in hand B records the events in Merv in the tenth century A.H., first the coming in 915 A.H. (?) of Shāh Ismā'il who during the seven (?) days of his stay there put to death 70,000 (?) people and had a tower built of skulls, 60 *zar'* high, which events were followed by a famine and the dispersion of the survivors; then the coming in 952 A.H. (?) of 'Abdullāh ibn (?) 'Ubaydullāh-khān Ghāzī which entailed new calamities and the annihilation of the population, so that no one knew the origin of the "present-day" population among whom all sorts of vices prevailed.

[The dates are indistinct. The first evidently refers to Shāh Ismā'il's victory over Shaybak-khān which took place in the winter of 916/1510. The second date may be read 952, or 932 (?). The latter is adopted by Zhukovsky who utilized our entry in his *Ruins of Old Merv*, p. 74. Moreover, Zhukovsky reads the name of the invader 'Ubaydullāh-khān. According to 'Abdullāh Naṣr-allāhī's Turkish *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, 'Ubaydullah-khān, during his raid of 918/1513, transferred the inhabitants of Merv to Bukhārā, see Barthold in *ZVO*, xv, 1903, p. 202, and his *Irrigation*, p. 67. Zhukovsky, *l.c.*, says that 'Ubaydullāh invaded Khorāsān for a *fourth* time in 1529. He afterwards ruled from 940/1533 to 946/1539. The fact is that the name 'Abdullāh (without a title) appears in our entry before that of 'Ubaydallāh-khān. I cannot ascertain whether 'Ubaydallāh-khān had a son called 'Abdullāh. The Shībānid khāns 'Abdullāh I (ruled 946-7) and the famous 'Abdullāh II (ruled 991-1006) were remote relations of 'Ubaydullāh-khān. 'Abdullāh-khān destroyed the Merv dam and abducted the population in 1566 (974 A.H.), but this does not suit our date of 952 (?). *Nondum liquet*. Our entry does not seem to be very exact and in this case may belong to a considerably later time (seventeenth century?).]

On fol. 22b Abul-Faḍl Gulpāyagānī, the discoverer of the manuscript, in his fine writing recorded some data on the construction of the walls around Bukhārā [evidently borrowed from Narshakhī, cf. *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Schefer, p. 32-3].

The note inscribed in hand B opposite Dāmghān (fol. 30a) mentions the well-known story of the spring which, if polluted, brings down rain [cf. I. Faqīh, p. 310, *Nuṣṣat al-qulūb*, p. 277].

Several pencil notes (fol. 13b, 24b) are in Baron V. Rosen's hand.

## APPENDIX B

### ADDITIONAL NOTES

During my recent visit to Bonn, in connexion with the eighth Deutscher Orientalistentag (3-8.ix.1936), I had the privilege of consulting in the Orientalisches Seminar, directed by Prof. Kahle, a photograph of the Mashhad MS. of Ibn al-Faqīh's geographical work. I also had numerous interesting talks with its original discoverer, Prof. A. Z. Validi, who very kindly communicated to me several passages from the rare texts in his collection.

1. I was particularly interested in I. Faqīh's version (ff. 169a-170b) of Tamīm b. Baḥr's journey to the Toghuzghuz, more complete than Yāqūt's version quoted above, p. 268. As the publication of this passage has been undertaken by the young German scholar Dr. Haag, I naturally respect his rights. Here I shall only say that the new version corroborates Marquart's original view that Tamīm visited the Uyghurs on the Orkhon, and not at their later seats near the eastern T'ien-shan (occupied after A.D. 860). The key to the passage seems to lie in the sentence:

وذكر ان خاقان ملك التوغر كان مختاتنا بملك الصين وان ملك الصين يحمل اليه  
في كل سنة خمس مائة الف فرزد

which hints at the heyday of the Uyghur political life. Therefore my explanations (pp. 268-9) must be accordingly altered.

2. According to A. Z. Validi, the MS. Or. 1997 of Bīrūnī's *Canon* has proved to be very faulty in comparison with the Stambul MSS. Thus بحر ارواسان (v.s., p. 180) must be improved into ارقانيا وهو جرجان, i.e. "Hyrcania", whereas رجال (v.s., p. 369) must be read وخان. As regards the first rectification I cannot help remarking how unexpected the form \**Irqāniyā* (for \**Hurqāniyā*) appears in Arabic. As for \**Vakhān*, it suits Bīrūnī's text quite well but the name which we have to explain in our § 26, 13., viz., "*R.kh.t.j.b*, a village of *Vakhān*" may still have a different origin [or may have been misread by the compiler of the *H.-Ā.* himself].

3. With regard to p. 318, note 1, and p. 445, I want to quote an amazingly interesting passage on the course of the Oxus found by A. Z. Validi in Bīrūnī's *Tahdīd al-amākin*:

ومال الماء ذات اليسار الى ارض البجناكية في مجرى يعرف بوادى مزدبست في المفازة  
التي بين خوارزم وجرجان وعمر بقاعا كثيرة زمنا مديدا وخرب ايضا فانتقل سكانها الى  
ساحل بحر الخزر وهم جنس اللان والاس ولغتهم الان متركة من الخوارزمية والبجناكية

The passage shows how long the "Alān and (!) Ās" remained in the region to the east of the Caspian. Their memory survives in Firdausi's *Dish-i Alānān* (ed. Vullers, i, 115) and probably in the wall in the Turkman steppe called *Qizil-Alan*, cf. my article *Tūrān* in *EL*.

Here are some other additional remarks:

4. *Ad* p. 67, l. 17. The fact that under § 15 the Khallukh are said to neighbour on Tibet is to be connected with § 25, 28. in which "Tibet" refers to "western T'ien-shan". This use of the term "Tibet" points to the times of the great expansion of the Tibetan rule in the eighth century A.D., see p. 256, note 2.

5. *Ad* p. 98. The meaning of the awkward introduction to § 16 may be that the Chigil tribe was originally one of the Khallukh tribes, but the territory occupied by the Chigil still possessed a numerous local population, cf. quotation from Gardīzī, p. 298, l. 23.

6. *Ad* p. 227, l. 35. Our author's statement concerning 360 districts of China (*v.s.*, p. 84, l. 6) may have been also inspired by I.Kh., 69, who says that there are 300 towns in China, of which 90 are celebrated.

7. *Ad* p. 293. A detailed account of Barskhān is found in the Mashhad MS. of Ibn al-Faqīh, fol. 170a (cf. Yāqūt, iv, 823).

8. *Ad* p. 297, l. 15. In the Manichaean *Mahrnāmag* edited by F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt, SBA*, 1913, l. 77, a certain *Prvān-č šabghū* is mentioned among the local rulers. The town (or district) \**Parvān* of which this *šabghū* was the lord may be identical with *Bārmān*/*Po-huan*.

9. *Ad* p. 332, l. 23. In the Mashhad text of I. Faqīh f. 163a it is said of the Balkh river: (*sic*) من ناحية الشرق يقال له ديوشاران (*sic*) وهو يجي من ناحية الشرق. \**Dēv-shārān* "Devil's tobooggan", cf. supra p. 364, note 3, seems to be entirely different from \**Rēv-shārān*, "Dominions of Rēv-shār" (cf. § 23, 36. and 78.).

10. *Ad* p. 365, note 3. A. Z. Validi has found in a Constantinople MS. of the *Canon: wa jalā'uhu bi-Badhakhshān*, "and the polishing (of the rubies) is done in Badhakhshān", with reference to the preceding item.

11. *Ad* p. 475. In the rare *Operis Cosmographici Ibn el Vardi Caput Primum de Regionibus et Oris*, ed. A. Hylander, Lundae 1823, p. 164, among the towns of Nubia is quoted

(read: طمرى وهى مدينة كبيرة على البطيحة التى يجتمع بها ماء النيل على صفة (صفة: \* هذه البطيحة صنم كبير من حجر رافع يده الى صدره يقال انه كان رجلا ظالما فمسخ حجرا This طمرى is probably identical with our *T.rī* (*T.hī*) in § 59.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The source of Ibn al-Wardī (689-749/1290-1348) is undoubtedly Idrīsī who (tr. Jaubert, i, 27) speaking of the sources of the Nile (cf. our § 6, 62.) mentions the great lake formed by the six rivers and "près duquel est située

une ville nommée طرفى, populeuse et dont les environs sont fertiles en riz" (follows the story of the statue). This *T.rfy* (I. al-Wardī: *T.rmy*) must be another avatar of our *T.rī*.]

## INDEX

The present index contains all the names found in the text of the *H.-'Ā.* and it must be borne in mind that to almost every name corresponds a special note in the Commentary. As regards the latter all the essential names additional to those found in the *H.-'Ā.* will be found in the Index but imperious material considerations prevented the incorporation of such subsidiary names, or forms of names, to which other references give easy clues.

The names and catch-words have been divided into the following categories:

- A. Geographical names (places and tribes).
- B. Personal names and titles.
- C. Authorities quoted (only the principal passages).
- D. Local products and specialities.
- E. Selection of catch-words.

### A. GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

The abbreviations are: c.—country; is.—island; l.—lake; mt.—mountain; p.—pass; r.—river; t.—tribe.

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## D. LOCAL PRODUCTS AND SPECIALITIES

- Ambergris*—Hindūstān, Rāmī, Santarem  
*Animals*: *Civet Cats*—Sarandīb; *Elephants*—Andrās, &c., China, Qimār, Urshfin, Urshin; *Game*—Ararat, Ghūz, Jabal al-Qilāl, Yaghmā; *Harts*—Ighraj-art; *Monkeys*—Yemen; *Musk-deer*—Sarandīb, Saukjū, Tūlas; *Rhinoceros*—Qamarūn, Rāmī, Sarandīb, Wāq-wāq; *Wild Asses*—mt. of the Oases, region between Egypt and Nubia; *Wild Sheep*—mt. of the Oases  
*Antidotes*—Rāmī, Būshang  
*Armour, Arms, Coats of Mail*—Ghūr; *Arrows*—Chāch, Sikāshim; *Blades*—Urtāb; *Bows*—Chāch; "Solomonian"  
*Swords*—Rūs (p. 437)  
*Asa Foetida*—Marv, Sistān  
  
*Birds*: 'Akka—on the Tarim; *Faucons and Pelicans*—Dihistanān-sur; *Indian Cuckoos*, *K.rkri*, *Parrots and Peacocks*—India  
*Brooms*—Gilān  
  
*Caraway*—Barda'  
*Cardamum*—Sarandīb  
*Carpets*—Fārs, Rūm (*tanfasa*); *Prayer*—Gilān, Jahrum, Mūqān; *Woollen*—Bukhārā, Dārzangi; *Zilū*—Akhlat,

- Arjī, Bargrī, Bidlīs, Guzgān, Jahrum, Khoy, Mūqān, Nakhchuvān, Fārs, Sistān; *Rugs*—Āmol, Fārs; *Palās-rugs*—Chaghāniyān, Guzgān, Mūqān; *Stuff used as Carpets*—Sistān, Tabaristān; cf. *Gilm*  
*Cattle*—Bulgharī, Hāshumkirt, Khazarian Pechenegs, Khur, Kijkanān, Maghrib, Tūrān; *Asses*—Egypt; *Camels*—Sarakh, Shihr, S.lābūr; *Cows*—Balūt, Chigil, Ghūz, Guzgān, Jalūt, Khazar, Khirkhīz, S.lābūr, Tibet, Toghuuzghuz; *Horses*—Chadghal, Chaghāniyān, Chigil, Ghūz, Guzgān, Kātūn, Khallukh, Khirkhīz, Khuttalān, K.rāl, &c., Tibet, Tukhs, Toghuuzghuz, Tūkhāristān, Yaghmā; *Mules*—Barda', Kish; *Sheep*—Balūt, Chadghal, Chigil, Ghūz, Guzgān, Hāshumkirt, Inner Bulghār, Isbijāb, Jalūt, Khallukh, Khazar, Khazarian Pecheneg, Khirkhīz, Kh.mūd, Kīmāk, N.zvān, Rang-Rong, Saylakān, Sān, Şaqlāb, S.lābūr, Tibet, Toghuuzghuz, Tukhs, Tūkhāristān, Yaghmā, Zābulistān; *Vakhshī Sheep*—Livkand; *Swine*—Şaqlāb; *Yaks*—Saukjū  
*Cereals*—Andarāb, Dihistān, Gharchistān, Mūqān, Nasā, Nūbin, Siki-misht, Tūkhāristān; *Barley*—Şan'a,

Sirrayn; *Millet*—Şaqlāb, Kirmān;  
*Rice*—Daylamān; *Sorghum*—Mu-  
ghūn, &c.; Sirrayn; *Wheat*—Şan'ā  
*Cheese* (?)—Karaj-i Rūdhṛavar; *Rukh-  
bin*—Kāth  
*China (ghadāra)*—China, Rayy  
*Cinnamon*—China, Dārčhīn  
*Clothing: Aprons*—Başra; *Cloaks*—Ispa-  
hān, Rayy; *Handkerchiefs*—Egypt;  
*Kerchiefs*—Amol, Bullī *Kerchiefs*—  
Ubullā, *Gold Shot*—Amol; *Puttees*—  
Dārzangī; *Quilted Garments*—Kāth;  
*Robes*—Egypt; *Stockings*—Rūm, Tūs;  
*Trouser-cords*—Akhlāt, &c.; Duvin,  
Khūzistān, Rūm, Salamās, Tīb, Tūs,  
Wāsīt; *Turbans*—Bam, Shūsh, Bullī  
*Turbans*—Ubullā, *Stuff for Turbans*—  
Khālkhin, R. bind; *Woollen Tāylasāns*—  
Rayy; *Veils*—Baylaqān, *Viqāya  
Veils*—Gūzgān  
*Cloves*—Jāba, Salāhīt, Sarandīb  
*Condiments*—Marv  
*Coral*—Hindūstān, Tabarqa  
*Cords, Hemp*—Samarqand  
*Cotton*—Dahum's country, Marv, Ni-  
shāpūr, Qabān, Rayy  
*Crimson*—Duvin  
*Cumin*—Bahṛūgān, Kūmīn, &c.  
*Curtains*—Başunnay  
*Cushions, Covers for*—Kāth  
*Drinks (potions?)*—Baghdād  
*Drugs*—Farghāna, Khālkhin, Khorāsān,  
Kish, Transoxiana, mt. between  
Coria and Truxillo; *Cassia Fistularis*  
and *Tamarind*—Jab.rs.ri; *Cubeb*—  
Jāba, Salāhīt; *Emblīca Officinalis*,  
*Myrobalan*, *Terminalia Belerica*—  
road between Rāmiyān and Jalhan-  
dar; *Gentian*—Gibraltar; *Tiryāk*  
(antidote) plant—Būshang  
*Electuaries*—Baghdād  
*Fans*—Tirmidh  
*Felts*—Gūzgān, Isbjāb, Kāth, Tālaqān  
(Gūzgān)  
*Fish*—Abaskūn, Arzan 1., Bankālūs,  
Bāzhgāh, Caspian sea, Daylamān,  
Mymāty 1., Majghari; *Māha fish*—  
Gilan  
*Frankincense*—Shihr  
*Fruit*—Ark, 'Ayn-Zarba, Barda', Bu-  
khārā, Burūgird, Diza, Farah, Ku-  
mish, Malatya, Marūd, Mizhān,  
Nihāvand, Palestine, Qazvin, Simin-  
gān, Simnān, Tukhāristān; *Dried*—  
Bust; *Almonds*—Lahore; *Apples*—  
Iştakhr; *Bananas*—Bālūs, Bankālūs;  
*Chestnuts*—Barda'; *Citrons*—Amol,  
Balkh; *Fragrant citrons*—Shūsh; *Yel-  
low Citrons*—Damascus; *Coco-nuts*—  
Bālūs, Bankālūs, Kanbāya mt. La-

hore, Sarandīb, S.lābūr; *Dates*—  
'Abdasi, Alin, Arabia, Bam, Bayās,  
Farah, Bahṛūgān, &c., Nahrawān,  
Nim-Rūdhī, Qandabil; *Dried dates*—  
Sistān; *Figs*—Hulwān; *Grapes*—  
Hamdān (p. 146), Mirvāt (p. 321);  
*Hazel-nuts*—Lishtar; *Jalghūza*—La-  
hore; *Mulberry*—Barda'; *Oranges*,  
sour—Amol, Balkh; *Pomegranates*—  
Khujand; *Raisins*—Karūkh, Mālin  
(Tā'ifi)

*Fuel*—Ararat, Jabal al-Qilāl, Mizhān  
*Furs*—Khallukh, Khirkhiz, Kuyāba,  
N.zvān, Tukhs, Yaghmā; *Beaver*—  
Qabala; *Ermine*—Tibet; *Foxes*,  
*Black*—Tibet, Toghuzghuz; *Striped  
and Red*—Toghuzghuz; *Grey Squir-  
rels*—Tibet, Tūlas; *Lambskins*—Kur-  
dar; *Sabīja* (?)—Toghuzghuz; *Sable*  
*Martens*—Kimāk, Tibet, Tudela,  
Tūlas (cf. pp. 196, 278); *Weasel*—  
Barādhās, Tibet

*Gilims (Tapestry Woven Carpets)*—Dār-  
zangī, Pārs, Wāsīt; *Blue*—Rūdhān;  
*Kūmish Gilims*—Amol  
*Glass*—see Nişibīn and p. 165  
*Glaze-ware*—Baghdād, Rayy (?)  
*Grape-syrup*—Araghān, Baun, Herat

*Honey*—Ādharbayjān, Armenia, Arrān,  
Şaqlāb, S.lābūr

*Insects and Reptiles: Crocodiles*—Buşir;  
*Flies* (carnivorous)—Sarir; *Mosquitoes*  
(*pashsha*)—Nih, Tamisha; *Scorpions*—  
Kāshān, Nişibīn, Hims, Tabarqa;  
*Snakes*—Ahwāz, Artūj, Hims, Nişibīn

*Khāvkhīr, Chinese*—China  
*Khutū-Horn*—China, Khirkhiz, Tibet

*Leather*—Anbīr, Sind

*Mahfūrī [Plates?]*—Khursān  
*Manna (shirkhish)*—Herat (cf. p. 343)  
(*tarangabīn*)—Kish  
*Mats*—Ābbadān, Amol, Gilān, Mām-  
tīr; *Green*—Tirmidh  
*Metals: Copper*—Bārtjān mt., Cyprus,  
Farghāna, Georgian mts., Gūzgān,  
Kirmān, Sardan, Spain, Tūs; *Gold*—  
Abyssinia, Akhsikath, Badhakshān,  
China, Chinese mts., Farghāna, Gold  
is., Gūzgān, Ilāq, Jabal al-Qamar,  
al-Jazā'ir al-khāliya, Khorāsān, Khut-  
talān, Kirmān, Muqattam mt.,  
N.zvān, Pārs, Qamarūn, Ribāt-i Kar-  
vān, Rang-Rong, R.būshārān, be-  
tween Rūm and Armenia, Sands  
of the Mines, Sarir, Şatīf, Sijil-  
māsa, Spain, the Sūdān, Sūs-the-  
Distant, Transoxiana, Wāq-Wāq,

- Zābaj, Zangistān, Zawīla; [*auriferous sands*—Jiruft, Sijilmāsa]; *Iron*—Bankālūs (?), Dunbāvand, Gūzgān, Ištakhmt., Sāmār, Surtshma; *Lead*—Bārījān, Farghāna, Gūzgān, Kirmān, Sāmār, Sarīr, Spain, Transoxiana, Tūs; *Quicksilver*—Farghāna, Sokh (? § 25, 49.); *Silver*—Akhsikath, Andarāb, Georgian mts., Gūzgān, Ilāq, Jabal al-Qamar, Jāriyāna, Khorāsān, Khuttālān, Kirmān, Kūh-i Sīm, Kūhsaym, Muqattam, Nāyīn, Panjhir, Pārs, Sardan mt., Silver is., Transoxiana; *Tin*—Kala [cf. p. 187]
- Minerals*: *Ammoniac*—Buttamān, Farghāna, Transoxiana; *Antimony*—Gūzgān, Sāmār, Tūs; *Arsenic*—Transoxiana, Dhakkhath, Kuchā [p. 226]; *Bezoar Stone*—Farghāna; *Bitumen*—Dārāgird; *Crystal*—Baghdād; *Emery*—Qamarūn, Sarandīb mt.; *Glass Stone*—Nişibīn (cp. p. 393); *Lode Stone*—Bārījān, Farghāna, Kirmān; *Marble-like Stone*—Simingān; *Naphtha*—Bākū; *Plasma*—Cyprus; *Salt*—‘Abbadān, Dārāgird, Kashmīr, Kuhak, Limrāsk, Rūdhān, Tuzkūl, Yūn; *Black and Yellow Salt*—Dārāgird; *Red Salt*—Dārāgird, Kish; *Saltpetre*—Bukhārā; *Mekkan Sand*—‘Arab country; *Red Sand*—Habīr; *Schists*, *Combustible* (?)—Farghāna; *Sulphur*—Transoxiana; *Vitriol*—Gūzgān, Transoxiana
- Musk*—Baytāl, B.lhārī, Mūsa, Khirkhīz, Tībet, Toghuzghuz, Tukhs, Vayhind
- Napkins*, *Dessert*—Dāmghān
- Nutmeg*—Sarandīb
- Oil*—Baghdād, Rayy (? see p. 384)
- Paper*—Samarqand
- Pearls*—‘Aden, Hindūstān, Ganāfa sea, Khārak, Khumdān, Rāmī, Sarandīb
- Pepper*—Kanbāya mt., Malay, Ur.shfīn
- Perfumed Waters*—Sārī; *Palm-blossom*, *Rose and Santoline*—Gūr; *Saffron* and *Sandalwood*—Sārī; *Violet*—Pārs
- Plants*: *Indigo*—Bahrūgān; *Madder*—Barda’, Jazīrat al-Bāb, Mūqān; *Saffron*—Burūgird, Chaghāniyān, Darband-i Khazarān, Durghush, Karaj-i Rūdhra’var, Nihāvand, Qum, Shūmān, Vayshagirt; *Sūsān-i Nargis Flower*—Shīrāz; *Tabarkhūn*—Farghāna; *Water Lilies*—Balkh
- Precious Stones*—F.ma, Khorāsān, Vayhind; *Chrysolites*—mt. of the Oases; *Corundum*—Hindūstān, Sarandīb, Tābarnā; *Diamonds*—Hindūstān, Sarandīb mt., Sarandīb rs.; *Emeralds*—mt. of the Oases; *Garnets*—Badhakhshān, mt. of the Oases; *Jade*—Khotan rs.; *Lapis Lazuli*—Badhakhshān; *Rubies*—S.nglij; *Turquoise*—Tūs
- Qaraz*—Maghrib (p. 417)
- Red Abānk* (?)—Sind
- Sacks*—Mūqān
- Saddle-bags*—Gūzgān; *Saddle-cloths*, *Covers for*—Sikāshim; *Saddle-girths*—Gūzgān; *Horse-rugs*—Baylaqān
- Shagreen*—Abaskūn
- Shank* (“White Conch”)—Dahum’s country
- Shoes*—Başra, Kanbāya, Sind; *Yemeni*—Şa’da
- Silk*—Barda’, China, Nishāpūr; *Mulham*—Egypt; *Raw*—Gurgān, Khotan, Marv; *Textiles*—Astarābādh, Baghdād, Ispahān (‘*Attabi*, *Siqlātūn*), Nishāpūr, Rūm, Sārī; *Black*—Gurgān; *Khazz*—Egypt, cf. p. 382; *Sundus*—Rūm; *Za’furi* (?)—Astarābādh
- Skins*—Şa’da, Sind, Tā’if; *Leopard*—Berbers; *Lizard*—Malaga; *Panther*—Sūs-the-Distant
- Slaves*—Alān country, Darband-i Khazarān, Farghāna, Ghur, Khazar, Khazarian Pecheneg, Rāmiyān, Saylakān, Sarīr, Sūdān [cf. Adharbayjān, p. 142]
- Snow*—Kath, Mīzhān
- Soap*—Bust, Tirmidh
- Spices*—Sarandīb
- Spikenard*—Jāba, Salāḥīṭ, Sarandīb
- Stone Kettles*—Nauqān
- String Instruments*—Şaqlāb country
- Sugar*—Khūzistān, S.lābūr; *Red and Refined*—‘Askar-i Mukram; *Candy*—Bahrūgān, &c., Kiz, &c.; *Cane*—Bahrūgān, &c., Balkh, Bālūs, Balūt, Jalūt, Mīla
- Sweets*: *Filāta*—Marv; *Nāṭif*—Baylaqān
- Tents*—Tukhs
- Textiles*—Ardavīl, Astarābādh, Barzand, Baylaqān, Dimiyāt, Ganāwa, ‘Irāq, Ispahān, Jālhandar, Jibāl, Khorāsān, Khūzistān, Kūmish, Nishāpūr, Pārs, Rūm, Shūsh, Sīnīz, Tavaz; *Brocades*—China, Gurgān, Idha (Shūshhtar?), Rūm; *Cotton Stuffs*—Baghdād, Bam, Başra, Bust, Buzhāgān, &c., Herat, Kath, Kurī, Nishāpūr, Pārs, Rayy; *Linen Cloth*—Āmol, Başra, Danqara, Darband-i Khazarān, Dhamīra, Dimiyāt, Pārs, Şaqlāb, Tinnīs; *Maysānī*—Rūm; *Precious Stuffs*—Shūsh, Vayhind; *Sūzangird*—Qurqūb; *Velvet*—

Jalhandar, Khālkhīn; *Woollen Stuffs*—Abaskūn, Chaghāniyān, Dimyāt, Ganja, Khursān, Marand, Shamkūr, Pārs, Tinnis; *Red Woollen Stuffs*—Rūdhān *Touch-Stone* (*mīhakk*)—Shāvarān; *Whet-Stone* (*fasān*)—Arab country, Raḍwa mt., Tihāma, Tūs  
*Trees*: *Aloes*—Dahum's country, al-Jurz, Mandal, Qāmarūn, Qimār, Sanf; *'Ar'ar*—Būshang; *Bamboo*—Kala, Kanbāya mt., Sarandīb; *Box-wood*—Āmol; *Brazil Wood*—Rāmi, Sarandīb; *Camphor*—Bālūs, Haranj, India, Š.riḥ, Zābaj; *Cotton-Tree*—Andrās; *Ebony*—Silver is., Ashmūnayn; *Khadang and Khalanj*—Chāch,

Khirkhīz, cf. p. 465; *Khinj* ("White tree")—Gūzgān; *Rotang*—Kanbāya mt., Malay, Ur.shfin; *Sandal*—Jāba, al-Jurz, Salāhiṭ; *Red Sandal*—Salū-qiyyīn; *Teak*—Silver is.; *Timber*—Jabal al-Qilāl, Khoy, &c. (?)

*Vinegar*—Marv

*Wax*—Ādharbayjān, Armenia, Arrān  
*Wine*—K.nd.rm, Rayy, Ṣaqlāb, Simin-gān, Surūsna, Ṭalaqān  
*Wooden Utensils*—Āmol, Daylamān;  
*Wine Vessels*—Ṣaqlāb  
*Wool, dyed*—Wāsīt

## E. SELECTION OF CATCHWORDS

*abādḥān*, "prosperous" 37, 53 and passim; *abadḥānī*, "inhabited lands" 54, "oecumene" 83, "prosperous place" 85, &c.

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